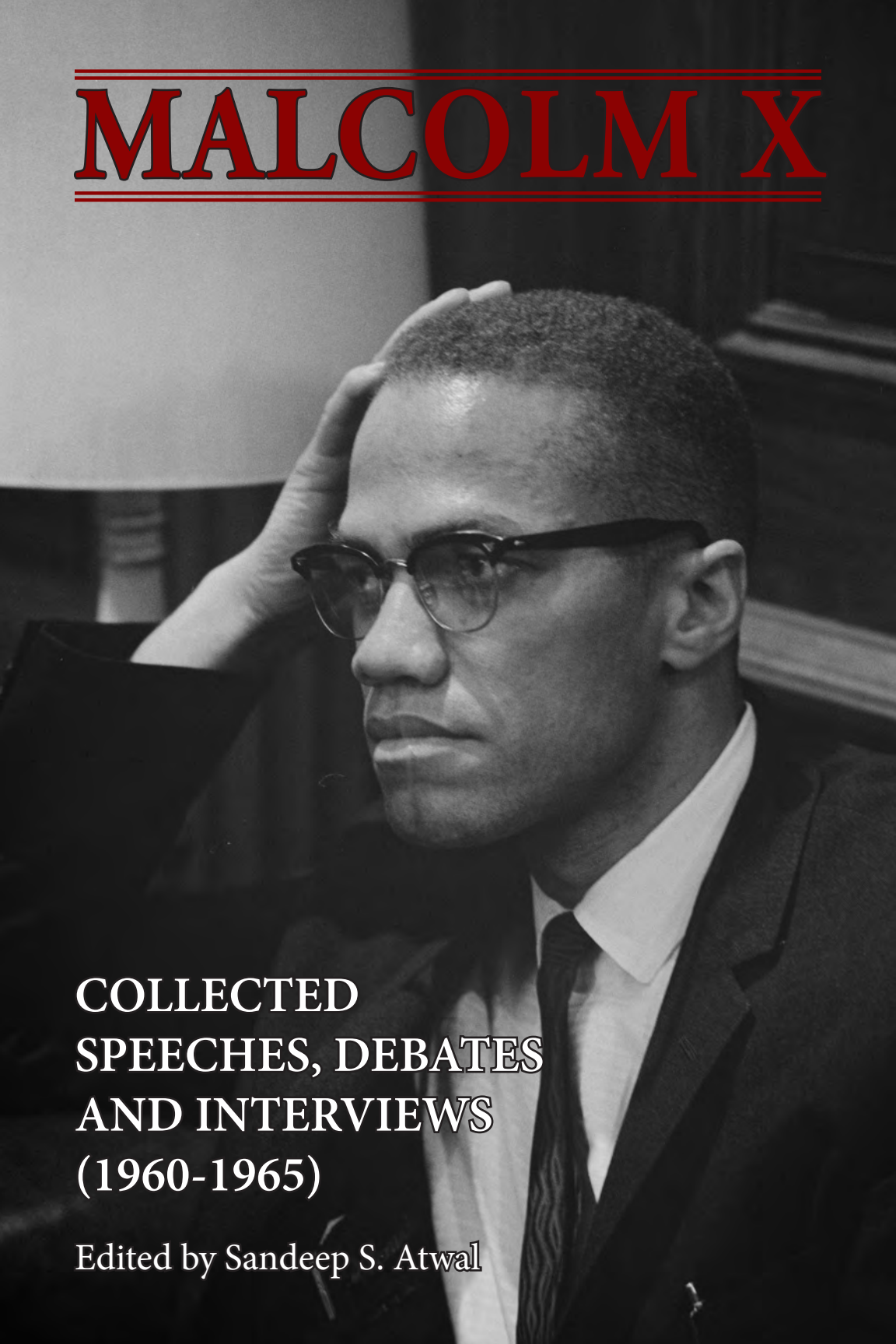
# MALCOLM X



## COLLECTED SPEECHES, DEBATES AND INTERVIEWS (1960-1965)

Edited by Sandeep S. Atwal

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# Harlem Freedom Rally
# (1960)

As-Salaam-Alaikum beloved brothers and sisters, welcome to our Harlem Freedom Rally.

When we say "our" we do not mean Muslim nor Christian, Catholic nor Protestant, Baptist nor Methodist, Democrat nor Republican, Mason nor Elk. By "our" Harlem Freedom, we mean the black people of Harlem, the black people of America, and the black people all over this earth. The largest concentration of black people on earth is right here in Harlem, so we are gathered here today in Harlem Square to a Freedom Rally, of black people, by black people, and for the benefit of black people.

We are not here at this Rally because we have already gained freedom. No! We are gathered here rallying for the freedom which we have long been promised, but have as yet not received. This Rally is for that perfect freedom which up until now this government has not granted us. There would be no need to protest to the government if we were already free

Freedom is essential to life itself. Freedom is essential to the development of the human being. If we don't have freedom we can never expect justice and equality. Only after we have freedom do justice and equality become a reality.

Today we are gathered at this Rally to hear from our leaders who have been acting as our spokesmen, and representing us to the white man downtown. We want to know how our leaders really think, how they talk, how they feel...and most important of all, we want them to know how we feel.

Many of these leaders have suddenly become "experts on Harlem" and as such are often regarded by the white man as the "voice of Harlem." If this must be the case, then we want the voice of these leaders to ring sometimes in Harlem too. Leaders have differences, and these differences ofttimes cause serious division among the masses. But the hour is too short today for black people to afford the luxury of "differences."

Again I repeat, we are not gathered here today because we are Muslims or

Christians, Protestants or Catholics, Baptists or Methodists, Democrats or Republicans, Masons or Elks...but because as a collective mass of black people we have been colonized, enslaved, lynched, exploited, deceived and abused.

As a collective mass of black people we have been deprived, not only of civil rights, but even our human rights, the right to human dignity...the right to be a human being!

This Freedom Rally is to be a united effort by all our leaders. We have set aside any petty differences, and in the Spirit of Bandung we have come together on this same platform, wherein each one can voice his personal feelings and his personal solution to this grave crisis we face.

The Western World today faces a great catastrophe. It stands on the brink of disaster. Mr. Muhammad says the only way our people can avoid the fiery destruction that God Himself will soon unleash upon this wicked world is for our people to come together among themselves in unity and practice true brotherhood. Mr. Muhammad says God is with us to unite our people into one brotherhood, and to aid those that are oppressed, and to uplift those who are downtrodden.

The Western World, filled with evil and wickedness, is groping and stumbling blindly through spiritual darkness toward its inevitable doom. Mr. Muhammad says we must qualify ourselves so that God's spiritual light will guide us past the pitfalls of destruction.

The Western World is filled with drunkenness, dope addiction, lying, stealing, gambling, adultery, fornication, prostitution and hosts of other evils. These evils must be removed if the world is to have peace. These evils are the primary cause of troubles all over the earth. These evils promote greed and lust, increase wickedness and unrest, and destroy all hopes for peace.

You want peace. I want peace. Everyone craves for a world of peace. Mr. Muhammad says anyone who will submit to the God of Peace will have peace. Even the white man himself can prolong his time today if he will submit to the God of Peace, and give freedom, justice, and equality to the "people of God"...the so-called Negroes here in America.

The city of Nineveh in the bible to whom Jonah was sent to warn is a good prophetic example of today. They were actually spared because they repented when the warning came to them from God. God will spare our slave master today too if he will repent.

The whole dark world wants peace. When I was in Africa last year I was deeply impressed by the desire of our African Brothers for peace, but even they agree that there can be no peace without freedom from colonialism, foreign domination, oppression and exploitation.

The God of Peace and Righteousness is about to set up His kingdom of peace and righteousness here on this earth. Knowing that God is about to establish His righteous government, Mr. Muhammad is trying to clean up our morals and qualify us to enter into this new righteous nation of God.

The American so-called Negroes must recognize each other as brothers and sisters...stop carrying guns and knives to harm each other, stop drinking whiskey, taking dope, reefers, and even cigarettes. No more gambling! Save your money. Stop fornication, adultery and prostitution. Elevate the black woman; respect her and protect her. Let us rid ourselves of immoral habits and God will be with us to protect and guide us.

Then, we must form a platform that will be good for all of our own people, as well as for others. As black people we must unite. We must recognize and give intelligent active support to our political leaders who fight for us unselfishly, sincerely, and fearlessly.

But, to prove their sincerity and their right for the support of the black masses, these leaders must first display fearlessness, intelligence, and unity among themselves. They must stop their public bickering with each other. They must stop attacking each other in front of the white man, and for the benefit of the white man. If the black leaders must have differences of opinion, learn to go into the closet with each other, but when you come from behind closed doors, show a united front in the face of the one who is a common enemy to all of us.

Mr. Muhammad has invited all of the leaders here today for that purpose. He wants our people united, but unity will never exist among the black masses as long as our leaders are not united.

We want to get behind leaders who will fight for us...leaders who are not afraid to demand freedom, justice, and equality. We do not want leaders who are hand picked for us by the white man. We don't want any more Uncle Toms.

We don't want any more leaders who are puppets or parrots for the white man. We want brave leaders as our spokesmen, who are not afraid to state our case, who can intelligently demand what we need, what we want, and what is rightfully ours. We don't want leaders who are beggars, who feel they must compromise with the enemy. And we don't want leaders who are selfish or greedy...who will sell us out for a few pieces of silver.

A big election is coming up this year. What kind of leaders do we want in office? Which ones will the black masses get behind? Mr. Muhammad has thousands of followers, and millions of sympathizers. He will place his weight behind any fearless black leaders who will stand up and help the so-called American Negroes get complete and immediate freedom.

If these black leaders are afraid that to be identified with us they will irk the white man, or lose the white man's favor or his support, then they can no longer expect the support of the black masses.

They call us racial extremists. They call Jomo Kenyatta also a racial extremist and Tom Mboya a moderate. It is only the white man's fear of men like Kenyatta that makes him listen to men like Mboya. If it were not for the extremists, the white man would ignore the moderates. To be called a "moderate" in this awakening dark world today, that is crying for freedom, is to receive the "kiss of death" as spokesmen or leaders of the masses...for the masses are ready to burst the shackles of slavery whether the "moderates" will stand up or not. We have many black leaders who are unafraid, especially when they know the black masses stand behind them. Many of them are qualified to represent us not only in this United States government, but could also represent us in this government if we are given 100 per cent citizenship and the opportunity for FIRST-CLASS participation... or else we can get behind these same leaders in setting up an independent government of our own.

We, the black masses, don't want these leaders who seek our support coming to us representing a certain political party. They must come to us today as black leaders representing the welfare of black people.

We won't follow any leader today who comes on the basis of political party. Both parties, Democrat and Republican, are controlled by the same people who have abused our rights, and who have deceived us with false promises every time an election rolls around.

Mr. Muhammad grieves over the disunity that exists even among the intellectuals and professional so-called Negroes. It is these "educated" so-called Negroes who should be leading us out of this maze of misery and want. They possess the academic know-how, great amounts of technical skills...but they can't use it for the benefit of their own kind simply because they themselves are also disunited. If these intellectuals and professional so-called Negroes would unite, not only Harlem would benefit, but it will benefit our people all over the world.

Mr. Muhammad says disunity is our number one stumbling block, and this disunity exists only because we lack knowledge of SELF, our own kind. So-called Negro "intellectuals" seem to think integration is the answer. But, is it? "Integrate" means to become as one unit. How can these "intellectuals" expect the white man to accept us into his social unit, political unit, or economic unit when we are not yet in unity, as a unit, among our own kind?

We, the Muslims, are for brotherhood, but not for integration! What is the difference? Brotherhood is based on love, which automatically produces voluntary acts of sincere benevolence. But integration produces hypocrisy, It forces the white man to pose as a "liberal," to be pretensive and false. Thus, "benevolent" acts which are "forced by integration laws" are producing white hypocrites, and reducing chances of creating a "mutual working agreement" between the two races.

Your thirst for integration makes the white man think you want only to marry his daughter. We Muslims who follow Mr. Muhammad don't think God ever intended for black men to marry white women. Mr. Muhammad and his followers are violently opposed to intermarriage.

This is conveniently and purposely misinterpreted by our enemies to mean that we are anti-white, anti-Christian, and anti-American simply because we refuse to chase after the white man's women! Let the white man keep his women, and let us keep ours.

Some Negroes who love race-mixing, and want white women, are angry at Mr. Muhammad because he teaches against race-mixing...so they slip around and make the white man think we are anti-white. I'm surprised that the white man is dumb enough to believe these Uncle Toms, who stoop so low, like JUDAS, to be stool pigeons against their own kind.

We have oceans of dark people on this earth: in Africa, Asia, and even here in America. Our women are the most beautiful, like a bouquet of flowers. Why should we chase white women?

In this "changing" world today, what would we do, married to a white woman? Her people don't want you in their neighborhood around them, and our fast awakening people don't want you to bring her back into our neighborhood any more to live around us. Thus, you both become a "misfit", unwelcomed and unwanted in either society...where can you go? Because we Muslims look at this as it is and face reality does not mean we are anti-white. We don't want his white mother, his white sister, nor his white daughter. We want only an equal chance on this earth, but to have an equal chance we must have the same thing the white man himself needed before he could get this nation started...WE MUST HAVE SOME LAND OF OUR OWN!

Why do we want some land of our own? Because land is essential to freedom. How else can 20 million black people who now constitute a nation in our own right, a NATION WITHIN A NATION, expect to survive forever in a land where we are the last ones hired and the first ones fired...simply because we have no land of our own?

For over 400 years we have been very faithful to our American slave masters. Now God is warning them through Mr. Muhammad that they should be nice enough to give us some land so we can separate ourselves from them and get started for ourselves.

This is no more than what the white man should do. It is in complete accord with the Christian religion. Their bible says that when a slave is set free, his slave master should give him something to help him get started on his own...never send him away empty-handed.

If the Hebrews in the bible numbered only 600,000 in the land of their bondage, and God was concerned with giving them freedom in a land

of their own, a land "flowing with milk and honey"...then what about 20 million so-called Negroes here in America, who have the "freedom" only to look for a job?
Can you not see that our former "leaders" have been fighting for the wrong thing...the wrong kind of freedom? Mr. Muhammad says we must have some land where we can work hard for ourselves, make ourselves equal, and live in dignity. Then and only then we won't have to beg the white man for the crumbs that fall occasionally from his table. No one respects or appreciates a beggar.

Since we say Lincoln freed us, let us avail ourselves of that freedom by uniting together and doing something for our own kind. But, we must have some of this earth. We have been in America over 400 years. We have been called "free" 100 years, and yet he still calls us "the white man's burden."

We Muslims don't want to be a burden on America any longer. God has given Mr. Muhammad a divine message, program, and solution. WE MUST HAVE SOME LAND! The white man should be glad to give his loyal "slaves" some land so we can get out of his way and go for ourselves.

We will then set up our own farms, factories, businesses, and schools...and show him how much we appreciate the education he has given us, by using it to become self-sustaining...economically and otherwise.

We want some land where we can create unity, harmony and brotherhood... and live together in peace. Since America now sees that this false show of integration and intermarriage will not work, she should make immediate steps to set aside a few of these states for us, and put us there for ourselves.

If America will repent and do this, God will overlook some of our wicked deeds (as in the days of Nineveh)... but if America refuses to give Mr. Muhammad what God instructed him to ask for...then, like the biblical houses of Egypt and Babylon...slave empires of the bible...God will erase the American government and the entire race that it favors and represents, from this planet...and God will then give the whole earth back to the original owners, the black man!

# Malcolm X at Queens College (May 5, 1960)

We thank you for inviting us here today to present our views on this topic: "The Negro's Position in the Recent American Society." But, to understand our views you must first know something about our religion, Islam.

The Creator of the Universe, whom many of you call God or Jehovah, is known to the Muslims by the name Allah. Since the Muslims believe all prophets came from that one God and therefore all taught one and the same religion, rightly called Islam, which means the complete submission and obedience to Allah.

One who practices this Divine Obedience is called a Muslim, commonly known, spelled, and referred to here in the West as Moslem. There are over 600 million Muslims on this earth, predominantly in Africa and Asia, and we here in America under the Divine Guidance of Mr. Elijah Muhammad are an integral part of the vast World of Islam that stretches from the China Seas to the sunny shores of West Africa.

A unique situation faces the black man here in America because of his unique condition, thus his acceptance of Islam and into Islam affects him uniquely...differently than all other converts to Islam.

Mr. Elijah Muhammad is our Divine Leader and Teacher here in America. He believes in and obeys God 100 per cent and is teaching and working among us to fulfill God's Divine Purpose.

What is this purpose? God's purpose today, just as it was in biblical days, is the complete separation of the so-called Negroes from their slave master... as the bible says concerning today: "Let every man be under his own vine and fig tree."

The best biblical example of this is the enslavement of the Hebrews in the land of Egypt under Pharaoh...a free man and some slaves who were "strangers in a land not their own," and how Jehovah chose Moses to separate them from their slave master.

Since the slave master today declares his "former" slaves are free, Mr. Muhammad says that for the betterment of our future and that of our former slave master God has declared we also must be separated.

To many of you here in this college auditorium, this sounds ridiculous; to some it even sounds insane. But 20 million black people here in America now number a nation in their own right. Do you believe a nation within another nation can be successful, especially when they both have equal education?

Once the slave has his master's education, the slave wants to be like his master, wants to share his master's property, and wants to exercise the same privileges as his master.

This is the core of America's troubles today; and there will be no peace for America as long as 20 million so-called Negroes are here begging for the equal rights which America knows she will never grant us.

Even the limited education America has granted her ex-slaves has already produced great unrest...and Almighty God says the only way for America to ever have peace is for us to be separated from her...and therefore Mr. Muhammad teaches us that we must have some land of our own.

If we receive equal education, how long do you expect us to remain your passive servants, or second-class citizens? There is no such thing as second-class citizens. We are full citizens or we are not citizens at all!

When you teach a man the science of government he wants an equal part or position in that government or else he wants to be a master in that government himself. He demands equality with his master.

No man with equal education will serve you. The only way you can continue to rule us is with a superior knowledge, or by continuing to hold equal education from our people.

America has not given us equal education, but she has given us enough to make us want more and to make us demand equality of opportunity, which is causing great unrest. Thus, the only solution is complete separation! You believe in the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, that a great day of separation is coming, and that the knowledge of truth will cause this separation. We

are living at that time today!

You are not common people here in this college audience. You are students, scholars, professors; you have education enough to weigh current events as well as history against the truth of what Mr. Muhammad is teaching.

For over 300 years our parents served yours. During slavery our parents didn't ask your parents for civil rights. Our parents did not have enough education to do so. They were taught by their educated white masters that they were born inferiors...born to serve the whites..."superior" whites who restricted them without citizenship even after the so-called emancipation proclamation.

Today Mr. Muhammad sees nothing but the destruction of both races if they stay together. Integration will cause disintegration of both.

A child stays within the mother until the time of birth. When the time of birth arrives, the child must be separated, or it will destroy its mother and itself. The mother can't carry that child after its time.
The child wants to be free; it cries for a world of its own. If the mother will not give it up naturally, the doctors must forcibly take it from her...which sometimes causes her death. If she can set it free naturally and easily, so much the better...if not, it must be taken.

Twenty million so-called Negroes in America today number a nation within a nation and are crying for freedom. We must be freed. We must be born. We must be separated...or cause the destruction of both! Separation is the only solution today. Is this insane? Is this so ridiculous?

During slavery our parents would have been put to death for advocating integration with the white man...and now that God has declared this is the day of separation, the white man wants, or at least is talking about, integration with his ex-slave.

America can solve her present problems and avoid a worse crisis by setting up some separate states for us right here in America.

Remember the Hebrews in biblical Egypt. After their 400 years of bondage to Pharaoh were up, God had to fulfill his promise to them that he had made through Abraham...but their biblical slave master would not let them

go.

Thus it cost the slave master his own freedom, his country, and his life for opposing God's Plan to separate His people from their slave master and set them in a land of their own.

God would not have destroyed the slave master if he would have listened... but just as America is today, the biblical slave master, Pharaoh, was also too rich, too strong, and too proud to listen to Moses...whom they contemptuously looked upon only as an inarticulate ex-slave.

Mr. Muhammad is opposed today, both by his own people and by whites, simply because he advocates complete freedom, justice, and equality for America's 20 million so-called Negroes.

America is a free nation. Why should America oppose Mr. Muhammad for teaching freedom for her 20 million so-called Negroes? He is not asking for an "integrated society" which would only lead to the dreaded intermarriage with America's white sons and daughters. He is demanding complete separation where we will have complete freedom, justice, and equality in a land of our own.

And, if God is with Mr. Muhammad today to separate us and put us in a land wherein we can form our own nation equal with other civilized nations...would you want God to destroy your country like he did biblical Egypt...for opposing his divine plan?

# Bayard Rustin Debate (November, 1960)

Malcolm X: In the past two years, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has become the most talked about black man in America because he is having such miraculous success in getting his program over among the so-called Negro masses. Time magazine last year wrote that he has eliminated from among his followers alcohol, dope addiction, profanity—all of which stems from disrespect of self. He has successfully eliminated stealing and crime among his followers. Time also pointed out that he has eliminated adultery and fornication, and prostitution, making black men respect their women, something that has been characteristically absent among our men. Time also pointed out that Muslims, followers of Elijah Muhammad, have eliminated juvenile delinquency.

When you think about it, Time was giving Mr. Muhammad credit for being one of the greatest moral reformers that has appeared among the so-called Negroes yet. A few months later, U.S. News & World Report pointed out that Mr. Muhammad was successful in stressing the importance of economics. The point behind his program, farms to feed our people, factories to manufacture goods for ourselves, businesses to create jobs for ourselves, is to be economically independent rather than sit around waiting for the white man to give us jobs. What the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has been teaching is not what we have been accused of: nationalism. Nationalism is the political approach to the problems that are confronting the so-called Negro in America.

The aim of the black nationalist is the same as the aim of the Muslim. We are pointing toward the same goal. But the difference is in method. We say the only solution is the religious approach; this is why we stress the importance of a moral reformation. I would like to stress that Mr. Muhammad is not a politician. He does not believe politics is the solution to the so-called Negro's problem. It will take God. God will have to have a hand in it, because the problem of the so-called Negro is different from the problems of any other black people anywhere on this earth since the beginning of time. Every condition of the so-called Negro was preordained and prophesied. And we believe that we are living in the fulfillment of that prophecy today. We believe that our history in America, our experiences at the hands of slave masters, is in line with Biblical prophecy. And we believe

that Mr. Muhammad's presence among so- called Negroes here in America is in line with Biblical prophecies.

Host: Does this involve the creation of a separate state in America?

Malcolm X: It involves the creation of a black state for the black man if not in America then somewhere on this earth. If not abroad, then here in America. Primarily it involves acquiring some land that the black man can call his own. If the powers that be don't want it here, then they should make it possible for us to do it somewhere else.

Host: It does involve politics, then.

Malcolm X: Any religion that does not take into consideration the freedom and the rights of the black man is the wrong religion. But politics as such is not the solution. But the divine solution would have to have that ingredient in it. You can call it politics if you want, but the overall problem of the so-called Negro in America is not a political problem as such, it is an economic problem, a social problem, a mental problem, and a spiritual problem. Only God can solve the whole problem.

Bayard Rustin: I am very happy to be here and I think Malcolm X can clarify some of the questions he has brought up in my mind. I believe the great majority of the Negro people, black people, are not seeking anything from anyone. They are seeking to become full-fledged citizens. Their ancestors have toiled in this country, contributing greatly to it. The United States belongs to no particular people, and in my view the great majority of Negroes and their leaders take integration as their keyword, which means that rightly or wrongly they seek to become an integral part of the United States. We have, I believe, much work yet to do, both politically and through the courts, but I believe we have reached the point where most Negroes, from a sense of dignity and pride, have organized themselves to demand to become an integral part of all the institutions of the U.S. We are doing things by direct action which we feel will further this cause. We believe that justice for all people, including Negroes, can be achieved. This is not a unique position, and while a controversial one it is certainly not as controversial as the one Malcolm X supports. Therefore I would like to ask him this question: The logic of your position is to say to black people in this country: "We have to migrate and set up some state in Africa." It seems to me that this is where you have to come out.

Malcolm X: Well, Mr. Rustin, let me say this about "full-fledged" or as they say "first-class" citizenship. Most of the so-called Negro leaders have got the Negro masses used to thinking in terms of second-class citizenship, of which there is no such thing. We who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad believe that a man is either a citizen or he is not a citizen. He is not a citizen by degree. If the black man in America is not recognized as a first-class citizen, we don't feel that he is a citizen at all. People come here from Hungary and are integrated into the American way of life overnight, they are not put into any fourth-class or third-class or any kind of class. The only one who is put in this category is the so-called Negro who is forced to beg the white man to accept him. We feel that if 100 years after the so-called Emancipation Proclamation the black man is still not free, then we don't feel that what Lincoln did set them free in the first place.

Rustin: This is all well and good but you are not answering my question.

Malcolm X: I am answering your question. The black man in America, once he gets his so-called freedom is still 9,000 miles away from that which he can call home. His problem is different from that of others who are striving for freedom. In other countries they are the majority and the oppressor is the minority. But here, the oppressor is the majority. The white man can just let you sit down. He can find someone else to run his factories. So we don't think the passive approach can work here. And we don't see that anyone other than the so-called Negro was encouraged to seek freedom this way. The liberals tell the so-called Negro to use the passive approach and turn the other cheek, but they have never told whites who were in bondage to use the passive approach. They don't tell the whites in Eastern Europe who are under the Russian yoke to be passive in their resistance. They give them guns and make heroes out of them and call them freedom fighters. But if a black man becomes militant in his striving against oppression then immediately he is classified as a fanatic. The white man is posing as the leader of the so-called Free World, and the only way he can be accepted as the leader of the so-called Free World is to be accepted by the majority of the people on this earth, the majority of whom are not white people. And they measure him by the way he treats the non-white people here in America. This integration talk is hypocrisy, meant to impress our brothers in Africa or Asia.

Rustin: Then what you are saying is that you are opposed to integration

because it is not meaningful and can't work. If you believe that integration is not possible, then the logic of your position should be that you are seeking to find a piece of territory and go to it. Either you are advocating the continuation of slavery, since you feel we cannot get integration by the methods that I advocate, which is to say the slow, grinding process of integration, or you are proposing separation.

Malcolm X: We believe integration is hypocrisy. If the government has to pass laws to let us into their education system, if they have to pass laws to get the white man to accept us in better housing in their neighborhoods, that is the equivalent of holding a gun to their head, and that is hypocrisy. If the white man were to accept us, without laws being passed, then we would go for it.

Rustin: Do you think that is going to happen?

Malcolm X: Well, your common sense tells you, sir, that it's not going to happen.

Rustin: But if you cannot do it through the constitutional method, and you cannot do it through brotherhood, then what do you see as the future of black people here and why should they stay?

Malcolm X: As any intelligent person can see, the white man is not going to share his wealth with his ex- slaves. But God has taught us that the only solution for the ex-slave and the slave master is separation.

Rustin: Then you do believe in separation.

Malcolm X: We absolutely do believe in separation.

Rustin: Well, are you being logical by saying, "Let's take over a territory, a part of the U.S." or are you saying, "Let's go outside"?

Malcolm X: I think both are logical. The land could be anywhere. When the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that we have to have some land of our own, it means just that, that we have to have some land of our own. Now if the master's intention is good, since we have been faithful workers, I should say faithful servants, all these years, then it seems he should give us some of these states.

Rustin: All right, now it is clear that you are advocating separation.

Malcolm X: Separation not integration.

Rustin: All right, now that is clear we can put that out of the way and move on to other things. Isn't there an inconsistency in your economic position? Where are they going to move to? When Moses took his people into the desert, he had a pretty clear idea of where he was going.

Malcolm X: Well, mentioning Moses is just right. The people that Moses was leading were probably the closest parallel to the problems confronting the so-called Negro. Moses' people were slaves in a land that was not theirs. Moses' people had a slave mentality, they were worshiping a God that was not their own. The Negro in America is the same way, he worships the white man's God, and he is following the white man's religion. They are in the same fix, socially, mentally, politically, spiritually, as the people whom Moses grew up amongst, 4,000 years ago. Now, if you'll recall, Moses didn't advocate integration. Moses advocated separation. Nowhere in the Bible will you find that Moses told his people to integrate themselves with Pharaoh. His one doctrine was: let my people go. That meant separate, not seek integration in the house of bondage. It did not mean to seek the acceptance of the slave master. He said: If you follow me, I will lead you to a land flowing with milk and honey. He never told anyone where that land was. He never told the people where he was taking them, or what they would have to go through. And if you go back to that time you will see that some of them believed in him but many were afraid of the slave master. They didn't believe they could get along without Pharaoh. They didn't believe anybody would give them a job if Pharaoh didn't. They didn't believe they could have an economic system free of Pharaoh. Remember, Pharaoh himself never opposed Moses. He always got magicians to oppose Moses. And today, the modern slave master gets a lot of so-called Negro politicians to oppose Elijah Muhammad and work a lot of magic to make the so-called Negroes think he is a crazy man, just as Pharaoh had magicians to make the Hebrews think Moses was some kind of crazy man. But now let me say this: we feel the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is a modern Moses! Some people say Adam Clayton Powell is a modern Moses and some say Martin Luther King is a modern Moses, but no one can claim to be a modern Moses until he finds out what the first Moses did. And Moses never advocated integration. He advocated complete separation. And he didn't advocate passive resistance, he advocated an eye for an eye

and a tooth for a tooth. "Love your enemy": As long as you teach a man that kind of philosophy, he'll remain a slave.

Rustin: Well, I am a great advocate of nonviolence, but I think all this talk about whether to integrate or not, and getting involved in the economic life of this country might be more interesting to me if I knew where you wanted to lead people. But I don't know where you want to go. And I don't think you do, either.

Malcolm X: Yes we do. We can take some land right here, sir.

Rustin: Yes, but if you do not believe in integration, and they don't love you, do you think they are going to give you ten or twelve states?

Malcolm X: Ah, Mr. Rustin: the predicament that a man is in is what makes him reach certain decisions. America is in the worst predicament of any country in the history of the world.

Rustin: I agree.

Malcolm X: Now what is causing this predicament? The race problem. America's number one problem is the so-called Negro. What must we do? What must I do about this Negro problem? And whenever America is attacked on the race problem, what can she say?

Rustin: She can say a lot.

Malcolm X: What?

Rustin: I'll tell you what. I have spent twenty-five years of my life on the race question, and I have been twenty-two times to jail. America can say that until 1954, Negroes could not go to school with whites. Now they can. Negroes could not join trade unions, but now they can. I do not say any of this is perfect, but it is enough for America to be able to answer Russia and China and the rest on the race question and, more important, it is enough to keep the great majority of Negroes feeling that things can improve here. Until you have some place to go to, they are going to want to stay here. Now, I want to stop right here and get something clear. In Muhammad's mind, this may be a religious matter, but in the minds of his followers the Muslim movement is a psychological and political concept. They do

not read the Qur'an, they read the Bible. They are essentially, culturally, Christian, not Muslims. Why therefore do they call themselves Muslims? Because they do not want to use the same religious terminology that their masters used. Most Negroes who were brought to America came from the West coast of Africa, long before the spread of Islam to that part of Africa.

Malcolm X: That is what the white man taught you...after stripping you of your original culture. Now consider the Mali empire, this shows the influence of the Muslim religion in West Africa before the discovery of America.

Rustin: I am not putting down the culture of West Africa, I am just saying that the Islamic influence came later. All over West Africa you will find wonderful sculptures which were the sources for much twentieth century European art, notably Picasso and Cubism. Now these figures could not have been made if the influence of Islam had prevailed, because, as you ought to know, Muslims are not allowed to create figures in their art objects.

Malcolm X: let me quote from the Times last Sunday. It says that Islam is spreading like wildfire in Nigeria and Christianity is only skin-deep.

Host: Does progress involve a greater sense of racial identity?

Rustin: I believe it is very important to have a great sense of racial identity because I believe it is quite impossible for people to struggle creatively if they do not truly believe in themselves. I believe that dignity is first. This for me is doubly important because believing in integration and not being told where we are to go, I can see nothing more logical than staying here and struggling for one's rights. Also because of moral principles—but leave them aside for the moment—I can see no way for the Negro to struggle except through non-violence and a dedication to a strategic non-violence as a matter of principle. Now therefore if you are going to struggle with non-violence to a certain extent you are going to have a certain affection for the people who are mistreating you. Now affection for the other fellow is not possible without a great sense of dignity of oneself and therefore the dignity of the Negro for me is not something that is an aside. It is an essential of the struggle. The people in Montgomery were able to struggle and get integration on their buses for a simple reason: ten years before they could not have done it because they did not believe in themselves.

When they believed in themselves they could be socially affectionate to the opposition while at the same time they could be extremely militant and walking and being prepared to sacrifice, I think this is most important and I would therefore agree with Malcolm X that doing away with the ugliness resulting from poverty and their position in society is very necessary and important. We can certainly agree here. But now let me ask you another question because I want to clarify your position on the Jewish question. Where do you and your group come out on this question? I've been given to understand that your position is—particularly in Harlem—that one of the reasons that Negroes are so oppressed is that the Jews are exploiting them and that the Jews are attempting to exploit the Arab world and stir up difficulties in the Middle East. I'd like to know if this is a misunderstanding I have.

Malcolm X: If you have read what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has written and he has written much, I don't think you can find an article where he has ever pointed out the Jew as an exploiter of the black man. He speaks of the exploiter. Period. He doesn't break it down in terms of Frenchmen or an Englishmen or a Jew or a German, he speaks of the exploiter and sometimes the man who is the most guilty of exploitation will think you are pointing the finger at him and put out the propaganda that you're anti-this or anti-that, we make no distinction between exploitation and exploiter.

Rustin: Now what do you mean that the man who is the most exploited will put out propaganda?

Malcolm X: I say this that when a man puts out propaganda against Muslims usually that man feels that the finger is being pointed at him but.

Rustin: In other words, you feel that many Jews feel that way.

Malcolm X: I don't know. But I say that you cannot find anything that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has written or said that at anytime will label the Jew as an exploiter. No sir, but he speaks about the exploitation and oppression and the deception that has been used against the black people in America. Now the man that is guilty, let whoever is guilty wear that shoe. But he has never made that distinction between a Frenchman or a Jew or a German. An exploiter is an exploiter, I don't care what kind of label you put on him you can't duck it.

# Eleanor Fischer interviews Malcolm X (1961)

Eleanor Fischer: Malcolm X, the minister of the Black Muslim community in New York City and national representative of Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual leader of the Black Muslim movement. Mr. Malcolm, may I ask you to tell us something about the Black Muslim movement in America? What is it? What does it stand for?

Malcolm X: Well, it's a—number one, it primarily is a religious movement here in America that's designed to reform the black man or the so-called Negroes, reform us—reform us morally and enable us to stand on our own two feet and do something for ourselves. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, our religious leader, teaches us the importance of doing something for ourselves now, rather than trying to continue to force ourselves into the white community or upon the white man. He teaches us that if we would do something for ourselves, clean up ourselves, morally, intellectually and otherwise, and then try and do something for ourselves economically, we would be recognized and accepted by others. But as long as we try and force ourselves in upon others now, without having done nothing to prove that we are on any kind of equal basis with them, that there will always be this race tension and race problem.

Eleanor Fischer: When you say force yourselves upon others, upon the white community, how exactly do you mean that?

Malcolm X: Well, any form of integration, forced integration, any effort to force integration upon whites is actually hypocritical. It is a form of hypocrisy involved. If a white man puts his arm around me voluntarily, that's brotherhood. But if you hold a gun on him and make him embrace me and pretend to be friendly or brotherly toward me, then that's not brotherhood, that's hypocrisy. And what America is trying to do is pass laws to force whites to pretend that they want Negroes into their schools or in their places of employment.

Well, this is hypocrisy, and this makes a worse relationship between black and white, rather than if this could be brought about on a voluntary basis. So the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that what should happen is the black man himself should learn how to develop himself, in the same

sense that the white man has developed himself. Then they can both come together and recognize each other as equals.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, how can the black man develop himself as a separate society?

Malcolm X: Well, it's easy, he's separate already. The fact that you have Harlem, the fact that you have the Negro ghetto and the so-called Negro slum, he's already separate. The fact that he's a second-class citizen is a political separation. The fact that he's the last hired and the first fired, there's an economic separation. Only in this form of separation, the black man is exploited. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that we should be separate, all right, but in this separate state or separate existence, the black man should be given the opportunity and the incentive to do for himself what the white man has done for himself. If you have an all-white neighborhood you don't call it a segregated neighborhood. But you call an all-black neighborhood a segregated neighborhood. And why? Because the segregated neighborhood is the one that's controlled from the outside by others, but a separate neighborhood is a neighborhood that is independent, it's equal, it can stand on its own two feet, such as the neighborhood. It's an independent, free neighborhood, free community. They're not trying to force themselves upon anyone, socially or otherwise. But the Negro neighborhood, which is inferior, is begging for a chance to integrate itself into that which is superior, which is not going to happen. It's going to cause trouble.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, in other words then, you think the Negro has first to raise himself to a status of equality with the white community.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Eleanor Fischer: Now, what happens—assuming that he can do that, would you then be in favor of integration, let's say, in the schools or anyplace else?

Malcolm X: When you are equal with another person, the problem of integration doesn't even arise. It doesn't come up. The Chinese in this country aren't asking for integration. The Japanese aren't asking for integration. The only minority in America that's asking for integration is the so-called Negro, primarily because he is inferior, not inherently inferior, but he's economically, socially, politically inferior. And this exists

because he has never tried to stand on his own two feet and do something for himself. He has filled the role of a beggar.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, how can a minority group in this country, so-called, stand on its own two feet?

Malcolm X: Well, I can give you this example, by explaining the difference between segregation and separation. Segregation is that which is forced upon an inferior by a superior. Separation is done voluntarily by two equals. If I have children and they live in my house, I care for them, they're dependent upon me. And their dependence upon me puts me in a position to regulate their lives, control their lives, tell them where to go, where they can't go. That's a form of segregation. But when those children become of age and they think they're equal with me, they leave my home. And when they leave my home and begin to set up a home for themselves, provide clothing, food and shelter for themselves, that makes them independent of me. It puts them out of my jurisdiction. And the fact that they can do for themselves, that which I have done for myself, makes me have to recognize that they are equals with me. And now, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the black man in America, for the past 400 years, has been like a boy in the white man's house, begging the white man for a job, for food, clothing and shelter. And then after the white man provides him with all of these things, he turns around and get—has the nerve to get angry at the white man when the white man tries to
control his life.

Eleanor Fischer: But how, from a practical point of view, can the Negro be self-sufficient?

Malcolm X: The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says number one, he must have a knowledge of himself. And this gives him confidence in himself. He has been brainwashed by the educational system that exists here in America to the point where he feels he was a savage in the jungle before he was brought here. And this destroys his morale. So, the number one thing that has to be done, he has to be retaught, be given—he has to be re-educated and made to know that he's a man, like anyone else, and then he can stand on his own two feet, like others have done. I might add, the whites who came here only, say, 50 years ago as immigrants have come into this country, they have set up businesses. They've developed these businesses into an industry. Some of them came here as poor immigrants,

uneducated. And yet today they're economically independent. Now, the black man here was so-called freed by Lincoln 100 years ago. The black man in America has a purchasing power of 20 billion dollars now, and he's educated. If the white man can come here uneducated and as an immigrant, and within 10 or 15 years set up an industry that provides job opportunities and educational opportunities for black people, then if the black man, the black leadership, who has access to all of this money and has all of these degrees today, can't use his talent and his know-how to set up business opportunities, job opportunities, housing opportunities for the black people the same as the white leaders have done for white people, then these black leaders need to get off the boat. They're not leading our people toward any kind of independence, but they're using their positions and their education and their talent to exploit our people worse than the slave master did during slavery.

Eleanor Fischer: Are you advocating a state within a state for the Negro community?

Malcolm X: Not a state within a state, but the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is saying that the black man, since the white man, has found it impossible to bring about integration, other than on a token basis, and which proves that the two of us, the ex-slave and the master, can't live in the same house as equals. And, at the same time, then what Mr. Muhammad says is, they should take their Navy and their Merchant Fleet and ship us back where they got us. And that's not deportation, that's returning stolen property to its proper owner. Now, since the government doesn't want to do that, then they—and they have already proven that they can't bring about peaceful relations on an integrated basis in this country, give us some separate territory in this country where our people can go and do something for ourselves and provide us with everything that we need to keep that new territory going, until we are self-sufficient. And this should not be too hard to understand that the government should do it, because if this government can send 20 billion dollars to Latin America to some peasants who have never fought for this country or worked for this country and is sending hundreds of millions of dollars to Africa and Asia to try and buy friendship of people who will never be friendly toward them, then they should be even more quick to spend some—whatever amount of money is necessary, to get inside of their house straight, before it's too late. So we don't think that we're begging for anything. We think we're demanding what is ours by right. And all we're asking for is an

opportunity to do something for ourselves, rather than to sit around as a beggar, begging for jobs and begging for education from someone else for the rest of our lives.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, many sociologists say that the reason why the Negro in the United States is, quote, 'inferior,' unquote, if you want to use that expression, is because of what the white man has done with segregation. And they, therefore, see the answer to the dilemma to be in doing away with segregation and everything that this implies. Now, apparently, your philosophy is the complete antithesis of this particular idea.

Malcolm X: Well, I don't know whether you would call it the antithesis. We're primarily interested in solving the problem of 20 million black people. And if integration is going to solve the problem tomorrow, then let's integrate. But since the Supreme Court issued its desegregation decision seven years ago, and you only have about six or seven percent integration now, on an educational level, that means that the black man trying to use integration as a means of solving his problem will be another 100 years just getting integration on an educational level. And what the white man in America needs to realize is there's a new thinking among black people today which makes them not willing to sit around and wait for five years to get this problem solved, much less a hundred years. And since integration is so slow, and the white man knows the problem must be solved, the only thing that he can do tomorrow is separate, because we're already separated.

Eleanor Fischer: Mr. Malcolm, what do you think of Martin Luther King?

Malcolm X: I think that any black man who teaches black people to turn the other cheek and suffer peacefully after they've been turning the cheek and suffering peacefully for 400 years in a land of bondage, under the most cruel, inhuman and wicked slave master that any people have ever been under, he is doing those people an injustice, and he's a traitor to his own people. Nobody should teach the black man in America to turn the other cheek, unless someone is teaching the white man in America to turn the other cheek. And no one should advocate any peaceful suffering to black people, unless the white man is going to practice the same kind of peaceful suffering. What Martin Luther King is doing is disarming the black people of America of their God-given right and of their natural right. And the law of nature gives a man the right to defend himself when he's attacked. And

God's law itself gives a man the right to defend himself when he's attacked. So, peaceful suffering and passive resistance and all of that stuff is all right maybe in India somewhere, where the people in India outnumber the whites—about a million to one. But here in America, when you tell a—that's like an elephant sitting down on a mouse—in India with Gandhi. But in America you have the mouse now trying to sit down on the elephant, thinking that he's going somewhere. And it's absurd.

Eleanor Fischer: Don't you think that perhaps the idea of non-violent resistance is a tactic which disarms the white community as much, if not more, than it does the Negro?

Malcolm X: No. You don't disarm any white community by confining yourself to any particular method. If you want freedom, then you should get freedom like Patrick Henry said, by whatever method is necessary. If you are not willing to pay the price for freedom, you don't deserve freedom.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, it seems to me that, actually, the basis of distinction here is one, the distinction of goals. Dr. King's goals are quite different from yours. He believes in integration—

Malcolm X: Well—

Eleanor Fischer:—complete integration in society. Right?

Malcolm X: No, well that's where Dr. King is mixed up. His goals should be the solution of the problem of the black man in America, now. Not integration. Integration is the method toward obtaining that goal. And what the Negro leader has done is gotten himself wrapped up in the method and has forgotten what the goal is. The goal is the dignity of the black man in America. He wants respect as a human being. He wants recognition as a human being. Now, if integration will get him that, all right. If segregation will get him that, all right. If separation will get him that, all right. But after he gets integration and he still doesn't have this dignity and this recognition as a human being, then his problem is still not solved.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, isn't this exactly what Dr. King is looking towards, and that is the day when the Negro will be treated with dignity? Wasn't

this, after all, a result of the Montgomery bus boycott?

Malcolm X: No, because I don't think you can— having an opportunity to ride either on the front or the back or in the middle of someone else's bus doesn't dignify you. When you have your own bus, then you have dignity. When you have your own school, you have dignity. When you have your own country, you have dignity. When you have something of your own, you have dignity. But whenever you are begging for a chance to participate in that which belongs to someone else, or use that which belongs to someone else, on an equal basis with the owner, that's not dignity. That's ignorance. If I may add, for instance, King and these others will say that they are fighting for the Negro to have equal job opportunity. How can a group of people, such as our people, who own no factories, have equal job opportunities competing against the race that owns the factories? The only way the two can have equal job opportunities is if black people have factories as white people have factories. And then we can employ whites or we can employ blacks, just like they can employ whites or they can employ blacks. But as long as the factories are in the hands of the whites, the housing is in the hands of the whites, the school system is in the hands of the whites, you have a situation where the blacks are constantly begging the whites: can they use this or can they use that. That's not any kind of equality of opportunity, nor does it lend toward one's dignity.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, would you not admit that the situation in the South today for the Negro is better than it was, let's say, 10 years ago?

Malcolm X: No, because 10 years ago the black man knew what his condition was and today, because of the world revolution that's taking place all over this earth, the black man would be fighting for what he knows is his by right, but the movement on the part of King and the others had done nothing but slow down the militancy that is inherent in the nature of the black man. All over this world people are standing up for freedom. In this country, these Negro leaders have Negroes sittin'—sitting down, thinking that there's dignity towards sitting in. I might add, ma'am, how in the world can you say, or can anyone say, that it will dignify the American Negro to beg in or wait in or plead in when the people in Hungary didn't beg in? They were freedom fighters. And they fought for their freedom. And they came to this country and they were Hungarians, they were Communists from a Communist country. And right now those Hungarian freedom fighters can get jobs that student sit-ins can't get. They can go and sleep

and live in hotels that Martin Luther King himself can't live in. So they are recognized and respected because they are fighters, not because they are sit-iners or freedom riders.
Eleanor Fischer: Well, would you advise the Negro in the South then to take up arms and get control of the factories this way?

Malcolm X: No, no. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us the religion of Islam, which is a religion of peace. And he says that the way to solve this problem is for the white man to give us some territory of our own. And then our people—we have technical know-how, we have agricultural know-how, we have been working for the white man in his business. In every phase of his government we work. And instead of working for him and helping him hold up a government that continues to suppress us socially and exploit us economically and oppress us politically, let us go and enter our own territory and use our own talents to uplift ourselves by our own bootstraps. And then he will recognize us for what we are.

Eleanor Fischer: Yes, but suppose you don't get this territory, which seems quite likely, then what are you going to do? How are you going to accomplish your goals?

Malcolm X: No, that's not our problem, that's America's problem. If the average American knew the trouble that Uncle Sam is in all over this earth, they could see that we are closer toward getting a separate territory in this country than the integrationists are toward getting integration. You have a race problem that must be solved, or else you will alienate every non-white person on this earth within the next few years, or within the next few months. Uncle Sam right now is forcing integration only because he's trying to impress the people abroad that he's morally qualified to be the leader of the world. And if he can't do this, then it will alienate them. And all of the hundreds of millions of dollars or billions of dollars that he has sent abroad trying to buy the friendship of the dark world will go right down the drain. He's not sending 20 billion dollars to South America because he loves those people down here. He's sending it to them because he needs their friendship, he needs their allegiance. And why should he send 20 billion dollars down there, which is going to go down the drain every time you have a racial incident in this country? Solve the race problem here, and once you solve the race problem here, you don't have to send these billions of dollars abroad.

Eleanor Fischer: Mr. Malcolm, how many adherents does your movement have, about?
Malcolm X: I've never heard the Honorable Elijah Muhammad say how many there are. But I think as an intelligent person you would agree that when you are teaching among oppressed people that they should be relieved of their oppression not 100 or 10 years from now, but right now, you're going to find your talk is going to fall upon sympathetic ears.

Eleanor Fischer: Then you feel that you have many more supporters than, let's say, figures that once were printed in The New York Times, would indicate.

Malcolm X: The main part of the tree is the root, and the root is always beneath the ground. It never is brought out into the light.

Eleanor Fischer: Would you say then that the average Negro, particularly in the South, who, we are told, follows and believes in Dr. King's philosophy, really does not believe in this philosophy, at least deep down in his heart, and would be just as willing to follow you?

Malcolm X: Well, all you have to do is go back to slavery days, and there were two types of slaves, the house slave and the field slave. The house slave was the one who believed in the master, who had confidence in the master and usually was very friendly with the master. And usually he was also used by the master to try and keep the other slaves pacified. And the other slaves in the field never let that house slave know what they were really thinking. If the house slave said, well one of these days all of us will live in the plantation, they said, uh huh. They went along with him. But if you came up to them and said, let's go, they would be gone just like that. And in America you have the same situation now. You have the vast masses who are still slaves. Then you have the upper class Negroes who are the modern day Uncle Toms or the 20th century Uncle Toms. They don't wear a handkerchief anymore. They wear top hats. They're called Doctor, they're called Reverend, but they play the same role today that Uncle Tom played on the plantation.

Eleanor Fischer: Are you likening Dr. King to the house slave of slavery days?

Malcolm X: If you read the history of slavery and see the part that the Uncle Tom played in the plantation, and then you see how the white man today has changed his tactics, but he still occupies the same position, in that same context you find Uncle Tom. He has changed his tactics but he still occupies the same position. His job is to pacify the slaves, keep them willing to suffer peacefully, keep them willing to love their enemy and to pray for those who use them despitefully. That's the same thing that Uncle Tom did on the plantation before Lincoln issued the so-called Emancipation Proclamation.

Eleanor Fischer: And do you think that's what King is doing today?

Malcolm X: Well, if he fills that role, he fills that role. I don't know—I have no thinking on the matter. But he's teaching the black people to suffer peacefully, patiently, until the white man makes up his mind that you're a human being the same as he. But the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching the black man, you're a human man right now. All you have to do is dignify yourself. You don't have to wait for any white man to recognize you. Recognize yourself. Love each other. Practice harmony and brotherhood among your own kind. Do something for yourself, and then you will be recognized by the entire world as a man who has done for himself what others have done for themselves.

Eleanor Fischer: Do you think that Dr. King is sincere in what he's saying and doing, or do you think perhaps that he's being rather opportunistic in his own way, but his way just happens to be wrong?

Malcolm X: He's wrong, and I'm inclined to believe that most Negro leaders, professional Negroes are professional Negroes. Being a Negro is their professional, and being a leader is their profession. And usually they say exactly what the white man wants to hear them say. They never let the white man know exactly what black people are thinking, period. And most of them whose existence or whose position of leadership depends upon the subsidy or crumbs from the white man's table, will only say what that white man wants to hear. When they get behind the door they talk a different language. And I think that they do the white man more harm and do America more harm than the Muslims do who let the white man know exactly what we think and what black people think, in general.

Eleanor Fischer: Is there any leadership in the Negro community, outside

that of the Black Muslim movement, which you would approve of?

Malcolm X: Whoever is standing up telling the white man that his position is unjust and that the black people should not have to wait for any Supreme Court, Congress or Senate to legislate, or even the president to issue any kind of a proclamation to better the condition of our people, if a Negro leader is standing up, making that point clear, then he's all right with us. But as long as he's making the white man think that our people are satisfied to sit in his house and wait for him to correct these conditions, he is misrepresenting the thinking of the black masses, and he's doing the white man a disservice because he's making the white man be more complacent than he would be if he knew the dangerous situation that is building up right inside his own house. A cat that's inside of your house that is angry and dissatisfied and hostile is more dangerous to you than a full-grown lion is on the outside.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, you know, getting back to the philosophical point you made there about acceptance, this is one of the arguments that the white community down South gives to the Negroes who claim that they want certain rights, that it's fine to go to schools and to even sit at lunch counters together, but this question of social equality and social acceptance, actually, is something else, again. The whites don't want it, and you don't want it. Now, where is the difference? Aren't you taking that position in reverse?

Malcolm X: Don't say...don't say the whites down South. Whites up North. There's no difference between whites in the South and whites in the north. Only the whites in the South aren't hypocritical about it. You don't find any more inter...there is just as much social intermixing in the South as there is in the North. Only in the South they let you know where they stand, and in the North they take a hypocritical approach or attitude or reaction. And I think, again, that that does the whole problem a disservice. It's not a case of our wanting to mix socially with whites. What does a black man look like begging for a cup of coffee in a white restaurant, and doesn't have a job to pay for it when he does get the coffee? It's putting the cart before the horse. Instead of the Negro leaders having the black man begging for a chance to dine in white restaurants, the Negro leader should be showing the black man how to do something to strengthen his own economy, to give himself an independent economy or to provide job opportunities for himself, not begging for a cup of coffee in a white man's restaurant.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, you take a situation like that which exists in Atlanta. Now, here, it would seem to me, would be an ideal illustration of your point. In Atlanta you have some of the wealthiest Negroes in the United States. They own insurance companies, banks, beautiful homes. They have their own restaurants, nightclubs. They have some of the best schools that are all-Negro schools. Do you really think that this makes them any better off? Do you think that this gives them any more dignity? I mean, isn't this the goal towards which you are reaching?

Malcolm X: Yes, this is the goal, the goal in part, but not only do we want our own community, we want our own land, period, the same as the Jews were never satisfied until they had Israel. They wanted a country that they could point toward and a flag that they could point toward. This doesn't mean that they even went to Israel, but this gave them prestige, it gave them dignity. It gave them something to back them up. And the black man in America's position is parallel with that of the Jews, especially when the Jews were in bondage under Pharaoh. And at no time did Moses in the Bible ever try and integrate the Hebrews into the Egyptian society or accept any hypocritical offers made by the slave master of that day. Moses taught complete separation and a land of their own flowing with milk and honey. He didn't teach them anything about any heaven up in the sky, but the only thing that would solve their problem is a land of their own. And the black man in America is the same as the Jews were in bondage under Pharaoh. We are strangers in a land that is not ours. We are rejected by this type of modern Pharaoh or Pharaoh-nic society. And the only way that we are going to solve our problem is to do the same thing today that the Hebrews did under Pharaoh, strike out for ourselves into some land—into a land of our own where we can build a tabernacle to our own God, like the Hebrews did back there. But as long as we sit around here trying to pray to the white man's God and go to the white man's church and into the white man's school, we'll be brainwashed by the white man, the educational system, and we'll continue to look down upon ourselves and we'll continue to be a beggar to him, because we'll continue to think that he's superior to us.

Eleanor Fischer: Do you think Muhammad is the natural God of the Negro, the American Negro?

Malcolm X: No, we don't look upon Muhammad as God. We look upon...

just like the Hebrews didn't look upon Moses as God, they looked upon Moses as their leader. But Moses was God's spokesman. And we who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad don't look upon him as God, we look upon him as God's spokesman. We look upon him as God's representative, as a messenger from God. And the message that he has for us is the same as the message that Moses had for the Hebrews, not integration, 'cause he told Pharaoh, "let my people go," which means separate. And the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, whom we look upon as a modern Moses, has the same type of message for us today. We don't look upon Martin Luther King as any Moses, because Moses never—not a modern Moses or an ancient Moses—because King is advocating love your enemy, Moses didn't say love your enemy. King is advocating turn the other cheek, Moses didn't advocate turn the other cheek. Moses told those slaves how to defend themselves. And he taught the slaves how to defend themselves. And had Moses not taught the Hebrews how to defend themselves against their enemies, why those Hebrews would be getting lynched and they'd be second-class citizens and segregated and Jim Crowed, the same as everybody else—the same as the so-called Negro in America is right to this very day.

Eleanor Fischer: Well, and the question there again then comes down to violence. Now, what would you do in a situation in the South, let's say, if there was a lynching? Would you, as a Negro, take a gun and go after the white person who...

Malcolm X: We would do the same thing that America did when Pearl Harbor was attacked. America defended itself. They said praise the Lord, but they passed the ammunition. And this is a God-given right of any man. Anytime you have a man who is getting lynched, and what are his people supposed to do? Sit around and forgive the lyncher or wait on the United States government to go in and get the lyncher, like the United States government did in the case of Charles Mack Parker, and the FBI found who were the guilty lynchers, and right to this day, the FBI, the highest law enforcement body in the land, has yet to bring the lynchers of Mack Parker to justice? No, if the government can't give the black man justice, then it's time for the black man to get some justice for himself, with the help of his God. This doesn't mean that he's advocating violence. Can you tell—can you accuse me, if a man is putting a rope around my neck, of being violent, when I violently struggle against this lyncher to try and keep him from putting a rope around my innocent neck? Why, you'd be insane to call

me violent. But this is what you're doing. This is what the white person in America is doing, when the Muslim says that the black man should defend himself. No, it's the white man who is the one who is being violent. And the government is responsible for the violence, as long as they don't stop it. And if we have to get violent to protect ourselves, then it's the government that should be charged with the crime, because we're only upholding a law that they've been unable to uphold

Eleanor Fischer: And I take it you would approve of the tactics of Robert Williams, the Southern NAACP leader, who—I think he was from where, North or South Carolina? North Carolina, yeah.

Malcolm X: I don't know too much about his tactics, but if he was trying to defend himself, he was within his God-given rights and within—and he was also within his natural right, because the first law of nature is self-preservation. And Martin Luther King has made the Negro in America unnatural. He has taken away from the Negro his God-given right to defend himself. He has them going through—I looked on the television the other night and saw them beating a Negro unmercifully in Mississippi. And this is the result of a brainwashing technique that a certain power structure in the American government has paid these Negro integrationist leaders to perpetuate among our people. But it's not a good thing, and it will never solve our problem.

Eleanor Fischer: Thank you very much Mr. Malcolm.

# Malcolm X at Harvard Law School Forum (March 24, 1961)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. We thank you for inviting us here to the Harvard Law School Forum this evening to present our views on this timely topic: The American Negro, Problems and Solutions. But to understand our views, the views of the Black Muslims, you must first realize that we are a religious group, and you must also know something about our religion, the religion of Islam.

The Creator of the Universe, whom many of you call God or Jehovah, is known to the Muslims by the name Allah. Since the Muslims believe there is but one God, and that all the prophets came from this one God, we believe also that all prophets taught the same religion, and that they themselves called that religion Islam, an Arabic word that means the complete submission and obedience to the will of Allah.

One who practices this Divine Obedience is called a Muslim (commonly known, spelled, and referred to here in the West as Moslem). There are over 725 million Muslims on this earth, predominantly in Africa and Asia, the non-white world...and we here in America who are under the Divine Leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, are an integral part of the vast World of Islam that stretches from the China Seas to the sunny shores of West Africa.

A unique situation faces the 20 million ex-slaves here in America because of our unique condition, thus our acceptance of Islam, and into Islam, affects us uniquely...differently than all other Muslim "converts" anywhere else on this earth.

Mr. Elijah Muhammad is our Divine Leader and Teacher here in America. Mr. Muhammad believes in and obeys God 100 per cent, and is teaching and working among our people to fulfill God's Divine Purpose today.

I am here at this Harvard Law School Forum this evening to represent Mr. Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual head of the fastest-growing group of Black Muslims in the Western Hemisphere.

We who follow Mr. Muhammad know that he has been divinely taught

and sent to us by God Himself. We believe that the miserable plight of the 20 million black people in America is the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We believe that the serious race problem that our presence here poses for America is also the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We also believe that the presence today in America of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, his teachings among the 20 million so-called Negroes, and his naked warning to America concerning her treatment of these 20 million ex-slaves is all the fulfillment of divine prophecy.

Therefore, when Mr. Muhammad declares that the only solution to America's serious race problem is complete separation of the two races, he is fulfilling that which was predicted by all of the biblical prophets to take place in this day.

But, because Mr. Muhammad takes this uncompromising stand, those of you who don't understand biblical prophecy wrongly label him as a racist, a hate teacher, or of being anti-white, and of teaching black supremacy.

But, this evening, we are all here at the Harvard Law School Forum together: both races, face to face. During the next few moments we can question and examine for ourselves the wisdom or the folly of what Mr. Muhammad is teaching.

Many of you who classify yourselves as "white" express surprise and shock at this truth that Mr. Muhammad is teaching among your 20 million ex-slaves here in America, but you should be neither surprised nor shocked.

As students, scholars, professors and scientists you should be well aware that we are living in a world and at a time when great changes are taking place. New ideas are replacing the old ones. Old governments are collapsing, and new nations are being born. The entire "old system" which has held the Old World together has lost its effectiveness, and now that Old World is going out. A new system or New World must replace the Old World.

Just as the old ideas must be removed to make way for the new, God has declared to Mr. Muhammad that the evil features of this wicked Old World must be exposed, faced up to, and removed in order to make way for the New World that God Himself is getting ready to establish.

The Divine Mission of Mr. Muhammad here in America today is to prepare us for this New World of Righteousness, by delivering to us a message that will give us a better understanding of this Old World's many defects, and then we will all agree that God must remove this wicked Old World.

We see by reports in the daily press that even many of you who are scholars and scientists think that this message of Islam that is being taught here in America among your 20 million ex-slaves is "new," or that it is something Mr. Muhammad himself has made up.

Mr. Muhammad's religious message is not "new." All of the scientists and prophets of old predicted that a man such as he, with a doctrine or message such as this that Mr. Muhammad is spreading among your 20 million ex-slaves, would make his appearance among us at a time such as we are living in today.

It is also written in your own scriptures that this prophetic figure would not be raised up from the midst of the educated class, but that God would make His choice of a man from among the lowly, uneducated, downtrodden and oppressed masses, among the lowest element of America's 20 million ex-slaves.

Just as it was in the days when God raised up Moses from among the lowly Hebrew slaves, and missioned him to separate his oppressed people from a slave master named Pharaoh, and Moses found himself opposed by the scholars and scientists of that day, who are symbolically described in the bible as "Pharaoh's Magicians," and just as Jesus, himself a lowly carpenter, was also missioned by God in that day to find his people...the "lost sheep"... and separate them from their Gentile enemies, and restore them back among their own people, Jesus also found himself opposed by the scholars and scientists of his day, who are symbolically described in the bible as "scribes, priests, and pharisees."

Just as the learned class of those days disagreed and opposed both Moses and Jesus primarily because of their humble origin and status, today Mr. Elijah Muhammad is likewise being opposed by the learned, educated intellectuals from among his own kind primarily because of his humble origin and status in their eyesight, and efforts are made by these modem-day "magicians, scribes, and Pharisees" to ridicule Mr. Muhammad by magnifying the humble origin of his many followers.

Moses was raised up among his enslaved people at a time when God was planning to remove the power of the slave master and bring about a great change by placing the slaves in a land of their own where they could give birth to a "New Civilization," completely independent of their former slave master. Pharaoh opposed God's plan and God's servant, so Pharaoh and his people were destroyed.

Jesus was sent among his people again at a time when God was planning to bring about a great change. The new dispensation preached by Jesus 2,000 years ago ushered in a new type of civilization, the Christian civilization, better known as the Christian world.

The Holy Prophet Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, came 600 years after Jesus with another dispensation that did not destroy or remove the Christian civilization, but it did put a dent in it, a wound that has lasted even until today.

Now today, God has sent Mr. Elijah Muhammad among the downtrodden and oppressed so-called American Negroes to warn us that God is again about to bring about another great change...only this time, it will be a Final Change! This is the day and the time for a Complete Change.

Mr. Muhammad is teaching that the religion of Islam is the only solution to the problems confronting our people here in America, but he also warns us that it is even more important for us to know the base or foundation of that which we must build upon tomorrow.

Therefore, the way in which Mr. Muhammad teaches us the religion of Islam, and the particular kind of Islam he teaches us, may appear to be different from that which is taught in the Old World of Islam, but the basic principles and practices are the same.

You must remember: the condition of America's 20 million ex-slaves is uniquely pitiful. But, just as the old religious leaders in the days of Moses and Jesus refused to accept Moses and Jesus as religious reformers, today many of the religious leaders in the Old Muslim World may also refute the teachings of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, not realizing the unique condition of these 20 million ex-slaves, and by not understanding that Mr. Elijah Muhammad's teachings are divinely prescribed to rectify the miserable

condition of our oppressed people here, but as God made Pharaoh's Magicians bow before Moses, and the Scribes and Pharisees bow before Jesus, it is God's plan today to make all opposition, both at home and abroad, bow before this truth that is now being taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

We are 4,000 years from the time of that great change which took place in Moses' day. We are 2,000 years from the time of that great change that took place in Jesus' day, and if you will but look around you on this earth today it will be as clear as the five fingers on your hand that we are again living at the time of a great change right now.

God has come to close out the entire Old World, the Old World in which for the past 6,000 years practically the entire earth has been deceived, conquered, colonized, ruled, enslaved, oppressed and exploited by the Caucasian race.

When Pharaoh's civilization had reached its peak, and his time to rule over the slaves was up, God appeared unto Moses and revealed to him that He had something different for his people. Likewise, God has told Mr. Muhammad that He has something different for his People, the so-called Negroes, here in America today, something that up until now has never before been revealed. Mr. Muhammad teaches us that this Old World has seen nothing yet, the real thing is yet to come.

The Black Muslims who follow Mr. Muhammad are not only making our exit out of the door of the Old World, but the door to the New World is yet to be opened and what is inside that door is yet to be revealed.

This present teaching of Mr. Muhammad among your 20 million ex-slaves is only to prepare us to walk out of this wicked Old World in as intelligent, pleasant, and peaceful a way as is possible.

This present teaching among the so-called American Negroes is designed only to show proof to us why we should give up this wicked Old House. The roof is leaking; the walls are collapsing, and we find it is no longer able to support the tremendous weight caused by our continued presence in it.

And since the knowledge of the deterioration and eventual collapse of this Old Building has come to Mr. Muhammad from Almighty God Himself,

whose proper name is Allah, the Lord of all the Worlds, the Master of the Judgment Day, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is pointing these dangerous present conditions and future events out to you who have enslaved us, as well as to us.

With the proper support and guidance our people can get out of this sagging Old Building before it collapses.

But this support and guidance that we need actually consists of being taught: a thorough knowledge of the origin, history and nature of the Caucasian race, as well as a thorough knowledge of our own black nation. We must have a knowledge of the true origin and history and the white man's Christian religion, as well as an understanding of the Islamic religion that prevails primarily among our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia.

You will probably ask us: Why then, if this Old House is going to collapse or go up in smoke, are the Black Muslims asking for some states to be set aside for us right here in this country. It's like asking for a chance to retain rooms in a house that you claim is doomed for total destruction?

God is giving America every opportunity to repent and atone for the crime she committed when she enslaved our people, just as God gave Pharaoh a chance to repent before He finally destroyed him because he was too proud to free his slaves and give them complete justice.

We are asking you for territory here only because of the great opposition we receive from this government in our efforts to awaken our people, unite them, separate them from their oppressors, and return them to our own land and people.

You should never make the drastic mistake of thinking that Mr. Muhammad has no place to take his followers in the World of Islam. No sir! He is not shut out there like many of you wish to believe. All who accept Islam and follow him have been offered a home in the Muslim World.

Our people have been oppressed and exploited here in America for 400 years, and now with Mr. Muhammad we can leave this wicked land of bondage, but our former slave master is yet opposing his efforts and is unjustly persecuting his followers who have left the Christian church and

accepted the religion of Islam. This is further proof that our Caucasian slave master does not want us or trust us to leave him and live elsewhere on this earth, and yet if we stay here among them he continues to keep us at the very lowest level of his society.

Pick up any daily paper or magazine and examine the anti-Muslim propaganda and the false charges leveled against our beloved religious leader by some of America's leading reporters. This only points up the fact that the Caucasian race is never willing to let any black man who is not their puppet or parrot speak for our people or lead our people out of their enslaving clutches without giving him great opposition.

The Caucasian slave master has opposed all such leaders in the past, and even today he sanctions and supports only those Negro spokesmen who parrot his doctrines, his ideas or those who accept his so-called "advice" on how our people should carry on our struggle against his 400 years of tyranny.

The Christian world has failed to give the black man justice. This Christian government has failed to give 20 million ex-slaves justice for our 310 years of free slave labor. Despite this, we have been better Christians even than those who taught us Christianity. We have been America's most faithful servants during peace time, and her bravest soldiers during war time. And still, white Christians have been unable to recognize us and accept us as fellow human beings. Today we can see that the Christian religion of the Caucasian race has failed us. Thus the black masses are turning away from the church back to the religion of Islam.

The government sends its agents among our people to tell lies: they have a well-organized all-out effort to harass them, in an effort to frighten those of our people in this country who wish to accept the religion of Islam, and unite under the spiritual guidance and divine leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

Therefore, Mr. Muhammad has declared to you, and to your government, that if you don't want your 20 million ex-slaves to leave you and return to our own land and people and since your actions have proved that the Caucasian race will not accept these 20 million ex-slaves here among them as complete equals, then let us separate ourselves from you right here, into a separate territory that we can call our own, and on which we can do something for ourselves and for our own kind.

Since we cannot live among the Caucasians in peace, and there is not enough time left for us to wait for the Caucasian race to be "re-educated" and freed of their racial prejudices, and their inbred beliefs and practices of white supremacy...I repeat: Let our people be separated from you, and give us some territory here that we can call our own, and live in peace among ourselves.

According to recent news dispatches appearing in daily papers throughout this nation: in prisons all over the country the wardens are unjustly persecuting the inmates who want to change from the Christian religion and accept the religion of Islam and follow the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

These prison wardens even admit that when the inmates change from Christianity to Islam they become model prisoners, but despite this they are being persecuted and prevented from reading the Holy Qur'an, the same Holy Book that is read daily by hundreds of millions of our darker brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia.

When the true facts about this religious persecution are made known among the 725 million Muslims in the World of Islam, that strategic area that stretches from the China Seas to the shores of West Africa, how do you think the American Caucasians will then look in the eyes of those non-white people there?

The very fact that there is a concerted effort against Islam by wardens across the country is proof that the American government is trying to stamp out the religion of Islam here in a frantic effort to keep it from spreading among her 20 million ex-slaves whom she continues to confine to the lowly role of second-class citizenship.

Further proof of this is the fact that these 20 million so-called Negroes have never even been taught about the religion of Islam during the entire 400 years since the Caucasian first brought our people here away from our African Muslim culture in chains, and despite the fact that Islam is, and always has been, the prevailing religion among our people in Africa.

Now the American Caucasian, in a last act of desperation, is accusing Mr. Muhammad of not being a true Muslim, and of not teaching true Islam.

If the American Caucasian knows so much about true Islam, and has suddenly become such an authority on it, why hasn't he taught it to his 20 million ex-slaves before now?

Also, the American Caucasian today loves to print glaring headlines saying that the orthodox Muslims don't recognize or accept Mr. Muhammad and his Black Muslims as true Muslims.

"Divide and rule" has long been the Caucasian strategy to continue their colonization of dark people. The American Caucasian actually has colonized 20 million black people here in this country Simply by dividing us from our African brothers and sisters for 400 years, converting us to his Christian religion, and then by teaching us to call ourselves "Negroes" and telling us we were no longer African.

As hundreds of thousands of the ex-slaves here in America today refuse to attend the church of the Caucasians who enslaved us, shunning all further use of the word "Negro," and because we are accepting Allah as our God, Islam as our religion, and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as our religious leader and teacher, now the Americans who enslaved us are reverting back to the old trick of their fellow colonialists, "divide and rule", by trying to separate us from the Muslim World, thinking that they can in this way alienate us from our people in Africa and Asia who also serve and follow Almighty God, Allah.

There are probably 100,000 of what you call orthodox Muslims in America, who were born in the Muslim World, and who willingly migrated here. But, despite the fact that Islam is a propagating religion, all of those foreign Muslims combined have not been successful in converting 1,000 Americans to Islam.

On the other hand, they see that Mr. Muhammad, all by himself, has hundreds of thousands of his fellow ex-slaves turning Eastward toward Mecca five times daily giving praises to the Great God Allah.

No true Muslim, in his right mind, would denounce or deny this meek and humble little black man, who was himself born in Georgia, the very worst part of this country, as a leader, a defender of the faith, a propagator of the faith, who has rekindled the light of Islam here in the West.

His Caucasian opposers have never gotten even one responsible Muslim official to criticize or denounce Mr. Muhammad. They succeed only in getting some jealous or envious little peddler or merchant who migrated here and wants to be recognized as some sort of leader himself, and who will therefore accept the Caucasian's thirty pieces of silver to attack this man of God.

How would Mr. Muhammad ever make a trip into the forbidden areas of Arabia, and visit the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, being welcomed and honored by its most respected religious leaders, the great Imams themselves, if he himself was not recognized as a great religious man, and a man of God, doing miraculous works by spreading Allah's name here in the West among the 20 million ex-slaves of America?

How could Mr. Muhammad visit the capitals of the Muslim World, and be received by its respected leaders, if he too was not recognized and respected as a Muslim leader by them?

He visited Al-Azhar, the oldest Mosque and Muslim University in the world, and had tea with the Chief Imam, the Grand Sheikh Shaltuat, who kissed him on his forehead in true Muslim fashion, yet the American Caucasians, hoping to block his success among our people, continue to oppose him and say he is not a true Muslim.

Again you will say: Why then doesn't he and his followers leave this house of bondage right now, and go and live in the Muslim World? All of the Black Muslims can live in the Muslim World tomorrow, but the Honorable Elijah Muhammad wants justice for the entire 20 million so-called Negroes.

You and your Christian government make the problem even more complicated. You don't want your 20 million ex-slaves to leave you, yet you wont share equal justice with them right here.

Since you don't want them to leave this country with us, and you won't give them equal justice among your kind, then we will agree only if you let us separate ourselves from you right here.

Just give us a portion of this country that we can call our own. Put us in it. Then give us everything we need to start our own civilization here...that is,

support us for 20 to 25 years, until we are able to go for ourselves. This is God's plan. This is God's solution. This is justice, and compensation for our 310 years of free slave labor.

Otherwise, America will reap the full fury of God's wrath, for her crimes against our people here are many. As your bible says: "He that leads into captivity shall go into captivity; he that kills with the sword shall be killed by the sword." This is the law of justice and this is in your own Christian scriptures.

The black masses are shaking off the drugs, or narcotic effect of the token integration promises. A cup of tea in a white restaurant is not sufficient compensation for 310 years of free slave labor. The black masses as represented by the Black Muslims will never be satisfied until we have some land that we can call our own.

Again I repeat: we are not asking for territory here because Mr. Muhammad has no place else to take us. But, to benefit the entire 20 million so-called Negroes, 20 million ex-slaves, who, despite the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation was issued 100 years ago, these oppressed people are still begging their former slave master for recognition as human beings. Therefore, Mr. Muhammad is asking this government to stop toying with our people, stop fooling them year in and year out with false promises of token integration.

Token integration will not solve our problem. This is a false solution. A "token" solution. It is a hypocritical approach to the problem, a tricky scheme devised by you, and propagated by your Negro puppets whom you yourself have appointed as our "leaders" and "spokesmen."

Integration is not good for either side. It will destroy your race, and your government knows it will also destroy ours, and the problem will still remain unsolved.

God has declared that these 20 million ex-slaves must have a home of their own. After 400 years here among the Caucasians, we are absolutely convinced that we can never live together in peace, unless we are willing to remain subservient to our former masters, therefore, immediate and complete separation is the only solution.

NAACP Attorney Thurgood Marshall has admitted publicly that six years since the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of the schools, only 6 per cent desegregation has taken place. This is an example of integration!

A kidnapper, a robber, an enslaver, a lyncher is just another common criminal in the sight of God, and the above-mentioned criminal acts have been committed on a mass scale for 400 years by your race against America's 20 million so-called Negroes.

It is true that today America professes to be sorry for her crimes against our people, and she says she wants to repent, and in her desire to atone or make amends she offers her 20 million ex-slaves flowery promises of "token" integration.

Many of these downtrodden victims want to forgive America; they want to forget the crimes you have committed against them, and some are even willing to accept the formula of "token integration" that you yourself have devised as the solution to correct the problems created by your criminal acts against them.

In a court of justice, the criminal can confess his crimes and throw himself on the mercy of the court if he has truly repented, but neither the criminal nor his victims have any say-so in suggesting the sentence that is to be passed upon the guilty or the price that the confessed criminal must pay. This is left in the hands of the Judge. We are living in the Day of Judgment right now. God is the Judge that our American slave master must now answer to.

God is striking this great country with tornadoes, storms, floods, rain, hail, snow and terrific earthquakes are yet to come. Your people are being afflicted with increasing epidemics of illness and disease, divine plagues that God is striking you with because of your criminal acts against the 20 million ex-slaves, and today instead of repenting and truly compensating our people for their 310 years of free slave labor that built up this great country for you, you buyout the Negro leaders with 30 pieces of silver and get them to sell our people on accepting your "token integration."

When one uses a "token" on the bus or streetcar that "token" is a substitute for the real money. Token means "a substitute," that which takes the place of the real thing.

Token integration takes the place of the real thing. Two black students at Georgia University is TOKEN integration. Four black children in New Orleans white schools is TOKEN integration. A handful of black students in the white schools in Little Rock is TOKEN integration. None of this is REAL integration; it is only a pacifier designed to keep these awakening black babies from crying too loud. The white man's violent rebellion, and relentless struggle against TOKEN integration is sufficient to prove what would happen if the Negro leaders demanded REAL INTEGRATION.

Also, according to the above-mentioned rate of speed since the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, it will take us another thousand years to get the white man in the South sufficiently "re-educated" to accept our people in their midst as equals, and if the rest of the truth is told, it will also take the white man here in the North, West and East just as long as his brother in the South if the frightened Uncle Tom leadership ever stops accepting his master's "tokens" and begins to demand the real thing.

To many of you here at the Harvard Law School Forum this evening, this sounds ridiculous; to some it even sounds insane. But these 20 million black people here in America now number a nation in their own right. Do you believe a nation within another nation can be successful? Especially when they both have equal education?

Once the slave has his master's education, the slave wants to be like his master, wants to share his master's property, and even wants to exercise the same privileges as his master even while he is yet in his master's house. This is the core of America's troubles today; and there will be no peace for America as long as 20 million so-called Negroes are here begging for the rights which America knows she will never grant us.

Even this limited education America has granted her ex-slaves has already produced great unrest and Almighty God says the only way for America to ever have any future peace or prosperity is for her 20 million ex-slaves to be separated from her...and it is for this reason that Mr. Muhammad teaches us that we must have some land of our own.

If we receive equal education, how long do you expect us to remain your passive servants, or second-class citizens? There is no such thing as a

second-class citizen. We are full citizens or we are not citizens at all.

When you teach a man the science of government he wants an equal part (or position) in that government... or else he wants a government himself. He begins to demand equality with his master. No man with equal education will serve you. The only way you can continue to rule us is with a superior knowledge, or by continuing to withhold equal education from our people. America has not given us equal education, but she has given us enough to make us want more and to make us demand equality of opportunity, and this is causing unrest plus international embarrassment, thus the only solution is immediate separation.

As your colleges and universities turn out an ever increasing number of so-called Negro graduates with education equal to yours, they will automatically increase their demands for equality in everything else. This equal education will increase their spirit of equality and make them feel that they should have everything that you have, and their increasing demands will become a perpetual headache for you and continue to cause you international embarrassment. In fact, the same Negro students you are turning out today will soon be demanding the same things you now hear being demanded by Mr. Muhammad and the Black Muslims.

In my conclusion: I must remind you that since your own Christian Bible states that God is coming in the "last days," or at the "end of the Old World," and that God's coming would bring about a great separation and since we see all sorts of signs throughout the earth that indicate that THE TIME OF GOD'S COMING is upon us, why don't you repent while there is yet time?

Do justice by your faithful ex-slaves. Give us some land of our own right here, some SEPARATE STATES, so we can separate ourselves from you, then everyone will be satisfied, and perhaps we will all be able to then live happily ever after, as your own Christian Bible says..."every one under his own vine and fig tree."

Otherwise: all of you who are sitting here, your government, and your entire race will be destroyed and removed from this earth by Almighty God, Allah. I thank you.

# Open Mind Roundtable
# (October 15, 1961)

Moderator: Eric P. Goldman, Guests: Mr. Monroe Berger, Mr. Kenneth B. Clark, Mr. Richard Haley, Mrs. Constance B. Motley, Mr. Malcolm X

Mr. Goldman: In the years since World War II, unquestionably the most dramatic and most important development in internal American affairs has been the upward lunge of the Negro. In no uncertain terms these 20 million Americans have been making themselves heard. As the agitation and as the advances have gone on, observers have more and more joined in one type of comment. They've been saying there is a new Negro in America, a new mood, a new emphasis in the programs and demands of the Negro. Today we're going to inquire into statements of this kind, and, I hope, in the course of the inquiry, we will answer candidly such questions as, What does the Negro really want today? Is he, to any significant degree, dissatisfied with the leadership of organizations like the NAACP? And is he really developing a new identity, both in terms of his inner reactions and in term of his relationships with Africa?

Our panel, here to my right: Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, associated with Thurgood Marshall as assistant counsel of the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, who is just back from defending civil rights cases in Mississippi.

Mr. Richard Haley, Field Secretary of CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, which has led the sit-ins and Freedom Rider activities in the South.

Mr. Monroe Berger, Associate Professor of Sociology at Princeton University, whose expertness in the subject under discussion today is a double one. He wrote the volume entitled Equality by Statute, a highly praised study of efforts to bring more equality into American life by legislation. Mr. Berger's sociological studies have also taken him into the Middle Eastern field where he has been interested in the ties that are being asserted today between the American Negro and the Muslims of Africa.

Mr. Malcolm X, Minister of the Temple of Islam No. 7 in New York City, and one of the national leaders of the Black Muslim movement in America.

And Mr. Kenneth B. Clark, Professor of Psychology at the College of the City of New York, author of a historic study on which the Supreme Court, in part, rested its 1954 school desegregation decision, consultant to the NAACP, and winner of the 1961 Spingarn Medal for his work in advancing race relations.

Mr. Clark, would you begin us with a comment on this general question. Is there, to your mind, a really "new Negro" in America?

Mr. Clark: Well, I think the term "new Negro" is a catch phrase and one that catches the imagination of people, but actually, I don't think there's a new Negro. I think the Negro in America today is pretty much the way he has been in the past. In terms of his desires, his wants, I think the Negro today wants exactly what the Negro in the Reconstruction period wanted, namely, full, unqualified equality as an American citizen. There are some differences today. I think that the Negro today is more direct, more forthright, more impatient, if you will, as he approaches his goal. He becomes less patient with things which hold him back.

Mr. Goldman: Matters of mood rather than of program?

Mr. Clark: And of goal. I think that there is no question that the Negro today has exactly the same goal that the Negro had fifty years ago, seventy years ago, a hundred years ago, probably during slavery, namely, a desire to be free.

Mr. Goldman: Mrs. Motley?

Mrs. Motley: I think that's about it, Kenneth. I think also that what's new today are the techniques
that Negro groups have developed for speeding their full participation in American life. The techniques of the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides have helped to accelerate the pace toward full participation on the part of American Negroes in American life. And I think that these techniques have been dramatic and successful and give the appearance of presenting a new Negro.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. X, you seem to be a little restless with all this.

Malcolm X: Yes, I think there is a new so-called Negro. We don't recognize

the term "Negro" but I really believe that there's a new so-called Negro here in America. He not only is impatient. Not only is he dissatisfied, not only is he disillusioned, but he's getting very angry. And whereas the so-called Negro in the past was willing to sit around and wait for someone else to change his condition or correct his condition, there's a growing tendency on the part of a vast number of so-called Negroes today to take action themselves, not to sit and wait for someone else to correct the situation. This, in my opinion, is primarily what has produced this new Negro. He is not willing to wait. He thinks that what he wants is right, what he wants is just, and since these things are just and right, it's wrong to sit around and wait for someone else to correct a nasty condition when they get ready.

Mr. Goldman: Does he want anything different in your opinion, Mr. X?

Malcolm X: In the past he wanted to identify himself with the American way of life, but after a hundred years of begging and a hundred years of waiting, I think there's a growing tendency on the part of the so-called Negro to have reached the conclusion that he can never be recognized as a human being in America as other humans are recognized. So in my opinion, and according to the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, I think a growing number of Negroes today are beginning to see, since they can't get it here, that they might as well try elsewhere or try some other form of solution than the ones that have been put in front of us.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Haley, do I note puzzlement over there?

Mr. Haley: Puzzlement, no. But I'm not altogether in agreement. It is unfortunately true, I think, as Mr. X says, that the history of the Negro in America, particularly since Reconstruction, has given us every reason to feel that we can never be accepted in America as human beings. There's a great deal to make one feel this way. Nevertheless, I'm not so quick, even after a hundred years, to give up my belief in man's potentiality to overcome his biggest obstacle, himself. And this is what both the whites and to some extent the Negroes too must overcome.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Berger?

Mr. Berger: If we look back historically to the early period, we find that there's a great deal to be said for the possibility of the Negro becoming a full citizen in this country and I mean in the most intimate relations

with white people. If you look at the periods during slavery and especially immediately afterward, you will find that there were extraordinarily intimate relations between the Negroes and white people, a tendency almost immediately to accept in some places the advances of the Negro. But the defeat of this effort just after the Civil War pushed the whole movement in a rearward direction. If we look at what has happened since then, if we think of American Negro-white relations only in the last forty or fifty years when this consolidation of segregation has taken place, we might be pessimistic. If we look at an earlier period, far from becoming pessimistic, I think we have reasons to be optimistic.

Mr. Goldman: Whether we're pessimistic or optimistic, I detect a fundamental clash here in the area of what the Negro wants. Am I correct in saying that everyone around the table except Mr. X is saying that the Negro wants integration into American life, and that you are not saying that? Is that fair, Mr. X?

Malcolm X: It is not a case of integration into the American way of life, nor is it a question of not integrating. The question is one of human dignity and integration is only a method or tactic or role that many of the so-called Negroes are using to get recognition and respect as human beings. And many of these Negroes have gotten lost on the road. They're confusing the objective with the method. Now if integration is the objective, then what will we have after we get integration? I think that the black man in America wants to be recognized as a human being and it's almost impossible for one who has enslaved another to bring himself to accept the person who used to pull his plow, who used to be an animal, subhuman, who used to be considered as such by him, it's almost impossible for that person in his right mind to accept that person as his equal.

Mr. Clark: Mr. X, you sound to me as if you are preaching a doctrine of complete and utter despair. Are you?

Malcolm X: No, I'm facing facts. If you try and swim the Atlantic Ocean and after several attempts you find you don't make it, well, if your objective is the other side, what are you going to do? It's not a case of having utter despair. You have to go back to shore and try and find another method of getting across if that's where you want to go. Now the so-called Negro in America, a hundred years after Lincoln issued the so-called Emancipation Proclamation, is still knocking on the White House door and still

begging practically every white politician who is running for office to pass legislation to bring about an opportunity for the so-called Negro in America to be recognized as a human being—not as a citizen, but as a human being. They can't get recognition as human beings, much less as citizens.

Mrs. Motley: You recognize, don't you, that they have made some progress and that there has been greater dignity accorded the American Negro? We don't disagree on that, do we? Don't you think that the Negro today is substantially better off than he was at the end of slavery and that through our own efforts and the efforts of other members of our society we have made progress, and we are continuing to make progress?

Malcolm X: As a lawyer, I'm sure you'll agree that if you put a man in prison illegally and unjustly, one who has not committed a crime, and after putting him there you keep him in solitary confinement, it's doubly cruel. Now if you let him out of solitary into the regular prison yard, you can call that progress if you want, but the man was not supposed to be put in prison in the first place.
Now you have 20 million black people in America who are begging for some kind of recognition as human beings and the average white man today thinks that we're making progress. He cannot justify the fact that he made us slaves in the first place, which was contrary not only to man's law, contrary not only to God's law, but also contrary to nature's law. I don't call that progress until we have gotten everything we originally had. If a man robs a bank he can't jump up and say: "Well, I'm sorry I've been a robber." He has to make restitution. Here you have 20 million black people who have worked for nothing for 310 years and then for the past hundred years we have been deprived of practically everything a human being needs to exist and keep his morale up. I just can't bring myself to accept the few strides that we've made as any kind of progress. And I think...

Mr. Goldman: May I get this discussion off Mr. X specifically and off the Black Muslim movement specifically for a few minutes. I was much struck, on an Open Mind program on which Mr. X appeared earlier, by some remarks of Mr. James Baldwin, the well-known Negro novelist. Let me read to you a few of the statements Mr. Baldwin made on that program. Mr. Baldwin speaking: "I do realize from my own vantage point, I'm a boy from Harlem too, how desperately and how deeply Negroes hate white people." He went on to emphasize the point. "Most Negroes, most black people, do

not trust white people and most Negroes hate white people." And then, on the basis of that, he said, "I personally, speaking only for myself now, I can't imagine anything this country can offer me that I any longer want." Now I take all this to be a skepticism about the value of integration, even if you could get it. Is there a real trend among Negro intellectuals toward this kind of thinking?

Mr. Clark: I think we must put statements of that sort, and Mr. X's statements, in a broader perspective. As a psychologist, I feel that hate is an extremely difficult emotion to sustain over a prolonged period of time. Certainly, I myself have felt a great deal of bitterness many times. Every time I observe an arbitrary form of racial injustice I feel bitter, but like most emotions hate cannot be sustained longer than my organism can tolerate it. Negroes, like other human beings, naturally feel hate, despair, bitterness. This, however, has not stopped the Negro from the kind of intelligent planning, organization, and exploitation of all the resources of this government to obtain his goal, namely, fully and unqualified equality as an American citizen. The thing that bothers me, Mr. X, is that you put me in a position that requires me to take a position—defending the American system—which I'm not particularly comfortable with. I would like...

Malcolm X: Why aren't you comfortable taking that position? If it's a just position, if it's even psychologically just, why be uncomfortable?

Mr. Clark: Because it's not complete. And neither is your position complete.

Malcolm X: I think, sir, you'll find that when you have two different people, one sitting on a hot stove, one sitting on a warm stove, the one who is sitting on the warm stove thinks progress is being made. He's more patient. But the one who is sitting on the hot stove, you can't let him up fast enough. You have the so-called Negro in this country, the upper-class Negro or the so-called high-class Negro, as Franklin Frazier calls them, the "black bourgeois." They aren't suffering the extreme pain that the masses of black people are. And it is the masses of black people today, I think you'll find, who are the most impatient, the most angry, because they're the ones that are suffering the most.

Mr. Berger: That's interesting. I don't know if they're the most angry of

all the Negroes but certainly I think there's a new Negro in the sense that these are people who have never articulated their demands or made themselves heard to the extent that they are doing now. This is what gives the impression of great militancy, the idea of the new Negro, that is, people lower down in the socioeconomic scale, people of low incomes, are fighting. They are fighting for two things, it seems to me, and I would say that, although there may not be a new Negro in the sense that they're looking for new things, I think they have a different priority and a different urgency about the things that they want. Two of the things they definitely want are jobs and housing. The important thing that the masses of Negroes now feel is they have got to break out of this box of discrimination and employment and they've got to break out of the Negro ghettos, and these two things have got to happen quickly. This is what I believe is meant when I hear about the new Negro.

Mr. Goldman: Mrs. Motley?

Mrs. Motley: I think we're in basic agreement, Mr. X, that the condition of the Negro here has been very bad and is still bad in many areas. I think the only respect in which we might disagree is whether there is any need to continue the struggle which we have been making to equalize the situation in our country and we probably disagree on the techniques for achieving this.

Mr. Goldman: There's one thing that's coming out in this discussion, an agreement on the impatience of the Negro. But does this not include impatience with organizations with which you, Mrs. Motley, and you, Mr. Clark, are associated? For example, Mr. X is quoted as calling your colleague, Mr. Thurgood Marshall, "a twentieth-century Uncle Tom." And Mr. Louis Lomax, the Negro journalist, says that there is a Negro "revolt in America, dwelling underground for the past two decades, which means the end of the traditional Negro leadership class," which I suspect means you, and you, and you.

Mr. Clark: I think these are exaggerated statements and I think that the present impatience of the Negroes is paradoxically a function of the effectiveness of Negro leadership in the past. I'd like to point out that Mr. X says that the masses of Negroes are in the vanguard of the present civil rights movement. I frankly don't think this is true.

Malcolm X: Not in the civil rights movement.

Mr. Clark: It might be sentimental and it might play up to the masses to say that the masses are in the vanguard of the movement, but I think accuracy requires us to recognize that the Negro who has been trained, the Negro who has been exposed to more advantages than the average Negro has been permitted to have in America, is the one you are likely to find in the vanguard of the movement. I say this with all due respect to our.

Malcolm X: You mean eleven students in a school in Atlanta, Georgia, that's progress?

Mr. Goldman: Let me be unpleasant here for a moment, let me bore in on this point. There's an article in the current Harper's by a woman writer about the young Negro rebels. What the article says is that we really have two Negro groups in America...I'm paraphrasing...one group, the less educated, the socially lower class, who are very much behind the Freedom Riders and similar activities. They're the agitators. And then there are the successful, professional bourgeois, the lawyers and professors and so forth, with a quite different attitude. The author talks about going to Howard University with Freedom Riders, she says Howard is the Harvard of Negro colleges, and she says there wasn't much interest in the Freedom Riders there, which surprises her a great deal. A very suave young Negro student said that his group entirely lacked Negro radicalism. Here you see the Negro elite. These students couldn't care less how Negroes travel on buses. After all, they drive home in their cars.

Mr. Clark: I find that incredible. I think that's a woeful oversimplification and I personally think it's a fabrication. I'm glad I don't know the name of the lady who wrote the article. I'm an alumnus of Howard University and I'm now on its board and I go to Howard quite frequently. I would personally like to find the student who would say that to a reporter. I think these attempts to simplify the problem by saying this group of Negroes believes this, that group of Negroes believes that, I think all of this misses the point.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. X, don't you agree with some of this, though? I recall your saying on Open Mind that, after all, the traditional Negro leadership is always in the Waldorf-Astoria. That's where you see Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, and so forth. You suggested that they're not out among

the Negro people and perhaps don't understand them.

Malcolm X: I couldn't dispute you because the opportunities I've had to shake their hands would be in that vicinity.

Mr. Clark: Then you were there too, weren't you, Mr. X?

Malcolm X: Definitely.

Mrs. Motley: I think you shook Mr. Marshall's hand in a courtroom.

Malcolm X: In the courtroom corridor.

Mrs. Motley: He's usually found...

Malcolm X: And I would like to comment on the remark Mr. Goldman made earlier about my saying that Marshall was a twentieth-century Uncle Tom. At the time, a few years back, Marshall made a speech at Princeton, at which time he allowed others to put words in his mouth, very derogatory words, about the Muslims. So that what I said was a reply, but I think that the main thing that all of the black people in America today have to do is that which was done in Bandung by the Africans and Asians in 1955. We have to get together and forget our differences. We're not going to agree on everything but we will agree that all of us are oppressed, all of us are exploited, and the only way we're going to get to our objective is to have some kind of cooperation with each other.

Mr. Goldman: Suppose a lot of white people agree that Negroes are oppressed. Mr. X, do you agree with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad when he says, "It is impossible for Negroes and whites to live together. I hate the few drops of white blood that is already in me. There is no intelligent black man who wants integration."?

Malcolm X: Yes, I believe in everything that Mr. Muhammad says, and when he says that in the first part that he hates the few drops of black blood that are in him, or rather the few drops of white blood that's...

Mr. Clark: That's an interesting slip.

Malcolm X: I think...

Mr. Goldman: Do you say that as a psychologist, Mr. Clark?

Mr. Clark: I say it as a psychologist.

Mr. Berger: What color is Mr. Elijah Muhammad?

Malcolm X: He's light and I think if you go back during slavery, most of the slaves who got white blood got it by having their mothers raped or ravished by the slave master. It would be impossible for me today to carry the blood of a rapist in me and not hate that blood. Secondly, when he said it is impossible for white and black to live together in peace, the history of America proves that. Most of your white liberals who profess to love Negroes and who profess to be pushing for this integration thing, they themselves live as a rule in lily-white neighborhoods and sometimes they're the first ones to put the FOR SALE sign on their door when a Negro who has fallen for this integration thing moves into their neighborhood. I think that it's very hypocritical today for me as a black man and the white man to sit down with each other and profess that there is a great deal of love between us. I have to look at the white man as the son of the man who kidnapped my people and brought them here and enslaved them and he has to look at me as someone to whom he has done wrong. Always his guilt complex will have him on guard around me. I think that we can solve our problems better by looking at the condition of the black men in America as a collective thing, not individual, but collective. We're in this condition collectively; we're second-class citizens. Collectively, we're the last hired and the first fired. Okay, since we suffer collectively the one who benefits, the white man, benefits collectively. If a white individual were to murder a man he would be a murderer. Lynching is a murder. For the past four hundred years our people have been lynched physically but now it's done politically. We're lynched politically, we're lynched economically, we're lynched socially, we're lynched in every way that you can imagine. And we look upon the white man, the American white man, as a criminal. He has committed a crime against 20 million black people. For me to be segregated is a crime. For me not to have any rights, that's a crime.

Mrs. Motley: Mr. X, let me ask you this: Does Mr. Muhammad mean by integration simply social intermingling with whites? Or does he mean something else? When you spoke I got the impression that you were emphasizing merely a sort of social intermingling with whites in their houses and that sort of thing and intermarriage. But I think integration

may have another definition which ought to be emphasized more today. What the Negro seeks is not some sort of social intermingling per se with whites or intermarriage. What they really seek is to have the situation in the country equalized more than it is at the present time. Now does Mr. Muhammad mean this by integration?

Malcolm X: No. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that you, a poor man, can't integrate with a rich man. You can't take a man who has factories and tell him he must hire Negroes. You can't take a man who has schools that he has set up himself and tell him he must admit Negroes. Mr. Muhammad says this: The black people of America should get together among themselves and do for themselves the same things that the white has done for himself. Do you realize white immigrants have come to this country poor and with no education, and they saved their money and handled it wisely? They set up businesses and provide jobs for their children. They set up factories and industry to create opportunity for their children. Now the black man in America has been so-called free a hundred years. The purchasing power of the black people of America is 20 billion dollars a year. If our people are equal, why haven't our leaders, our professional people, gotten together in some way or another like the white man has done, and set up factories to provide job opportunities, set up housing to provide housing opportunities for Negroes, instead of sitting around here begging the white man for a second-hand house in his neighborhood or demanding that the white man give them a job?

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Clark, is that frown a psychological or an ideological frown?

Mr. Clark: Well, it's a frown of perplexity. I'm perplexed. As I listen to Mr. X it seems to me he is asking for the ultimate in segregation. He's asking for segregated factories.

Malcolm X: No, separate. There is a difference between segregation and separation. Segregation is forced upon an inferior community by a superior community. Separation is done voluntarily by two peoples.

Mr. Clark: Let me take up just one point that you're making. You said, why should the black man ask or beg the white man to be admitted into his schools. I think the question as you pose it is based on a false premise. The schools are not the white man's schools. The schools are public schools.

Negroes are an integral part of America's economy. Negroes pay taxes, Negroes are involved in any crisis which faces this nation. Someone has sold you the mistaken notion that white people own the public schools in America. White people do not own the public schools. Public schools are owned by the public. Twenty million Negroes contribute significantly to the vitality of the country and are now asking that they share equally in all of the benefits, just as they've shared in all of the liabilities of the country.

Mr. Berger: I think that what Mr. Clark is saying, is of course, true. But I think, if I may speak for Mr. Malcolm X for a moment, not that he doesn't speak well for himself, I think that his answer would be, how can you call these schools public schools when they're run by and for the whites and the Negroes have been excluded. There is a point to that and I think that this mood of the Negro favors the kind of thing that Mr. Malcolm X is saying. For the first time in a long while, Negro leaders are saying openly what many Negroes have said to one another for a long time. This is the first time in a long while that the white community is able, so to speak, to eavesdrop on what goes on among Negroes. This brings me to the question of hate. I think hate is not only something difficult to sustain but I think it is often very useful. What has happened on this question of hate is that we have gotten a glimpse into the Negro community, whereas the Negro community has always had a glimpse into the white community. They always knew what the whites were thinking from being servants and so on, from being among whites. The whites have not known what the Negroes were thinking and now they're beginning to find out something about this. The consequence is that white people are beginning to find that Negroes are very critical, very bitter, and many of them hate whites, as Baldwin says. But this is something that we can carry a bit too far. If you eavesdrop on any community and listen to what people are saying to one another, you can get very depressed. If you listen to good friends of yours talk about you, I think you might become depressed. If Jews listen to what Christians say about them, if Christians listen to what Jews say about them, if all these communities heard everything that everybody said about one another in jest or seriously, I think that all of the groups would be at odds with one another. So I'm not sure that although the Negroes speak that way to one another in this mood of hatred...I'm not so sure that this necessarily represents their mood more accurately than the moderate Negro leaders who speak out without hatred. The fact that people say these things, I don't think means that they always believe them.

Mrs. Motley: Mr. X, you said a while ago, nobody should tell a white man that he must hire a Negro in his factory. I think that a lot of people have said the same thing in effect with respect to the laws, for example, prohibiting discrimination in employment. What the law does is not to say to the white man, you must hire a Negro in your factory. The law says to the owner of the factory that you should not discriminate against a qualified Negro solely on account of his race and color.

Malcolm X: But this type of approach of the present so-called Negro leadership keeps the Negro in a begging category. In my contention, the white people have gotten together and established some kind of economy that provides job opportunities and housing for their own kind. And since our leadership has failed to do so, has failed to get together and provide something for the masses of our people, it puts them on a spot today when someone begins to point these factors out.

Mr. Clark: This is the fallacy in your thinking that bothers me. You keep saying white people have gotten together but there is no industry in America that has been built without Negro labor, Negro consumers, Negro money involved. There is no such thing as a white.

Malcolm X: A horse can pull the plow. A horse is the one that's actually plowing the field. Does the horse get the benefits? No, even the horse can't say that it's his farm. He's a part of the property on that farm. That's the capacity that you and I have been in in America for the past four hundred years. It was subhuman. The United States Constitution classified us as three fifths of a man, subhuman. That is the United States Constitution.

Mr. Clark: The United States Constitution as interpreted, especially by the May 17, 1954, decision, declares that you are a complete man and that no state can make any law which abrogates your rights as an American citizen based solely upon color.

Mr. Goldman: We only have about twelve minutes left and I don't want us not to touch on this. Of course, if there is a new Negro, one of the things that people are commenting on most are his supposed ties, intellectual and emotional, to Africa and to what is going on in Africa. Now, is that important? If so, what is it really? What is this influence that Africa is having?

Mrs. Motley: I think that the Negro has found Africa as a place with which he might identify in the broadest sense. Negroes have been for years without a country or homeland, so to speak, of which they could be proud, from their point of view. Africa has always been looked upon as the dark continent. Now Africa is rising and the Negro in America sees young African leaders who are able and articulate and who are leading their people in the struggle for freedom. And so the American Negro can now look to his homeland, so to speak, and identify with people who are strong and who are respected and looked up to. This has given a new impetus, let us say, to the drive on the part of young Negroes in this country to do something.

Mr. Clark: I think it's possible to exaggerate the African impact upon American Negroes. Certainly there are some dramatic aspects of it. The Negro is certainly happy and proud when he sees an articulate Negro from one of these new nations in the UN. But my own feeling is that the impact of the legal staff of the NAACP and the votes that Negroes in large urban centers in the United States use to elect congressmen and senators and to influence national politics are more likely to have a direct effect upon the rapidity of changes in the status of the Negro in America than what happens in Africa. Now it may be that I am speaking only in terms of a personal idiosyncratic inability to identify with Africa. I confess, I identify with America. I'm American and I want my rights as an American.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Haley, are you agreeing with Mr. Clark?

Mr. Haley: It's possible to underrate the impact of Africa just as it is possible to overrate it. The big problem, I suppose, is how to estimate it accurately since it's so hard to measure. But one can, just on the basis of his own experience, point out what he has seen, and it does seem to me that many Negroes with whom I've had contact tie themselves or feel a tie not just with emergent Africa but with that whole side of the world, which is just bubbling over with all types and colors and sizes and nationalities of various colored peoples.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. X, let me hold you back for just a moment. There is of course the possibility that to the extent that the Negro is turning to Africa he is turning to a leadership which, on the one hand, is one of frenetic racism, a possibility that Mr. Louis Lomax raises in his book, and on the other hand, playing into the hands of Nasser. Now, having said that, Mr. X

knows where I'm going, namely to the frequent statement made that you and your Black Muslim movement are in close contact with Nasser, are becoming a part of his worldwide machinery, etc., etc. And having said that, I will let you and Mr. Berger take up the point.

Malcolm X: Number one, the distorted picture that the black men in America have had in the past of Africa is all a part of the crime that the American white man has committed in distorting that picture purposely. Number two, it is true that the emergence of African nations probably isn't impressive to the big Negro in America, but the masses of black people in America are impressed. Number three, you can't say that the emergence of Africa doesn't affect the condition of the black people here.
John F. Kennedy himself a couple of months ago issued practically an ultimatum to the whites in Maryland and Virginia not to Jim Crow the Africans who are in this country. Despite the fact that the Negroes provided the balance to get him in office, he can open up his mouth and eliminate the barriers that the Africans run into, but the American so-called Negro is still begging for an integrated cup of coffee.

Mr. Goldman: Just a minute, Mr. X. May I get directly to this point? A number of people state that Negro Muslim-ism is a way of tying a number of American Negroes into Mr. Nasser's imperialist purposes.

Malcolm X: Number one, we're not Negroes. Number two, there's no such thing as Muslim-ism. It's Islam, and that religion is practiced by 725 million non-white people in Africa and in Asia. I think it's absurd to connect us with any one geographic area when the Muslim world stretches from China right up to the shores of West Africa. Everyone in the Muslim world is our brother and we are brothers to them and considered brothers by them. Now because Nasser probably poses a threat to Israel and the people of Israeli descent have a lot of power and influence over the public media in America, they put out the propaganda concerning the danger of our people here getting connected with someone over there. We're not connected with anybody but our feeling is all dark people today should get together and toss aside the shackles of a common oppressor and that common oppressor is that man who has been sitting up there in Europe. I think you'll find that not only are the Arabs, who are dark people, getting together but they're getting together throughout Africa and Asia. That's why you're having such a problem now in the United Nations. And· this is not something that you should blame on the Muslims. The white man

should examine his own record and he can see that his record, the seeds that he has sown, are coming up today. He doesn't like the crop that he planted.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Berger, do you want to comment on this potential tie?

Mr. Berger: I don't believe that the Black Muslims in this country are or will be deeply involved with the propaganda machine of any foreign country. I don't believe that that's so from what I've been able to observe. I do think also that Nasser particularly would have a great deal of difficulty if he tried to associate himself with the Black Muslims. Not only the difficulty that the Black Muslims would give him, but also the difficulty that, to borrow a phrase, the so-called white Muslims in this country might give him. I don't think that they want to be, these so-called white Muslims in this country, want to be associated with the Black Muslims in this country. This is another reason why I would discount those claims of foreign influence on the Black Muslims.

Mr. Goldman: Mr. Haley, a word?

Mr. Haley: I must again dissent. I think this preoccupation with Muslims or Africa takes us away from the main point, namely, the Negro in America.

# Malcolm X at Yale Law School (October 20, 1962)

On behalf of my beloved leader and teacher, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and the many young Muslims who follow him, we wish to thank you for this opportunity to explain our position today in what we feel to be the only solution to the serious race problems confronting America and the entire troubled Western World.

In this crucial hour in which we live today, it is essential that our minds constantly be kept open to reality. We have both races here in this Yale Law School Auditorium tonight. Let us not be emotional. Let us be governed and guided only by facts.

I represent Mr. Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual head of the fastest-growing group of Black Muslims in the Western Hemisphere. We who follow him know that he has been divinely taught and sent to us by God Himself. We believe that the miserable plight of the 20 million black people in America is the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We believe that the serious race problem that our presence here poses for America is also the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We also believe the presence today in America of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, his teachings among the so-called Negroes, and his naked warning to America concerning her treatment of these so-called Negroes is all the fulfillment of divine prophecy.

Thus, when Mr. Muhammad declares that the only solution to America's race problem is complete separation of the two races, he is fulfilling that which was predicted by all of the biblical prophets to take place in this day. But, because Mr. Muhammad takes this uncompromising stand, those who don't understand biblical prophecy wrongly label him as a racist and as a hate teacher, or as being anti-white, or as teaching Black Supremacy. So tonight, while we are all here together, face to face, we can question and examine for ourselves the wisdom or the folly of what Mr. Muhammad is teaching.

Studying world conditions in the light of facts, facing reality as grown men and women...seeing things not as we would like them to be, but as they really are...only then can we determine the rightness, the validity, the

divine origin of Mr. Muhammad and the solution which he offers as the only hope for America's 20 million so-called Negroes, and also as the only hope for this troubled Western World.

If Mr. Muhammad's solution is from God, is it in time to save 20 million so-called Negroes? Is it in time to save America? Is it in time to save the Western World? Let us look closely and see.

The Western World finds itself today constantly engulfed in crisis after crisis. The ingredients for disaster lurk constantly on all sides...both at home and abroad. The Western World's leading diplomats are whispering in the halls of the UN that catastrophe can come any moment, any hour, any second.

Whether this grave crisis be studied at the international level, the national level, or the local level, we will discover the primary ingredient always encountered, in one form or another, is the race issue...the race question... the race problem. Whether it is the Congo, Algeria, South Africa, China, Cuba, or Panama.

Let us take the advice Paul gave in the Bible; let us toss our emotions aside and reason together. Let us look closely at this chaotic world picture before us, and in the light of the facts let us then determine if Mr. Muhammad's divine solution fits the picture before us.

But many of you may be asking yourselves: "Why should we listen to this little so-called Negro...this little Georgia-born ex-slave? What can he do? What can he tell us?" Well, my friends, the Western World's most learned diplomats have failed to solve this grave race problem. Her learned politicians have failed. Her learned theologians have failed. Her learned legal experts have failed. Her sociologists have failed. Her civil leaders have failed. Her fraternal leaders have even failed.

Since the Western World's most skillful scientists and scholars have failed to solve this race problem, it is time for us to sit down tonight and reason together, and I'm certain we will be forced to agree that it takes God Himself to solve this grave racial dilemma. When we face these facts, we see the necessity for divine intervention...we see the necessity for a divine solution.

If God is going to intervene, will He come Himself, or will He send someone with His solution? Will we be able to accept this divine solution when it comes? How will we know if the Messenger who brings us the solution is really a man from God? What yardstick will we use to measure him.

Will this man of God be someone from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Howard, or Tuskegee? Will this man of God be a black man or a white man? Will he be a theologian or preacher from one of the prevailing religions of the Western World? Will he be a politician from one of the major political parties? What type of man do you think God would choose to deliver His solution to this troubled Western World? How are we to determine whether or not Mr. Muhammad is a man from God and, how are we to determine if it is time for God Himself to intervene?

Let us not be emotional; let us reason together. Look around us at the condition of the world. Never before has man had in his hands the power to destroy human life on such a vast scale. Never before has there been such propaganda, mass lies, mass suspicion, mass confusion, mass dissatisfaction, mass unrest, mass hatreds...and the ingredients for such mass bloodshed.

Never before has America made so many crucial blunders, one after another, and suffered such great loss of prestige in the eyes of the world, despite the advice of her expert advisors.

The U-2 spy plane incident caused the President of the strongest country on earth to be tricked, trapped and exposed before the whole world as a liar...despite the advice of expert advisors.

At the Paris Summit Conference, the same President was cursed, ridiculed, and humiliated again before the eyes of the entire world...despite the advice of his expert advisors.

In Korea, students, mere children, toppled the government of Syngman Rhee, the best friend America had in the Far East, despite the advice of her expert advisors.

In Turkey, children toppled the government of Menderes, America's best friend in the Middle East...despite the advice of expert advisors.

In Tokyo, students, mere children again, defied the President to come to Japan, and blocked him from entering after he had traveled thousands of miles from home and had arrived at their back door...a most humiliating insult...despite the advice of his expert advisors.

And Cuba, a little midget island government in the Caribbean, is challenging Giant America, accusing her of economic aggression, confiscating all of her investments, and getting unexpected support from Mexico and other strategically located Latin American countries...and all of this, despite the advice of her expert advisors.

My friends, if the expert politicians, the expert theologians, the expert diplomats and other scientists, professors and scholars have failed to devise a solution to these grave world problems, surely you will agree that it is now time for God to send us someone with a solution from Himself.

Is Mr. Muhammad from God? Is he on time? Does his divine solution fit the events of today?

Look at the racial volcano that has erupted in the Congo, with the ingredients present for an even greater racial explosion building up into what could easily touch off the dreaded Third World War...and once again the diplomats in the UN are whispering that Western Civilization is tottering on the brink of disaster.

Why are the Africans in the Congo rising against the white Belgian oppressors? Why are the Africans in Kenya rising against their white British oppressors? Why are the Africans in Angola rising against their white Portuguese oppressors? Why are the Africans in Algeria rising against their white French oppressors? In short: Why is the black man today all over Africa rising up against his white European overlords?

In the Congo, Central Africa, the black man is saying, "We must have our own land." In Kenya, East Africa, the black man is saying, "We must have our own land." In Angola, West Africa, the black man is saying, "We must have our own land." In Algeria, North Africa, the black man is saying, "We must have our own land." Even deep into South Africa, all over the entire African continent, the only solution in the minds of the awakening black man is: "We must have our own land."

The cry of the black man in Africa for the return of his own land is so widespread, so unrelenting, so uncompromising...it stands to reason that only God Himself is inspiring him and driving him onward in this spirit of freedom. If God has made the black man in Africa realize he cannot rest until he has some land of his own...surely that same God will look westward toward America and see 20 million black people here, second-class citizens, who are also in dire need of some land that we can call our own.

If Mr. Muhammad says "some land of our own" is God's solution to this grave race problem, why land? Why is land so important to everyone today?

The white man in Great Britain could once boast that his control extended over so much of the black man's land that the sun never set on the British Empire. Today, when the sun rises, we can hardly find the British Empire.

How important is land? Well, look what happened to the British Empire when she lost the lands she had colonized in Asia: lands like India, China, Burma, Malaya, etc. Her inability to continue robbing Asia of the natural resources produced by the land almost wrecked the British economy, decreased her military strength and her political prestige so low she could no longer use "force" to hold her African colonies.

As her grip on the black man's land loosened, Britain dwindled. Loss of land meant loss of Empire...loss of wealth, power, and of prestige.

As the black men in Africa and Asia regain control over their lands, the French, Belgians, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, and all other European Empires also begin to crumble and topple downward.

As we face these facts, we are forced to agree that the economy of white Europe, the military power of white Europe, and the political prestige of white Europe was based upon the lands in Africa and Asia which they had taken from the black man.

The combined powers of white Europe have not been able to stem this black tide in Africa that is sweeping aside the shackles of colonial slavery. The Africans have become militant and are marching toward freedom.

Africa is the only continent where a new nation is being born every day...and these new nations are taking their seats in the family of other independent nations symbolized by the United Nations.

And, this fast-growing black block formed by these newly born African nations, united with our darker brothers in Asia, can already easily outvote the white colonial powers in the UN who had formerly enslaved them. These newly born independent black nations can also take a firm stand in behalf of other black people all over the world who are still enslaved, persecuted, exploited, or deprived of their basic rights.

As the rise of these newly independent black nations collapses the economic, military, and political strength of America's allies in white Europe, what effect does this have upon white America?

Does white America face the same black web in which the colonial powers of white Europe find themselves entangled? And, if so, how will this affect America's attitude toward the black people of Africa? How will this affect America's attitude toward the 20 million black people who are yet suffering the bondage of so-called second-class citizenship right here in America...20 million so-called Negroes who have also been deprived of freedom, justice, and equality...20 million so-called Negroes who not only have been deprived of their civil rights, but who have even been deprived of their human rights...the right to hold their heads up, and to live in dignity like other human beings.

Let us not be emotional, but let us face these facts. Let us reason together. This has become a serious problem for America, and for the entire world.

Will the Divine Solution that God has given Mr. Elijah Muhammad help white America avert the racial dilemma in which the awakening dark nations of Africa and Asia have already placed America's allies in white Europe?

Before we can intelligently decide to accept or reject Mr. Muhammad's solution, let us take a closer look at America itself: America is the richest and most powerful nation on this earth. Her President is almost like a "god," for he has in his hands almost every other country on this earth. Therefore, every four years, when a new President, or "god," is about to be selected, the eyes of even the foreign nations are turned toward the

American elections...for they too are wondering who, what type of man, will be the next "god."

Yet, at the two great political conventions in which the two candidates are selected, despite America's need to impress, and favourably influence the foreign nations, foreign policy is never the great controversial issue...the controversial issue is always over domestic policy...the civil rights issue...in which the so-called American Negro is the primary figure...the star on the world stage...for it is he who holds the balance of power in all elections... it is he who can easily determine "who" will be the next "god."

Therefore, this great political drama not only stars the Negro, but all the political schemes are designed primarily to woo him, to please him, to tempt him, ensnare him, to get his allegiance and capitalize upon his political support.

The Negro's position is most strategic, but his mental condition is too pathetic for him to take intelligent advantage of this vital position "fate" has placed him in. The American Negro is suffering from a mental sickness. His mind has been "tampered" with by his slave master.

The Western World is sick. America is sick...but the Negro in America is the sickest of them all. The sickening condition of the Negro in America is infecting Uncle Sam's entire body and endangering the security and future of the whole Western World.

Mr. Muhammad says that only after the American Negro's condition is "corrected" will Uncle Sam's health improve...for only then will Uncle Sam look "healthy" in the inquiring eyes of the fast-awakening dark world.

Since we see the vital necessity of correcting the miserable condition of the American Negro, and we must also agree that all other efforts to solve this problem have failed, will Mr. Muhammad's "prescription" cure the ailments of these 20 million second-class citizens?

Many of you will say: "No! Muhammad is a Black Supremacist. He is an extremist. He stresses race too much. He is a racist." My friends: If you were to see a man attired in white, with a sharp instrument in his hands, bending over someone who is prostrate on a table, your lack of understanding might compel you to shout, "murderer!" But when you

know the place is a hospital, the sleeping man is a patient, the man attired in white is a surgeon, and the sharp instrument must be used to perform some surgery that is necessary to save the patient's life, you can then accept the fact that although the operation is very painful, it must be performed.

Uncle Sam is sick, because he has a black "lump" growing in his white body that doesn't belong there, and this black "growth" is getting larger every day, and increasing Uncle Sam's internal pains. God Himself has ordained that this surgery must be performed, for if the 20 million rapidly increasing so-called Negroes are not separated from the white parts of the body, it will soon cause the death and destruction of Uncle Sam.

God has given Mr. Muhammad some sharp truth. It is like a two-edged sword. It cuts into you. It causes you great pain, but if you can take it, it will cure you and save you from what otherwise would be certain death.

In your mental anguish many of you will emotionally insist that Mr. Muhammad is not teaching the real religion of Islam. You will still insist that he is teaching a racial, economic, and political philosophy.

My friends, Islam is the religion taught by all of the prophets: Noah, Lot, Abraham, Moses, and even Jesus. Islam is the true name of the religion God gave to the prophets in the past to cure their people of whatever moral or spiritual ailments that were afflicting them in that day.

Since we have examined the ailments of the crumbling Western World, and the ills that are infecting America...let us look more closely at the miserable condition of the American Negro.

Here are 20 million people who have lost their original identity; they cannot even speak their own mother tongue. How can 20 million people lose their language? What happened to it? What was it? Why don't they at least know what it was?

Why don't the educated Negroes know something about their own history, their own culture, the last names of their forefathers, their own nationality, their own country, their own flag, their own religion, and their own God?

My friends, surely you will agree that no other people in history, biblical or otherwise, have been so completely stripped and robbed by their slave

master of all knowledge concerning their own kind, and because of this, no other people in history, biblical or otherwise, have ever presented such a problem to their former slave masters or to the world...as the problem created by the presence of the 20 million so-called Negroes here in America today.

The New York Tribune, in an editorial (Feb. 5, 1960), pointed out that out of 11 million qualified Negro voters, only 2,700,000 actually took time to vote. This means that, roughly speaking, only 3 million of the 11 million Negroes who are qualified to vote take an active part...and the remaining 8 million remain voluntarily inactive, and yet it is this small minority of Negro voters who help determine who will be the next President.

If who will be the next President can be influenced by 3 million Negro voters, it is easy to see why the presidential candidates of both political parties put on such a false show with the civil rights bill, and with promises of integration. They must woo or impress the 3 million voting Negroes who are the actual "integration seekers."

If so much fuss is made over these 3 million "integration seekers," what would the presidential candidates have to do to appease the 8 million non-voting Negroes if they ever decided to become politically active in this election year?

Who are the 8 million non-voting Negroes, what do they want, and why don't they vote?

The 3 million voters are the so-called middle- (or high- ) class Negroes, referred to by Howard University Sociology Professor E. Franklin Frazier, as the "Black Bourgeoisie," who have been educated to think as patriotic individualists, with no racial pride...who believe in, and look forward to, the future "integrated, intermarried" society promised them by the Negro politicians...and therefore, this "integration-minded" 3 million remain an active part of the white-controlled political parties. But it must never be overlooked, that these 3 million integration seekers are only a small minority of the 11 million qualified voters. The 8 million non-voting Negroes are the majority, the downtrodden black masses. They have refused to vote, or to take part in politics, because they reject the Uncle Tom approach of the "clergy-politician" leadership that has been hand-picked for the American Negroes by the white man himself.

The clergy-politician leadership does not speak for the Negro majority; they don't speak for the black masses. They speak for the "Black Bourgeoisie," the "brainwashed", white-minded, middle-class minority who, because they are ashamed of being black, and don't want to be identified with black or as being black, are seeking to lose this "identity" by mingling, mixing, intermarrying, and integrating with the white man.

The race problem cannot be solved by listening to this white-minded, brainwashed minority. The white man must try to learn what does the majority want. The next President would be wise to try and learn what the black masses want. And, the only way to find this out is by listening to the man who speaks for the black masses of America.

I declare to you and to the entire world, that the man here in America who speaks for the majority, the downtrodden, dissatisfied black masses, is this same man whom so many thousands of our people are looking toward to see and hear, this same Mr. Muhammad who is labeled by you as a Black Supremacist, and as a Racist!

If the 3 million middle-class Negroes are casting their ballots for integration and intermarriage...what do the non-voting black masses who are in the minority want? Find out what the black masses want, and then perhaps America's grave race problem can be solved.

The black masses are tired of following these hand-picked Negro "leaders" who sound like professional beggars, as they cry year after year for white America to accept us as first-class citizens.

Since this clergy-politician "leadership," which was carefully hand-picked for us by the white man, has failed to solve the problem for the downtrodden black masses, God Himself has stepped into the picture, and has made Messenger Elijah Muhammad a wise, fearless, and uncompromising spokesman for the 20 million black people here in America, who, behind the Divine Leadership of this man of God, will now never be satisfied until we have a home in a land that we can proudly call our own.

We have accepted your invitation to come here to Yale University Law School this evening to let you know first hand why 20 million so-called

Negroes cannot integrate with white America, why white America, after 100 years of religious hypocrisy and political trickery will never accept us as first-class citizens here...and why we must therefore seek some separate territory of our own.

In your blind emotion, again many of you will cry out that this is wrong, that this is not religion, that this is not Islam, that this is just another economic-political philosophy. I must remind you to keep an open mind. Let your own Christian Bible be the judge.

You credit Moses with being a religious man, a man of God, doing God's work. Yet, what did Moses actually do? What did Moses teach? Moses freed his people from their slave master. Moses told the oppressor of his people: "Let my people go." Moses separated his people from their masters, and then led them into a separate territory of their own.

You admit Moses was a man of God, yet you will have to agree Moses did not teach integration. Moses taught separation. Moses didn't take time to dwell on religious practices. He just let his people know that he represented the God of their forefathers, whose desire it was for them to be separated from their slave master and placed in a land that they could call their own. Mr. Muhammad's message and mission today is the same as that of the biblical Moses. Mr. Muhammad is a modern Moses in this modern-day house of bondage.

Many of you will cry out that you don't go by what Moses said or did, but rather by what Jesus said. You claim that Jesus taught love and that Mr. Muhammad teaches hate. But, my friends, have you really read the Bible? Are you familiar with Luke 14:26 where Jesus taught: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yes, and even his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

In other words, Jesus taught that you must hate everyone in your family, even your own self...and Muhammad teaches us to love our brothers and sisters... yet you say Muhammad teaches hate and that Jesus taught love.

Many of you will say that Jesus was no respecter of persons, that he came to all the world. You say Muhammad bars white people, therefore he can't be from God.

My friends, Jesus told his followers to go not the way of the Gentiles, go only to the "lost sheep." He definitely advised his followers to discriminate and make a distinction between the Gentiles and the "lost sheep."

But you still cry out that Jesus is coming back at the end of the world to make us all the same, make us one people...integrate us.

No, my friends, Jesus himself did not even advocate integration. He referred to the end of this world as that great "harvest time." He likened the people of today as "wheat and tares," who would be allowed to "grow together," or integrated, until God comes at the end of this world and separates the people Himself...then He would cause one to be burned in a Lake of Fire, and those whom He chooses for Himself, He would save.

Jesus also spoke of the people of today as being like "sheep and goats," whom God would separate at the end of the world...some for salvation and some for destruction.

Jesus did not advocate integration; he advocated separation!

Noah's solution was not integration; in his day it was also a message of separation. Lot's solution was separation. And, remember, my friends, Jesus warned that "as it was in the days of Noah and Lot, so shall it be these last days"...not integration, but complete separation of the two races...or destruction!
Surely you can now see that Mr. Muhammad's message, or solution, is the same as that of Noah, Lot, Moses, and Jesus. How can you still doubt if Mr. Muhammad is from God? What you really should be concerned about is has Mr. Muhammad come in time to save you; and what must you do now to save yourselves.

When Mr. Muhammad says that we must have some of these states, before you flinch and hold up your hands in "mock shock," let us look and see if 20 million so-called Negroes deserve such a solution.

If I were to collect the combined wages of everyone in this Yale University Law School auditorium tonight for just one week, I would have plenty of money. If I could work all of you for nothing for just one year I would be extremely rich. Well, what about the millions of black people who worked

here in America as your slaves for over 300 years without one payday? What happened to their wages? Who collected the profits, or amassed the fortunes received from their free labor? Facing these unpleasant facts, surely you can easily see now how America became so rich so fast.

How will 20 million so-called Negroes today receive a "just compensation"? We have hundreds of years' "back pay" that is long overdue, and must be paid sooner or later...or is there to be no such things as justice for your faithful ex-slaves?

The American government has appropriated billions of dollars to pay the Indians for lands taken from their fore-parents by your fore-parents.

Again I say, my friends, let us reason together: surely you will agree that God is more just than your government...yet your government has felt morally and legally obligated to pay billions of dollars to the Indians for the crime committed against them.

What about the 20 million so-called Negroes! If the Indians must be paid for land taken from them, what about the free labor and lives of our fore-parents that were taken from us for over 300 years?

If the white politicians have agreed that the Indians should be paid for their lands...what price or payment will the God of justice demand for 20 million black people who were robbed of our labor, lives, identity, culture, history... and even our human dignity? What will God's price be? What will God's solution be? Can America pay God's price? And, if not, what will be the alternative?

The handwriting is on the wall for America. As America faces crisis after crisis, as America sees dangerous troubles mounting on all sides, and as America stares with stubborn blindness, refusing to read the handwriting on the wall, since her "experts" have shown they are unable to read its meaning, will America now accept an ambassador from God, a Divine Messenger, a Warner, to read the handwriting for her and tell her what solution she must accept?

Or, will America blindly reject God's Messenger, and in so doing bring on her own Divine Destruction? I trust you will weigh well these words.

# Twenty Million Black People in a Political, Economic, and Mental Prison (January 23, 1963)

It should be pointed out at the outset that I represent the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, whose followers are known as the Muslims here in America and actually are the fastest growing group—fastest growing religious group—among Black people anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. And it is our intention to try and spell out what the philosophy and aims and motivations of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad happen to be and his solution to this very serious problem that America finds herself confronted with.

And I might point out, too, that if you don't think that the problem is serious, then you need only to listen to the attorney general, Robert F. Kennedy. In almost every speech he's been involved in, especially during the past few months and even today, he has pointed out that the race problem is America's most serious domestic problem. And since the problem is so serious, it's time to take some serious steps to get to the factors that create this problem.

And again I want to thank the African Students Association and the campus NAACP for displaying the unity necessary to bring a very controversial issue before the students here on campus. The unity of Africans abroad and the unity of Africans here in this country can bring about practically any kind of achievement or accomplishment that Black people want today.

When I say the Africans abroad and the Africans here in this country—the man that you call Negro is nothing but an African himself. Why, some of them have been brainwashed into thinking that Africa is a place with no culture, no history, no contribution to civilization or science. So many of these Negroes, they take offense when they're identified with their homeland. But today we want to point out the different types of Negroes that you have to deal with. Then once you know there's more than one type, then you won't come up with just one type solution.

And to point out how timely the invitation is, or was—I don't want to read newspapers to you, but in the Detroit News dated Thursday, January 17, it

told about the Interfaith Council of Religion that was held in Chicago last week. And the topic of their conversation was the race problem here in America. And it pointed out that all of the time that they spent and money that they spent, actually they didn't get to the meat of the issue. And in this particular copy of the paper, on page three, the chaplain at Wayne State University actually criticized the efforts of these Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Chicago last week for failing to bring spokesmen to that conference who really would speak for Black people and spell out issues that were not being spelled out by the others.

And I just want to read a recommendation that he made: "Mr. Malcolm Boyd believes that the conference might have accomplished much good if the speakers had included a white supremacist and a Negro race leader, preferably a top man in the American Black Muslim movement." He said that a debate between them would undoubtedly be bitter, but it would accomplish one thing. It would get some of the real issues out into the open. And I think that the man is right. Most of the so-called Negroes that you listen to on the race problem usually don't represent any following of Black people. Usually they are Negroes who have been put in that position by the white man himself. And when they speak they're not speaking for Black people, they're saying exactly what they know the white man who put them in that position wants to hear them say.

So again, I think that it was very progressive and objective on the part of these two sponsoring groups to give us an opportunity to tell you how Black people really think and how Black people really feel and how dissatisfied Black people have become—increasingly so—with the conditions that our people find ourselves in here in this country.

Now in speaking as a—professing to speak for Black people by representing the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, you want to know who does he represent. Who does he speak for? There are two types of Negroes in this country. There's the bourgeois type who blinds himself to the condition of his people, and who is satisfied with token solutions. He's in the minority. He's a handful. He's usually the hand-picked Negro who benefits from token integration. But the masses of Black people who really suffer the brunt of brutality and the conditions that exist in this country are represented by the leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

So when I come in here to speak to you, I'm not coming in here speaking

as a Baptist or a Methodist or a Democrat or a Republican or a Christian or a Jew or— not even as an American. Because if I stand up here—if I could stand up here and speak to you as an American we wouldn't have anything to talk about. The problem would be solved. So I don't even profess to speak as an American. We are speaking as—I am speaking as a Black man. And I'm letting you know how a Black man thinks, how a Black man feels, and how dissatisfied Black men should have been 400 years ago. So, and if I raise my voice you'll forgive me or excuse me, I'm not doing it out of disrespect. I'm speaking from my heart, and you get it exactly as the feeling brings it out.

When I pointed out that there are two kinds of Negroes—some Negroes don't want a Black man to speak for them. That type of Negro doesn't even want to be Black. He's ashamed of being Black. And you'll never hear him refer to himself as Black. Now that type we don't pretend to speak for. You can speak for him. In fact you can have him.

But the ones that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad speaks for are those whose pattern of thinking, pattern of thought, pattern of behavior, pattern of action is being changed by what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching throughout America. These are that mass element, and usually when you hear the press refer to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, they refer to him as a teacher of hate or an advocator of violence or—what's this other thing...Black supremacist.

Actually this is the type of propaganda put together by the press, thinking that this will alienate masses of Black people from what he's saying. But actually the only one whom that type of propaganda alienates is this Negro who's always up in your face begging you for what you have or begging you for a chance to live in your neighborhood or work on your job or marry one of your women. Well that type of Negro naturally doesn't want to hear what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is talking about. But the type that wants to hear what he's saying is the type who feels that he'll get farther by standing on his own feet and doing something for himself towards solving his own problem, instead of accusing you of creating the problem and then, at the same time, depending upon you to do something to solve the problem.

So you have two types of Negro, the old type and the new type. Most of you know the old type. When you read about him in history during slavery he

was called "Uncle Tom." He was the house Negro. And during slavery you had two Negroes. You had the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negro usually lived close to his master. He dressed like his master. He wore his master's secondhand clothes. He ate food that his master left on the table. And he lived in his master's house probably in the basement or the attic—but he still lived in the master's house. So whenever that house Negro identified himself, he always identified himself in the same sense that his master identified himself. When his master said, "We have good food," the house Negro would say, "Yes, we have plenty of good food." "We" have plenty of good food. When the master said that "we have a fine home here," the house Negro said, "Yes, we have a fine home here." When the master would be sick, the house Negro identified himself so much with his master he'd say, "What's the matter boss, we sick?" His master's pain was his pain. And it hurt him more for his master to be sick than for him to be sick himself When the house started burning down, that type of Negro would fight harder to put the master's house out than the master himself would.

But then you had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was in the minority. The masses—the field Negroes were the masses. They were in the majority. When the master got sick, they prayed that he'd die. If his house caught on fire, they'd pray for a wind to come along and fan the breeze. If someone came to the house Negro and said, "Let's go, let's separate," naturally that Uncle Tom would say, "Go where? What could I do without boss? Where would I live? l How would I dress? Who would look out for me?" That's the house Negro. But if you went to the field Negro and said, "Let's go, let's separate," he wouldn't even ask you where or how. He'd say, "Yes, let's go." And that one ended right there.

So today you have a twentieth-century type of house Negro. A twentieth-century Uncle Tom. He's just as much an Uncle Tom today as Uncle Tom was 100 or 200 years ago. Only he's a modern Uncle Tom. That Uncle Tom wore a handkerchief around his head. This Uncle Tom wears a top hat. He's sharp. He dresses just like you do. He speaks the same phraseology, the same language. He tries to speak it better than you do. He speaks with the same accents, same diction. And when you say, "your army," he says, "our army." He hasn't got anybody to defend him, but anytime you say "we" he says "we." "Our president," "our government," "our Senate," "our congressmen," "our this and our that." And he hasn't even got a seat in that "our" even at the end of the line. So this is the twentieth century Negro. Whenever you say "you," the personal pronoun in the singular or in the

plural, he uses it right along with you. When you say you're in trouble, he says, Yes, we're in trouble."

But there's another kind of Black man on the scene. If you say you're in trouble, he says, "Yes, you're in trouble." He doesn't identify himself with your plight whatsoever.

And this is the thing that the white people in America have got to come to realize. That there are two types of Black people in this country. One who identifies with you so much so he will let you brutalize him and still beg you for a chance to sit next to you. And then there's one who's not interested in sitting next to you. He's not interested in being around you. He's not interested in what you have. He wants something of his own. He wants to sit someplace where he can call his own. He doesn't want a seat in your restaurant where you can give him some old bad coffee or bad food. He wants his own restaurant. And he wants some land where he can build that restaurant on, in a city that it can go in. He wants something of his own.

And when you realize that this type of thinking is existing and developing fastly or swiftly behind the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad among the so-called Negroes, then I think that you'll also realize that this whole phony effort at integration is no solution. Because the most you can do with this phony effort toward integration is to put out some token integration. And whereas this Uncle Tom will accept your token effort, the masses of Black people in this country are no more interested in token integration than they would be if you offered them a chance to sit inside a furnace somewhere. The only one who'll do that is this twentieth-century Uncle Tom. And you can always tell him because he wants to be next to you. He wants to eat with you. He wants to sleep with you. He wants to marry your woman, marry your mother, marry your sister, marry your daughter. And if you watch him close enough he's even after your wife.

This type has blind faith—in your religion. He's not interested in any religion of his own. He believes in a white Jesus, white Mary, white angels, and he's trying to get to a white heaven. When you listen to him in his church singing, he sings a song, I think they call it, "wash me white as snow." He wants to be, he wants to be turned white so he can go to heaven with a white man. It's not his fault; it's actually not his fault. But this is the state of his mind. This is the result of 400 years of brainwashing here in

America. You have taken a man who is Black on the outside and made him white on the inside. His brain is white as snow. His heart is white as snow. And therefore, whenever you say, this is ours, he thinks he's white the same as you, so what's yours he thinks is also his. Even right on down to your woman.

Now many of them will take offense at my implying that he wants your woman. They'll say, "No, this is what Bill Bowen, Talmadge, and all of the White Citizens' Councils say." They say that to fool you. If this is not what they want, watch them. And if you find evidence to the contrary, then I'll take back my words. But all you have to do is give him the chance to get near you, and you'll find that he is not satisfied until he is sitting next to your woman, or closer to her than that.

And this type of Negro, usually he hates Black and loves white. He doesn't want to be Black, he wants to be white. And he'll get on his bended knees and beg you for integration, which means he would rather live—rather than live with his own kind who love him, he'll force himself to live in neighborhoods around white people whom he knows don't mean him any good. And again I say, this is not his fault. He is sick. And as long as America listens to this sick Negro, who is begging to be integrated into American society despite the fact that the attitude and actions of whites are sufficient proof that he is not wanted, why then you are actually allowing him to force you into a position where you look just as sick as he looks.

If someone holds a gun on a white man and makes him embrace me—put his hand, arm, around me this isn't love nor is it brotherhood. What they are doing is forcing the white man to be a hypocrite, to practice hypocrisy. But if that white man will put his arm around me willingly, voluntarily, of his own volition, then that's love, that's brotherhood, that's a solution to the problem.

Likewise, as long as the government has to get out here and legislate to force Negroes into a white neighborhood or force Negroes into a white school or force Negroes into white industry—and make white people pretend that they go for this—all the government is doing is making white people be hypocrites. And rather than be classified as a bigot, by putting a block, the average white person actually would rather put up a hypocritical face, the face of a hypocrite, than to tell the Black man, "No, you stay over there and let me stay over here." So that's no solution.

As long as you force people to act in a hypocritical way, you will never solve their problem. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that a solution has to be devised that will be satisfactory, completely satisfactory to the Black man and completely satisfactory to the white man. And the only thing that makes white people completely satisfied and Black people completely satisfied, when they're in their right mind, is when the Black man has his own and the white man has his own You have what you need; we have what we need. Then both of us have something, and even the Bible says, "God bless the child that has his own." And the poor so-called Negro doesn't have his own name, doesn't have his own language, doesn't have his own culture, doesn't have his own history. He doesn't have his own country. He doesn't even have his own mind. And he thinks that he's Black 'cause God cursed him. He's not Black 'cause God cursed him. He's Black because—rather he's cursed because he's out of his mind. He has lost his mind. He has a white mind instead of the type of mind that he should have.

So, when these so-called Negroes who want integration try and force themselves into the white society, which doesn't solve the problem—the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that that type of Negro is the one that creates the problem. And the type of white person who perpetuates the problem is the one who poses as a liberal and pretends that the Negro should be integrated, as long as he integrates someone else's neighborhood. But all these whites that you see running around here talking about how liberal they are, and we believe everybody should have what they want and go where they want and do what they want, as soon as a Negro moves into that white liberal's neighborhood, that white liberal is—well he moves out faster than the white bigot from Mississippi, Alabama, and from someplace else.

So we won't solve the problem listening to that Uncle Tom Negro, and the problem won't be solved listening to the so-called white liberal. The only time the problem is going to be solved is when a Black man can sit down like a Black man and a white man can sit down like a white man. And make no excuses whatsoever with each other in discussing the problem. No offense will stem from factors that are brought up. But both of them have to sit down like men, on one side and on the other side, and look at it in terms of Black and white. And then take some kind of solution based upon the factors that we see, rather than upon that which we would like to believe.

And when I said that this Negro wants to force his way into the white man's family, this integrationist-minded Negro wants to force his way into the white man's family, some don't believe that. Some take issue with that. But you take all of the integrationists, all of those who are used to finance the program of the integrationists, the average so-called Negro celebrity, put all of them in one pile. And as fast as you name them off, you'll find that every one of them is married either to a white woman or a white man. From Lena Horne, Eartha Kitt, Sammy Davis, and you could name 'em all night long, they—although they say that this is not what we want—that's what they've done. That's what they have. And we don't—the Black masses don't want what Lena Horne wants or what Sammy Davis wants or what who's-his-name, the rest of them want.

Usually you'll find that before Sammy Davis and Lena Horne and Eartha Kitt and Harry Belafonte became involved in a mixed marriage you could go into the Negro community, any one across the country, and find those stars with records on the jukeboxes in the Negro community. You can't walk into a Negro community today and find anybody that the Negro community knows is involved in a mixed marriage with their records being popular in the Negro community. Subconsciously a Negro doesn't have any respect or regard or confidence, nor can he be moved by, another Black man, a Black man who marries a white woman or a Black woman who marries a white man.

And when they put out that picture to you that all of us want your woman, no, just that twentieth- century Uncle Tom. He wants her. But, then when you fulfill—think you're going to solve your problem by pleasing him, you're only making the problem worse. You have to go back and listen to the problem as it is presented by the masses of Black people, not by these handpicked, handful of Uncle Sam who benefit from token integration.

Also this type of so-called Negro, by being intoxicated over the white man, he never sees beyond the white man. He never sees beyond America. He never looks at himself or where he fits into things on the world stage. He only can see himself here in America, on the American stage or the white stage, where the white man is in the majority, where the white man is the boss. So this type of Negro always feels like he's outnumbered or he's the underdog or he's the minority. And it puts him in the role of a beggar—a cowardly, humble, Uncle Tomming beggar on anything that he says is—that should be his by right.

Whereas there is—he wants to be an American rather than to be Black. He wants to be something other than what he is. And knowing that America is a white country, he knows he can't be Black and be an American too. So he never calls himself Black. He calls himself an American Negro—a Negro in America. And usually he'll deny his own race, his own color, just to be a second-class American. He'll deny his own history, his own culture. He'll deny all of his brothers and sisters in Africa, in Asia, in the East, just to be a second-class American. He denies everything that he represents or everything that was in his past, just to be accepted into a country and into a government that has rejected him ever since he was brought here.

For this Negro is sick. He has to be sick to try and force himself amongst some people who don't want him, or to be accepted into a government that has used its entire political system and educational system to keep him relegated to the role of a second-class citizen. Therefore he spends a lifetime begging for acceptance into the same government that made slaves of his people. He gives his life for a country that made his people slaves and still confines them to the role of second-class citizens. And we feel that he wastes his time begging white politicians, political hypocrites, for civil rights or for some kind of first-class citizenship.

He is like a watchdog or a hound dog. You may run into a dog—no matter how vicious a dog is, you find him out in the street, he won't bite you. But when you get him up on the porch, he will growl, he'll take your leg. Now that dog, when he's out in the street, only his own life is threatened, and he's never been trained to protect himself. He's only been trained by his master to think in terms of what's good for his master. So when you catch him in the street and you threaten him, he'll go around you. But when you come up on the through the gate when he's sitting on the master's porch, then he'll bare his fangs and get ready to bite you. Not because you're threatening him, but because you threaten his master who has trained him not to protect himself but to protect the property of the master.

And this type of twentieth century Uncle Tom is the same way. He'll never attack you, but he'll attack me. I can run into him out on the street and blast him; he won't say a word. But if I look like I'm about to blast you in here, he'll open up his mouth and put up a better defense for you than you can put up for yourself. Because he hasn't been trained to defend himself. He has only been trained to open up his mouth in defense of his master. He hasn't been educated, he's been trained. When a man is educated, he

can think for himself and defend himself and speak for himself. But this twentieth century Uncle Tom Negro never opens up his mouth in defense of a Black man. He opens up his mouth in defense of the white man, in defense of America, in defense of the American government. He doesn't even know where his government is, because he doesn't know that he ever had one. He doesn't know where his country is, because he doesn't know that he ever had one.

He believes in exactly what he was taught in school. That when he was kidnapped by the white man, he was a savage in the jungle someplace eating people and throwing spears and with a bone in his nose. And the average American Negro has that concept of the African continent. It is not his fault. This is what has been given to him by the American educational system.

He doesn't realize that there were civilizations and cultures on the African continent at a time when the people in Europe were crawling around in the caves, going naked. He doesn't realize that the Black man in Africa was wearing silk, was wearing slippers—that he was able to spin himself, make himself at a time when the people up in Europe were going naked.

He doesn't realize that he was living in palaces on the African continent when the people in Europe were living in caves. He doesn't realize that he was living in a civilization in Africa where science had been so far advanced, especially even the astronomical sciences, to a point where Africans could plot the course of the stars in the universe when the people up in Europe still thought the earth was round, the planet was round—or flat. He doesn't realize the advancement and the high state of his own culture that he was living in before he was kidnapped and brought to this country by the white man He knows nothing about that. He knows nothing about the ancient Egyptian civilization on the African continent. Or the ancient Carthaginian civilization on the African continent. Or the ancient civilizations of Mali on the African continent. Civilizations that were highly developed and produced scientists. Timbuktu, the center of the Mali Empire, was the center of learning at a time when the people up in Europe didn't even know what a book was. He doesn't know this, because he hasn't been taught. And because he doesn't know this, when you mention Africa to him, why he thinks you're talking about a jungle. And I went to Africa in 1959 and didn't see any jungle. And I didn't see any mud huts until I got back to Harlem in New York City.

So you're familiar with that type of Negro. And the Black man that you're not familiar with is the one that we would like to point out now.

He is the new—he is the new type. He is the type that the white man seldom ever comes in contact with. And when you do come in contact with him, you're shocked, because you didn't know that this type of Black man existed. And immediately you think, well here's one of those Black supremacists or racists or extremists who believe in violence and all of that kind of—well that's what they call it.

This new type of Black man, he doesn't want integration; he wants separation. Not segregation, separation. To him, segregation, as we're taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, means that which is forced upon inferiors by superiors. A segregated community is a Negro community. But the white community, though it's all white, is never called a segregated community. It's a separate community. In the white community, the white man controls the economy, his own economy, his own politics, his own everything. That's his community. But at the same time while the Negro lives in a separate community, it's a segregated community. Which means its regulated from the outside by outsiders. The white man has all of the businesses in the Negro community. He runs the politics of the Negro community. He controls all the civic organizations in the Negro community. This is a segregated community.

We don't go for segregation. We go for separation. Separation is when you have your own. You control your own economy; you control your own politics; you control your own society; you control your own everything. You have yours and you control yours; we have ours and we control ours. They don't call Chinatown in New York City or on the West Coast a segregated community, yet it's all Chinese. But the Chinese control it. Chinese voluntarily live there, they control it. They run it. They have their own schools. They control their own politics, control their own industry. And they don't feel like they're being made inferior because they have to live to themselves. They choose to live to themselves. They live there voluntarily. And they are doing for themselves in their community the same thing you do for yourself in your community. This makes them equal because they have what you have. But if they didn't have what you have, then they'd be controlled from your side; even though they would be on their side, they'd be controlled from your side by you. So when we who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad say that we're for separation, it

should be emphasized we're not for segregation; we're for separation. We want the same for ourselves as you have for yourself. And when we get it, then it's possible to think more intelligently and to think in terms that are along peaceful lines. But a man who doesn't have what is his, he can never think always in terms that are along peaceful lines.

This new type rejects the white man's Christian religion. He recognizes the real enemy. That Uncle Tom can't see his enemy. He thinks his friend is his enemy and his enemy is his friend. And he usually ends up loving his enemy, turning his other cheek to his enemy. But this new type, he doesn't turn the other cheek to anybody. He doesn't believe in any kind of peaceful suffering. He believes in obeying the law. He believes in respecting people. He believes in doing unto others as he would have done to himself But at the same time, if anybody attacks him, he believes in retaliating if it costs him his life. And it is good for people to know this Because if white people get the impression that Negroes all endorse this old turn-the-other-cheek cowardly philosophy of Dr. Martin Luther King, then whites are going to make the mistake of putting their hands on some Black man, thinking that he's going to turn the other cheek, and he'll end up losing his hand and losing his life in the try.
So it is always better to let someone know where you stand. And there are a large number of Black people in this country who don't endorse any phase of what Dr. Martin Luther King and these other twentieth century religious Uncle Toms are putting in front of the public eye to make it look like this is the way, this is the behavior, or this is the thought pattern of most of our people.

Also this new type, you'll find, he doesn't look upon it as being any honor to be in America. He knows he didn't come here on the Mayflower. He knows he was brought here in a slave ship. But this twentieth century Uncle Tom, he'll stand up in your face and tell you about when his fathers landed on Plymouth Rock. His father never landed on Plymouth Rock; the rock was dropped on him but he wasn't dropped on it.

So this type doesn't make any apology for being in America, nor does he make any apology for the problem his presence in America presents for Uncle Sam. He knows he was brought here in chains, and he knows he was brought here against his will. He knows that the problem itself was created by the white man and that it was created because the white man brought us here in chains against our will. It was a crime. And the one who committed

that crime is the criminal today who should pay for the crime that was committed. You don't put the crime in jail, you put the criminal in jail. And kidnapping is a crime. Slavery is a crime. Lynching is a crime. And the presence of 20 million Black people in America against their will is a living witness, a living testimony of the crime that Uncle Sam committed, your forefathers committed, when our people were brought here in chains. And the reason the problem can't be solved today is you try and dress it up and doctor it up and make it look like a favor was done to the Black man by having brought the Black man here. But when you realize that it was a crime that was committed, then you approach the solution to that problem in a different light and then you can probably solve it. And as long as you think Negroes are running around here of the opinion that you're doing them a favor by letting them have some of this and letting them have some of that, why naturally every time you give a little bit more justice or freedom to the Black man, you stick out your chest and say, "See, we're solving the problem."

You're not doing the Black man any favor. If you stick a knife in my back, if you put it in nine inches and pull it out six inches, you haven't done me any favor. If you pull it all the way out, you haven't done me any favor. And this is what you have to realize. If you put a man in jail against his will—illegally, he's not guilty— you frame him up, and then because he resents what you've done to him, you put him in solitary confinement to break his spirit, then after his spirit is broken, you let him out a little bit and give him the general run of the prison, you haven't done him any favor. If you let him out of prison completely, you haven't done him any favor, because you put him in there unjustly and illegally in the first place.

Now you have 20 million Black people in this country who were brought here and put in a political, economic, and mental prison. This was done by Uncle Sam. And today you don't realize what a crime your forefathers have committed. And you think that when you open the door a few cracks, and give this little integration-intoxicated Negro a chance to run around in the prison yard—that's all he's doing—that you're doing him a favor. But as long as he has to look up to someone who doesn't represent him and doesn't speak for him, that person only represents the warden, he doesn't represent some kind of president or mayor or governor or senator or congressman or anything else.

So this new type the fact has to be faced that he exists. Especially since he's

in the house. And he didn't come here because it was his will. So you have to take the blame for his being here. And once you take the blame, then its more easy. Its easier for you to approach the problem more sensibly and try and get a solution. And the solution can never be based upon hypocrisy. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that this solution has to be based upon reality. Tokenism is hypocrisy. One little student in the University of Mississippi, that's hypocrisy. A handful of students in Little Rock, Arkansas, is hypocrisy. A couple of students going to school in Georgia is hypocrisy.

Integration in America is hypocrisy in the rawest form. And the whole world can see it. All this little tokenism that is dangled in front of the Negro and then he's told, See what we're doing for you, Tom." Why the whole world can see that this is nothing but hypocrisy. All you do is make your image worse; you don't make it better. So again, this new type, as I say, he rejects the white man's Christian religion. You find in large numbers they're turning toward the religion of Islam. They are becoming Muslims, believing in one God, whose proper name is Allah, in Muhammad as his apostle, in turning toward Mecca, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, and all the other principles that are laid out by the religion of Islam. He's becoming a Muslim and just as—I think it was Dr. Billy Graham who made a crusade through Africa and came back and said that Islam is sweeping through Africa, outnumbering Christianity in converts eleven to one, which means every time one African becomes a Christian, eleven of them become a Muslim. And then that one who became a Christian, he forgets it and goes on and be a Muslim, too.

So that—and Bishop Pike pointed out the same thing in Look magazine in December 1960 and then Time magazine, heaven forbid that I should mention that magazine, but Time magazine mentioned it, two weeks ago, that Islam is sweeping throughout Africa. And just as it is sweeping throughout the Black people of Africa, it is sweeping throughout the Black people right here in America. Only the one who's teaching it here in America is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. He is the religious leader, the religious teacher. He is the one who is spreading the religion of Islam among the slaves, ex- slaves, here in America.

You have Muslims who have come to this country from the Muslim world. There are probably 200,000 Muslims in this country from the Muslim world, who were born in the Muslim world. And all of them combined

have never been able to convert a hundred Americans to the religion of Islam. Yet it is the nature of Islam to propagate the faith, to spread the faith, to make everyone bear witness that there's no God but Allah and Muhammad is his apostle.

And if you find all of the Muslims of the Muslim world who come here, unable or incapable of turning the American people toward Allah and toward Mecca and toward Islam, and then this little Black man from the cotton fields of Georgia is able to stand up and get Black people by the hundreds of thousands to turn toward Mecca five times a day and give praise to Allah and come together in unity and harmony, why you'd have to be out of your mind to think the people of the Muslim world don't recognize the wonderful religious and spiritual accomplishment that's being achieved here among the so-called Negroes by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

And I take time to mention that because the propagandists try and convey the picture that we're not Muslims, we're not religiously motivated, and that we are in no way identified or recognized or connected with our people of the Muslim world. Well if they didn't recognize us, we wouldn't care. We're not particularly looking for recognition. We're looking for recognition from Allah, from God, and if Allah accepts you as a Muslim, you're accepted. It's not left to somebody walking around here on this earth. But those people over there would be out of their minds, when they find themselves unable to spread the religion of Islam and then they see this little Black man here in America spreading it, why they'd be out of their mind to reject him. And you'll find if you take the time to look, that you don't find any Muslim today who rejects another Muslim. You might find some who come over here, who operate stores or some kind of little business in the white neighborhood, the Christian neighborhood, and they want to get along with all the white people, with all the Christians. They might say some words to please you. But they're only trying to get your money. So the followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad look to him and what he teaches, his program and his message, as our only solution. And they see separation as our only salvation.

We don't think as Americans any more, but as a Black man. With the mind of a Black man, we look beyond America. And we look beyond the interests of the white man. The thinking of this new type of Negro is broad. Its more international. This integrationist always thinks in terms of an

American. But you find the masses of Black people today think in terms of Black. And this Black thinking enables them to see beyond the confines of America. And they look all over the world. They look at the happenings in the international context.

By this little integrationist Negro thinking locally, by his thinking and desires being confined to America, he's limited. He's the underdog. He's a minority. But the masses of Black people who have been exposed to the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, their thinking is more international. They look on this earth and they see that the majority of the people on this earth are dark. And by seeing that the majority of the people on this earth are dark, they don't regard themselves as a minority in America, but rather they regard themselves as part of that vast, dark majority.

So therefore, when you run into that type of Black man, he doesn't speak as an underdog. He doesn't speak like you outnumber him, or he doesn't speak like there's any harm that you can do to him. He speaks as one who outnumbers you. He sees that the dark world outnumbers the white world. That the odds have turned today and are in his favor, are on his side. He sees that the people of this earth are on his side. That time is on his side. That history is on his side. And most important of all, he sees that God is on his side toward getting him some kind of solution that's immediate, and that's lasting, and that is no way connected or concerned or stems from the goodwill or good conscience in any way, shape, whatsoever of the man who created—who committed the crime and created the problem in the first place.

I would like to point out, quickly and briefly—no I won't, I think my time is up...well Dr. here says my time is up, and I'm telling him his time is short. So I think what's good for the goose is good for the gander.

* * *

Question: Do you consider Elijah Muhammad as a prophet or as a leader?

Malcolm X: We never refer to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as a prophet. He never refers to himself as that, and he teaches us that the world has no need for prophets today. But he's a leader, he's a leader of the Black people here in this country against the oppression and exploitation that

our people have suffered for 400 years. And we need a leader from among ourselves, because our people back home never came and tried to relieve us of the suffering that we've undergone.

Question: I'm a white man...

Malcolm X: You're not a white man.

Question: If I was a white man, do you accept him to attend your mosque, to worship God with you?

Malcolm X: If the—all of the Muslims in this country from Egypt and elsewhere have not been successful in letting the white man to turn toward the religion of Islam and they are born in the Muslim world, well we find we'd be wasting our time trying to convert the white man himself. Mr. Muhammad is primarily concerned with the condition of the Black man in this country. Now if the other Muslims who come here from abroad want to set up some kind of mosque and let the white man in it and teach him how to be a Muslim and get him to say, "No God but Allah," then they can do that. But they shouldn't criticize us for not doing it, because they haven't succeeded in doing it.

Question: Will you accept me in your mosque?

Malcolm X: Sir, you're not white.

Question: I'm asking you if a white man, many people are white men and they are Muslim too.

Malcolm X: I answered you. Mr. Muhammad's concern is not with the white man. His concern is with the Black man...Islam means to submit to the will of one God whose personal and proper name is Allah. What you forget, if you're in the Muslim world practicing Islam, you're not faced with the same problem of Black people who have been kidnapped from the Muslim world and have been deprived of Islam.

[Question]

Malcolm X: You have to ask the white man that. He's the one who segregates us. Segregation is done by him. You have to ask him that

question... Sir, I just want to add some light to your question. We are brothers. Mr. Muhammad's youngest son attends al-Azhar, and his brother-in-law, in Egypt too. We are brothers, I was in Egypt. I lived in Egypt, I stayed in Egypt, and I was among brothers and I felt the spirit of brotherhood. But an Egyptian who comes to America should realize the problem confronted by Black people in this country. And when you see us being chased by a dog, the best thing for you to do is wait until the dog stops chasing us and then ask us some questions. Especially when you should have come a long time ago and helped your little brothers whip the dog.

[Question]

Malcolm X: There are many different ways to understand politics. Number one, we're not a political group. We are not politically inclined or motivated nor are our political aims in any way connected with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. But when you study the science of politics, or study it as it's practiced in the UN at the international level, you'll find usually on questions you have those who say yes, those who say no, those who don't say anything. Those who don't say anything usually are the neutrals. And by abstaining they have just as much political power, if not more so, than those who take an active part in all situations. Where the Negro in America is concerned, he's been without the ballot so long, today when he gets the ballot, he's ballot-happy. He's like the man to whom you give a gun, and he just starts shooting to let everybody know he's got a gun. He doesn't aim at anything. Well, we believe in shooting, too. But we first believe that we should have a target and then when that target gets within our reach, then we'll put the bullet where it belongs. Or the ballot where it belongs. Whatever you call it, where it belongs. We don't see at this point where the Black man gains anything in politics. Let me just give you an example. In the last presidential election, whites were evenly divided between Kennedy and Nixon. It was the Negro who went for Kennedy, 80 percent, and put Kennedy in the White House. And they went for him based upon the promises—false promises, by the way—that he made. Well, facts are facts. He said he—I think everybody has a right to his opinion. And I'm quite certain those who are familiar with Kennedy's promises to the Negro know what he said he could do with the stroke of his pen. And he was in office for two years before he found where his fountain pen was where the Negro was concerned. And the excuse that he used was that he first had to change the attitude of southern segregationists. Now he didn't tell you that when

he asked you to vote for him. But was facing. He didn't want to take a stand against the southern segregationists. But he did take a stand against U.S. Steel, which is the strongest corporation on this earth. He threw down the gauntlet. He threw down the gauntlet to Cuba. He has thrown down the gauntlet to anybody he desires. But when it comes to the Negro, he's always got an alibi that puts him off until a little while later. This is why we don't believe in any white politicians or anything like that can solve our problem. We'll get together among ourselves, with these students who go to these colleges and get equipped and solve the problem for ourselves.

[Question]

Malcolm X: Whenever you send 15,000 troops and spend six or seven million dollars just to put one Negro in the midst of some yapping wolves, you haven't done that Negro nor the masses of Black people any favor, nor have you solved the problem. If it's legal and just and right for Meredith to be at the University of Mississippi according to Robert Kennedy, the attorney general, and all of the others, then every other Black man in Mississippi has just as much right to be there. So if you're going to spend all that money and all that manpower putting one in there, why not just go in and take the criminals who are responsible for keeping the masses out, and take them down off their posts and then open the doors to everybody. That would be a solution, but they're not going to do that. They always want to use methods that push one Negro at a time, then they use him to turn around and tell the masses, "you see, we're solving the problem." And the problem is still unsolved. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says the only way to solve the problem of the so-called Negro is complete separation in the United States. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says, every effort on the part of the government up till now to solve this problem by bringing about a just, equitable situation between whites and Blacks mixed up together here in this house has failed. Has failed absolutely. So he says that since you can't give the Negro justice in your house, let us leave this house and go back home. Now at the same time that he says let us go back home to our own people and our own homeland, the government itself is the leading opposition toward any mass element of Black people becoming orientated in the direction of home. They put forth the effort to stop this. So what he says is, since you can't give it to us here mixed up in your house, and you don't want us to go home back to our own people, then the only alternative is to separate the house. Give us part of this country and let us live in that part. You've asked me to explain. Now you want me to proceed?

You may think its funny, but one of these days you won't. He says that in this section that will be set aside for Black people, that the government should give us everything we need to start our own civilization. They should give us everything we need to exist for the next twenty-five years. And when you stop and consider that you shouldn't be shocked, you give Latin America $20 billion and they never fought for this country. They never worked for this country. You send billions of dollars to Poland and to Hungary, they're Communist countries, they never contributed anything here. This is what you should realize. The greatest contribution to this country was that which was contributed by the Black man. If I take the wages, just a moment, if I take the wages of everyone here, individually it means nothing, but collectively all of the earning power or wages that you earned in one week would make me wealthy. And if I could collect it for a year, I'd be rich beyond dreams. Now, when you see this, and then you stop and consider the wages that were kept back from millions of Black people, not for one year but for 310 years, you'll see how this country got so rich so fast. And what made the economy as strong as it is today. And all that, and all of that slave labor that was amassed in unpaid wages, is due someone today. And you're not giving us anything when we say that it's time to collect.

[Question]

Malcolm X: Up until a few years ago, the whole dark world, which was then the majority, was ruled by Europe—the white man, who was actually a minority. And realizing that they were only ruled because of the scientific effort put forth to divide and conquer by the European whites, all of the people black, brown, red, and yellow in Africa got together in what was known as the Bandung Conference. They realized that they had religious differences, economic differences, educational differences, even cultural differences. And they agreed to submerge all of their differences because they had one thing in common—oppression, exploitation. And they had an oppressor in common, an exploiter in common—the European. Once they realized they had this in common, they had a common enemy and they reached the agreement not to fight among themselves anymore. And just by being able to submerge their own differences and come together in a spirit of unity, the Bandung Conference produced the condition by which all of the nations in Africa that are independent today were able to secure their independence. And so they have come into the UN. Now they are in a position they can outvote the white man. And it has actually created an

accomplishment. Whereas in the past you had European, white Christians always at the helm in the UN, today the black, brown, red, and yellow people of Africa and Asia so greatly outnumber the white man, they can't get a white, Christian European elected to any position of power. Usually, the secretariat and the president's chair stays in the hands of an African, an Asian, a Muslim, a Hindu, or a Christian. This is what unity is able to do. And here in America, the Negro, the so-called Negroes, all we have to do is forget our differences. Usually whites cite things to try and divide us, and then use us one against the other. They try and use the NAACP against the Muslims, Muslims against CORE; they try and keep them all fighting one another. And as we fight one another, they continue to rule. So what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says is what you and I should do is forget all of our differences and put first things first. Get at the one who's holding both of us down and we can talk to each other later on.

[Question]

Malcolm X: The South African whites are, number one, on a continent where they don't belong and have no business there and won't be there that much longer. The Black people in South Africa outnumber the whites there about eleven to one. The Blacks in South Africa outnumber the whites. Enough to get rid of them when the time comes Now, their type of separation is not the type of separation that we're looking for. We're looking for a separation in which we have our own. We can either go back home and practice it or we can stay here and practice it. But we are not going to sit around with this integration hypocrisy that whites are talking about which will take another hundred years. The only thing you can bring about in the morning is complete separation. It has no connection or comparison whatsoever with that which is being practiced in South Africa. South African apartheid is segregation. It's not separation. And they are afraid to let those Africans build up a society of their own in which they will become equal or just as powerful politically, economically, and otherwise as the whites are in their parts. They don't want that. No, no comparison whatsoever. Theirs is something of the past, it's outmoded and it's on its way out. Ours is riding on the wave of the future.

[Question]

Malcolm X: If you can't receive justice in a man's house, that man deprives you of justice, he should let you leave. And if he doesn't want you to leave

his house, yet he can't give you justice in the house, he'll end up losing the whole house himself. This is what America is faced with.

[Question]

Malcolm X: No, the Fruit—you asked another question within that—the Fruit of Islam are the brothers who have been reformed, rehabilitated; who don't drink, don't smoke, don't commit fornication or adultery, don't become involved in any kind of crime. Who learn how to respect their women—to respect the Black woman, who has never had any respect or protection in this society. These are the brothers who have actually reformed themselves and they set an example of what the religion of Islam will do for others of the so-called Negroes. And these brothers will give you respect when you respect them.

[Question]

Malcolm X: No, they don't comprise a small army. But an army in this sense—army only means a lot of people. They don't comprise an army in the sense that they are looking for violence. But you will find this: that a Muslim brother, whenever he's attacked, he'll defend himself.

[Question]

Malcolm X: No, I'll answer the last question first. No, there's no such thing as a sincere white liberal— listen I'm giving you my answer. You can hiss all night, that's what the snake did in the Garden of Eden. Usually you'll find, sir, that in any integrated group that the so-called Negro has, if you examine its composition, where the whites are concerned, they end up leading it, they end up ruling it, they end up controlling it. I'll give you an example. The NAACP is one of the leading organizations that Negroes have. It has been in existence for fifty-four years, and the Black people in the NAACP have never had enough power in there to elect a Black man as the national president. They have an election every year. Which means they have had an election fifty-four times in fifty-four years. And every time, they've had to elect a white man. The man who is the president of it now, Arthur Spingarn, has been president of it for twenty-four consecutive years. Now if—I'm not knocking the NAACP—but if the NAACP—I'm just, uhm, analyzing it. If the NAACP in fifty-four years cannot get a Black man qualified to be its national president, then it leads me to believe either

they are failing to create and develop the proper leadership caliber among the Black people in it, or else they are practicing the same discrimination that they accuse the white man of. Where CORE is concerned—the Urban League is another famous Negro organization that's integrated. It has a white president. It has never had a Black president. CORE has a Negro national director; but he's a Negro who's married to a white woman. James Farmer, he's married to a white woman and that almost makes him a white man. Although they have a Black— they have a white president also. It's true—Farmer, in 1945, divorced his Black wife and married a white woman.

[Question]

Malcolm X: In the UN with the Lebanese or Arabs—in the UN you have the Afro/Asian/Arab bloc. Now a lot of Arabs might like for you to think that they are white, but whenever you see them involved in the international picture, they are lined up with the dark world. Those who are making progress are lined up with the dark world. Afro, Asian, Arab, they can come around here and pose as white. But when they get back home, they're not white

[Question]

Malcolm X: You never heard me today refer to myself as a Black Muslim. This is what the press says. We call ourselves Muslim. Just a moment. We call ourselves Muslim—we don't call ourselves Black Muslims. This is what the newspapers call us. This is what Dr. Eric Lincoln calls us. We are Muslims. Black, brown, red, and yellow.

[Question]

Malcolm X: Now you say that we come here and use Islam for political purposes because we reject the white man. When the Algerians refused to integrate with the French, did that make, mean that they weren't Muslims? When the Arabs refused to integrate with the Israelis, does that mean they're not Muslims? When the Pakistanis refused to integrate with the Hindus, does that mean they're not Muslims? No, just a moment. The Algerians have the right to reject the French, who exploited them. The Arabs have the right to reject the Israelis, whom they feel exploit them. The Pakistanis have the right to reject the Hindus, whom they feel exploit

them. The Algerians are still Muslims. The Arabs are still Muslims and the Pakistanis are still Muslims. There are 20 million Black people in this country who have been here for 400 years. And who have suffered the worst form of abuse ever perpetrated on a people in the twentieth century. Now when we accept Islam as our religion, that doesn't mean that we are religiously wrong to reject the man who has exploited us and colonized us here in this country.

[Question]

Malcolm X: It's not wrong to expect justice. It's not wrong to expect freedom. It's not wrong to expect equality. If Patrick Henry and all of the Founding Fathers of this country were willing to lay down their lives to get what you are enjoying today, then it's time for you to realize that a large, ever-increasing number of Black people in this country are willing to die for what we know is due us by birth. The white man is being given a favor, when you give him a chance today to solve a problem that stems from a crime that he committed himself. You ask me—like I'm committing a crime or asking for something that's ethically wrong or morally wrong when we seek a solution to this problem right now. A problem that has the government all tied up all over this earth. What you need to realize, you from India, you from Iraq, you from Egypt, and you from right here in America, and we who are enslaved—that a crime has been committed against the Negro. Some of you from over there, you knew we were over here and never come over here to help us, and now when we stand up and are ready to help ourselves, don't come with your criticism. Help us.

[Question]

Malcolm X: Would you think that I was wrong if I asked: how are you going to integrate? If the Supreme Court says integrate, and they can't do it, and that's the highest court—we're not rejecting anything. We reserve I said no, he asked me was I rejecting, were we rejecting violence or were we rejecting peaceful methods. We don't reject any methods. We leave—we reserve the right to use whatever method that will bring about a solution to the problem and then when—and the reason that I haven't—Sir, I don't think you would give me credit. If you have a lamb inside of a wolf's den and you need to get that lamb out of the clutches of that wolf, you don't stand up and tell the lamb, how are you going to take him, or where you're going to take him, while he's still in the clutches of the wolf, or while he's

still under the jurisdiction of the wolf.

[Question]

Malcolm X: As you say, Tom always was a good actor. And where the white man thinks we're dangerous to him, Tom is more dangerous to the white man than anyone, because Tom has him fooled. The white man knows where we stand; but Tom today is waking up the same as anybody else. Well, you won't t get any argument out of me. It is true that many Negroes in prominent positions who have been known Uncle Toms in the past today are waking up, and their allegiances and other aims are very much camouflaged still, as they were then.

[Question]

Malcolm X: We'll do it the same way the Jews got what they wanted. They got their own state, their own country. No, they got it, and yeah, well you're right, it was given to them by England and Truman. But, sir, no the Jews are the ones who usually represent themselves as white liberals. More so probably than any other segment of this society. Now if the Jews are genuinely liberal and they want to help the Negro, then they should show the Negro how to use the same kind of strategy and tactics to solve his problem that they used to solve their problems. And you'll find that all over this country, wherever the Jews have been segregated and Jim Crowed, they haven't sat in, they haven't been sittin' or Freedom Riders, they usually go and use the economic weapon. They bought Atlantic City, and now they can go there. They bought Miami Beach and now they can go there.

# Alex Haley Interviews Malcolm X (May, 1963)

Haley: What is the ambition of the Black Muslims?

Malcolm X: Freedom, justice and equality are our principal ambitions. And to faithfully serve and follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the guiding goal of every Muslim. Mr. Muhammad teaches us the knowledge of our own selves, and of our own people. He cleans us up—morally, mentally and spiritually—and he reforms us of the vices that have blinded us here in the Western society. He stops black men from getting drunk, stops their dope addiction if they had it, stops nicotine, gambling, stealing, lying, cheating, fornication, adultery, prostitution, juvenile delinquency. I think of this whenever somebody talks about someone investigating us. Why investigate the Honorable Elijah Muhammad? They should subsidize him. He's cleaning up the mess that white men have made. He's got men off of welfare, showing them how to do something for themselves. And Mr. Muhammad teaches us love for our own kind. The white man has taught the black people in this country to hate themselves as inferior, to hate each other, to be divided against each other. Messenger Muhammad restores our love for our own kind, which enables us to work together in unity and harmony. He shows us how to pool our financial resources and our talents, then to work together toward a common objective. Among other things, we have small businesses in most major cities in this country, and we want to create many more. We are taught by Mr. Muhammad that it is very important to improve the black man's economy, and his thrift. But to do this, we must have land of our own.

The brainwashed black man can never learn to stand on his own two feet until he is on his own. We must learn to become our own producers, manufacturers and traders; we must have industry of our own, to employ our own. The white man resists this because he wants to keep the black man under his thumb and jurisdiction in white society. He wants to keep the black man always dependent and begging—for jobs, food, clothes, shelter, education. The white man doesn't want to lose somebody to be supreme over. He wants to keep the black man where he can be watched and retarded. Mr. Muhammad teaches that as soon as we separate from the white man, we will learn that we can do without the white man just as

he can do without us. The white man knows that once black men get off to themselves and learn they can do for themselves, the black man's full potential will explode and he will surpass the white man.

Haley: Do you feel that the Black Muslims' goal of obtaining "several states" is a practical vision?

Malcolm X: Well, you might consider some things practical that are really impractical. Wasn't it impractical that the Supreme Court could issue a desegregation order nine years ago and there's still only eight percent compliance? Is it practical that a hundred years after the Civil War there's not freedom for black men yet? On the record for integration you've got the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court—but show me your integration, where is it? That's practical? Mr. Muhammad teaches us to be for what's really practical— that's separation. It's more natural than integration.

Haley: In a recent interview, Negro author-lecturer Louis Lomax said, "Eighty percent, if not more, of America's 20,000,000 Negroes vibrate sympathetically with the Muslims' indictment of the white power structure. But this does not mean we agree with them in their doctrines of estrangement or with their proposed resolutions of the race problem." Does this view represent a consensus of opinion among Negroes? And if so, is it possible that your separationist and anti-Christian doctrines have the effect of alienating many of your own race?

Malcolm X: Sir, you make a mistake listening to people who tell you how much our stand alienates black men in this country. I'd guess actually we have the sympathy of 90 percent of the black people. There are 20,000,000 dormant Muslims in America. A Muslim to us is somebody who is for the black man; I don't care if he goes to the Baptist Church seven days a week. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that a black man is born a Muslim by nature. There are millions of Muslims not aware of it now. All of them will be Muslims when they wake up; that's what's meant by the Resurrection. Sir, I'm going to tell you a secret: the black man is a whole lot smarter than white people think he is. The black man has survived in this country by fooling the white man. He's been dancing and grinning and white men never guessed what he was thinking. Now you'll hear the bourgeois Negroes pretending to be alienated, but they're just making the white man think they don't go for what Mr. Muhammad is saying. This

Negro that will tell you he's so against us, he's just protecting the crumbs he gets from the white man's table. This kind of Negro is so busy trying to be like the white man that he doesn't know what the real masses of his own people are thinking. A fine car and house and clothes and liquor have made a lot think themselves different from their poor black brothers.

But Mr. Muhammad says that Allah is going to wake up all black men to see the white man as he really is, and see what Christianity has done to them. The black masses that are waking up don't believe in Christianity anymore. All it's done for black men is help to keep them slaves. Mr. Muhammad is teaching that Christianity, as white people see it, means that whites can have their heaven here on earth, but the black man is supposed to catch his hell here. The black man is supposed to keep believing that when he dies, he'll float up to some city with golden streets and milk and honey on a cloud somewhere. Every black man in North America has heard black Christian preachers shouting about "tomorrow in good old Beulah's Land." But the thinking black masses today are interested in Muhammad's Land. The Promised Land that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad talks about is right here on this earth. Intelligent black men today are interested in a religious doctrine that offers a solution to their problems right now, right here on this earth, while they-are alive. You must understand that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad represents the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy to us. In the Old Testament, Moses lived to see his enemy, Pharaoh, drowned in the Red Sea—which in essence means that Mr. Muhammad will see the completion of his work in his lifetime, that he will live to see victory gained over his enemy.

Haley: Are you referring to the Muslim judgment day which your organization's newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, calls "Armageddon" and prophesies as imminent?

Malcolm X: Armageddon deals with the final battle between God and the Devil. The Third World War is referred to as Armageddon by many white statesmen. There won't be any more war after then because there won't be any more warmongers. I don't know when Armageddon, whatever form it takes, is supposed to be. But I know the time is near when the white man will be finished. The signs are all around us. Ten years ago you couldn't have paid a Southern Negro to defy local customs. The British Lion's tail has been snatched off in black Africa. The Indonesians have booted out such would-be imperialists as the Dutch. The French, who felt for a century

that Algeria was theirs, have had to run for their lives back to France. Sir, the point I make is that all over the world, the old day of standing in fear and trembling before the almighty white man is gone!

Haley: If Muslims ultimately gain control as you predict, what do you plan to do with white people?

Malcolm X: It's not a case of what would we do, it's a case of what would God do with whites. What does a judge do with the guilty? Either the guilty one repents and atones, or God executes judgment.

Haley: You refer to whites as "the guilty" and "the enemy"; you predict divine retribution against them; and you preach absolute separation from the white community. Do not these views substantiate the fact that your movement is predicated on race hatred?

Malcolm X: Sir, it's from Mr. Muhammad that the black masses are learning for the first time in 400 years the real truth of how the white man brainwashed the black man, kept him ignorant of his true history, robbed him of his self-confidence. The black masses for the first time are understanding that it's not a case of being anti-white or anti-Christian, but it's a case of seeing the true nature of the white man. We're anti-evil, anti-oppression, anti-lynching. You can't be anti-those things unless you're also anti-the oppressor and the lyncher. You can't be anti-slavery and pro-slavemaster; you can't be anti-crime and pro-criminal. In fact, Mr. Muhammad teaches that if the present generation of whites would study their own race in the light of their true history, they would be anti-white themselves.

Haley: Are you?

Malcolm X: As soon as the white man hears a black man say that he's through loving white people, then the white man accuses the black man of hating him. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate. The white man isn't important enough for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and his followers to spend any time hating him. The white man has brainwashed himself into believing that all the black people in the world want to be cuddled up next to him. When he meets what we're talking about, he can't believe it, it takes all the wind out of him. When we tell him we don't want to be around him, we don't want to be like he is, he's

staggered. It makes him re-evaluate his 300-year myth about the black man. What I want to know is how the white man, with the blood of black people dripping off his fingers, can have the audacity to be asking black people do they hate him. That takes a lot of nerve.

Haley: How do you reconcile your disavowal of hatred with the announcement you made last year that Allah had brought you "the good news" that 120 white Atlantans had just been killed in an air crash en route to America from Paris?

Malcolm X: Sir, as I see the law of justice, it says as you sow, so shall you reap. The white man has reveled as the rope snapped black men's necks. He has reveled around the lynching fire. It's only right for the black man's true God, Allah, to defend us—and for us to be joyous because our God manifests his ability to inflict pain on our enemy. We Muslims believe that the white race, which is guilty of having oppressed and exploited and enslaved our people here in America, should and will be the victims of God's divine wrath. All civilized societies in their courts of justice set a sentence of execution against those deemed to be enemies of society, such as murderers and kidnappers. The presence of 20,000,000 black people here in America is proof that Uncle Sam is guilty of kidnapping—because we didn't come here voluntarily on the Mayflower. And 400 years of lynchings condemn Uncle Sam as a murderer.

Haley: To return to your statement about the plane crash, when Dr. Ralph Bunche heard about it, he called you "mentally depraved." What is your reaction?

Malcolm X: I know all about what Dr. Bunche said. He's always got his international mouth open. He apologized in the UN when black people protested there. You'll notice that whenever the white man lets a black man get prominent, he has a job for him. Dr. Bunche serves the white man well—he represents, speaks for and defends the white man. He does none of this for the black man. Dr. Bunche has functioned as a white man's tool, designed to influence international opinion on the Negro. The white man has Negro local tools, national tools, and Dr. Bunche is an international tool.

Haley: Dr. Bunche was only one of many prominent Negroes who deplored your statement in similar terms. What reply have you to make to these

spokesmen for your own people?

Malcolm X: Go ask their opinions and you'll be able to fill your notebook with what white people want to hear Negroes say. Let's take these so-called spokesmen for the black men by types. Start with the politicians. They never attack Mr. Muhammad personally. They realize he has the sympathy of the black masses. They know they would alienate the masses whose votes they need. But the black civic leaders, they do attack Mr. Muhammad. The reason is usually that they are appointed to their positions by the white man. The white man pays them to attack us. The ones who attack Mr. Muhammad the most are the ones who earn the most. Then take the black religious-leaders, they also attack Mr. Muhammad. These preachers do it out of self-defense, because they know he's waking up Negroes. No one believes what the Negro preacher preaches except those who are mentally asleep, or in the darkness of ignorance about the true situation of the black man here today in this wilderness of North America. If you will take note, sir, many so-called Negro leaders who once attacked the Honorable Elijah Muhammad don't do so anymore. And he never speaks against them in the personal sense except as a reaction if they speak against him. Islam is a religion that teaches us never to attack, never to be the aggressor—but you can waste somebody if he attacks you. These Negro leaders have become aware that whenever the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is caused by their attack to level his guns against them, they always come out on the losing end. Many have experienced this.

Haley: Do you admire and respect any other American Negro leaders—Martin Luther King, for example?

Malcolm X: I am a Muslim, sir. Muslims can see only one leader who has the qualifications necessary to unite all elements of black people in America. This is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

Haley: Many white religious leaders have also gone on record against the Black Muslims. Writing in the official NAACP magazine, a Catholic priest described you as "a fascist-minded hate group," and B'nai B'rith has accused you of being not only anti-Christian but anti-Semitic. Do you consider this true?

Malcolm X: Insofar as the Christian world is concerned, dictatorships have existed only in areas or countries where you have Roman Catholicism.

Catholicism conditions your mind for dictators. Can you think of a single Protestant country that has ever produced a dictator?

Haley: Germany was predominantly Protestant when Hitler...

Malcolm X: Another thing to think of—in the 20th Century, the Christian Church has given us two heresies: fascism and communism. Where did fascism start? Where's the second-largest Communist party outside of Russia? The answer to both is Italy. Where is the Vatican? But let's not forget the Jew. Anybody that gives even a just criticism of the Jew is instantly labeled anti-Semite. The Jew cries louder than anybody else if anybody criticizes him. You can tell the truth about any minority in America, but make a true observation about the Jew, and if it doesn't pat him on the back, then he uses his grip on the news media to label you anti-Semite. Let me say just a word about the Jew and the black man. The Jew is always anxious to advise the black man. But they never advise him how to solve his problem the way the Jews solved their problem. The Jew never went sitting-in and crawling-in and sliding-in and freedom-riding, like he teaches and helps Negroes to do. The Jews stood up, and stood together, and they used their ultimate power, the economic weapon. That's exactly what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is trying to teach black men to do. The Jews pooled their money and bought the hotels that barred them. They bought Atlantic City and Miami Beach and anything else they wanted. Who owns Hollywood? Who runs the garment industry, the largest industry in New York City? But the Jew that's advising the Negro joins the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, and others. With money donations, the Jew gains control, then he sends the black man doing all this wading-in, boring-in, even burying-in—everything but buying-in. Never shows him how to set up factories and hotels. Never advises him how to own what he wants. No, when there's something worth owning, the Jew's got it. Walk up and down in any Negro ghetto in America. Ninety percent of the worthwhile businesses you see are Jew-owned. Every night they take the money out. This helps the black man's community stay a ghetto.

Haley: Isn't it true that many Gentiles have also labored with dedication to advance integration and economic improvement for the Negro, as volunteer workers for the NAACP, CORE and many other interracial agencies?

Malcolm X: A man who tosses worms in the river isn't necessarily a friend

of the fish. All the fish who take him for a friend, who think the worm's got no hook in it, usually end up in the frying pan. All these things dangled before us by the white liberal posing as a friend and benefactor have turned out to be nothing but bait to make us think we're making progress. The Supreme Court decision has never been enforced. Desegregation has never taken place. The promises have never been fulfilled. We have received only tokens, substitutes, trickery and deceit.

Haley: What motives do you impute to Playboy for providing you with this opportunity for the free discussion of your views?

Malcolm X: I think you want to sell magazines. I've never seen a sincere white man, not when it comes to helping black people. Usually things like this are done by white people to benefit themselves. The white man's primary interest is not to elevate the thinking of black people, or to waken black people, or white people either. The white man is interested in the black man only to the extent that the black man is of use to him. The white man's interest is to make money, to exploit.

Haley: Is there any white man on earth whom you would concede to have the Negro's welfare genuinely at heart?

Malcolm X: I say, sir, that you can never make an intelligent judgment without evidence. If any man will study the entire history of the relationship between the white man and the black man, no evidence will be found that justifies any confidence or faith that the black man might have in the white man today.

Haley: Then you consider it impossible for the white man to be anything but an exploiter and a hypocrite in his relations with the Negro?

Malcolm X: Is it wrong to attribute a predisposition to wheat before it comes up out of the ground? Wheat's characteristics and nature make it wheat. It differs from barley because of its nature. Wheat perpetuates its own characteristics just as the white race does. White people are born devils by nature. They don't become so by deeds. If you never put popcorn in a skillet, it would still be popcorn. Put the heat to it, it will pop.

Haley: You say that white men are devils by nature. Was Christ a devil?

Malcolm X: Christ wasn't white. Christ was a black man.

Haley: On what Scripture do you base this assertion?

Malcolm X: Sir, Billy Graham has made the same statement in public. Why not ask him what Scripture he found it in? When Pope Pius X died, Life magazine carried a picture of him in his private study kneeling before a black Christ. What was the source of their information? All white people who have studied history and geography know that Christ was a black man. Only the poor, brainwashed American Negro has been made to believe that Christ was white, to maneuver him into worshiping the white man. After becoming a Muslim in prison, I read almost everything I could put my hands on in the prison library. I began to think back on everything I had read and especially with the histories, I realized that nearly all of them read by the general public have been made into white histories. I found out that the history-whitening process either had left out great things that black men had done, or some of the great black men had gotten whitened.

Haley: Would you list a few of these men?

Malcolm X: Well, Hannibal, the most successful general that ever lived, was a black man. So was Beethoven; Beethoven's father was one of the blackamoors that hired themselves out in Europe as professional soldiers. Haydn, Beethoven's teacher, was of African descent. And Solomon. Great Biblical characters. Columbus, the discoverer of America, was a half-black man. Whole black empires, like the Moorish, have been whitened to hide the fact that a great black empire had conquered a white empire even before America was discovered. The Moorish civilization—black Africans—conquered and ruled Spain; they kept the light burning in Southern Europe. The word "Moor" means "black," by the way. Egyptian civilization is a classic example of how the white man stole great African cultures and makes them appear today as white European. The black nation of Egypt is the only country that has a science named after its culture: Egyptology. The ancient Sumerians, a black-skinned people, occupied the Middle Eastern areas and were contemporary with the Egyptian civilization. The Incas, the Aztecs, the Mayans, all dark-skinned Indian people, had a highly developed culture here in America, in what is now Mexico and northern South America. These people had mastered agriculture at the time when European white people were still living in

mud huts and eating weeds. But white children, or black children, or grown-ups here today in America don't get to read this in the average books they are exposed to.

Haley: Can you cite any authoritative historical documents for these observations?

Malcolm X: I can cite a great many, sir. You could start with Herodotus, the Greek historian. He outright described the Egyptians as "black, with woolly hair." And the American archaeologist and Egyptologist James Henry Breasted did the same thing. Read Pliny. Read any of the ancient Roman, Greek and, more recently, European anthropologists and archaeologists.

Haley: You seem to have based your thesis on the premise that all non-white races are necessarily black.

Malcolm X: Mr. Muhammad says that the red, the brown and the yellow are indeed all part of the black nation. Which means that black, brown, red, yellow, all are brothers, all are one family. The white one is a stranger. He's the odd fellow.

Haley: Since your classification of black peoples apparently includes the light-skinned Oriental, Middle Eastern and possibly even Latin races as well as the darker Indian and Negroid strains, just how do you decide how light-skinned it's permissible to be before being condemned as white? And if Caucasian whites are devils by nature, do you classify people by degrees of devilishness according to the lightness of their skin?

Malcolm X: I don't worry about these little technicalities. But I know that white society has always considered that one drop of black blood makes you black. To me, if one drop can do this, it only shows the power of one drop of black blood. And I know another thing—that Negroes who used to be light enough to pass for white have seen the handwriting on the wall and are beginning to come back and identify with their own kind. And white people who also are seeing the pendulum of time catching up with them are now trying to join with blacks, or even find traces of black blood in their own veins, hoping that it will save them from the catastrophe they see ahead. But no devil can fool God. Muslims have a little poem about them. It goes, "One drop will make you black, and will also in days to come save your soul."

Haley: As one of this vast elite, do you hold the familiar majority attitude toward minority groups— regarding the white race, in this case, as inferior in quality as well as quantity to what you call the "black nation"?

Malcolm X: Thoughtful white people know they are inferior to black people. Even Eastland knows it. Anyone who has studied the genetic phase of biology knows that white is considered recessive and black is considered dominant. When you want strong coffee, you ask for black coffee. If you want it light, you want it weak, integrated with white milk. Just like these Negroes who weaken themselves and their race by this integrating and intermixing with whites. If you want bread with no nutritional value, you ask for white bread. All the good that was in it has been bleached out of it, and it will constipate you. If you want pure flour, you ask for dark flour, whole-wheat flour. If you want pure sugar, you want dark sugar.

Haley: If all whites are devilish by nature, as you have alleged, and if black and white are essentially opposite, as you have just stated, do you view all black men—with the exception of their non-Muslim leaders— as fundamentally angelic?

Malcolm X: No, there is plenty wrong with Negroes. They have no society. They're robots, automatons. No minds of their own. I hate to say that about us, but it's the truth. They are a black body with a white brain. Like the monster Frankenstein. The top part is your bourgeois Negro. He's your integrator. He's not interested in his poor black brothers. He's usually so deep in debt from trying to copy the white man's social habits that he doesn't have time to worry about nothing else. They buy the most expensive clothes and cars and eat the cheapest food. They act more like the white man than the white man does himself. These are the ones that hide their sympathy for Mr. Muhammad's teachings. It conflicts with the sources from which they get their white man's crumbs. This class to us are the fence-sitters. They have one eye on the white man and the other eye on the Muslims. They'll jump whichever way they see the wind blowing. Then there's the middle class of the Negro masses, the ones not in the ghetto, who realize that life is a struggle, who are conscious of all the injustices being done and of the constant state of insecurity in which they live. They're ready to take some stand against everything that's against them. Now, when this group hears Mr. Muhammad's teachings, they are the ones who come forth faster and identify themselves, and take immediate steps toward trying to bring into existence what Mr. Muhammad advocates.

At the bottom of the social heap is the black man in the big-city ghetto. He lives night and day with the rats and cockroaches and drowns himself with alcohol and anesthetizes himself with dope, to try and forget where and what he is. That Negro has given up all hope. He's the hardest one for us to reach, because he's the deepest in the mud. But when you get him, you've got the best kind of Muslim. Because he makes the most drastic change. He's the most fearless. He will stand the longest. He has nothing to lose, even his life, because he didn't have that in the first place. I look upon myself, sir, as a prime example of this category—and as graphic an example as you could find of the salvation of the black man.

Haley: Could you give us a brief review of the early life that led to your own "salvation"?

Malcolm X: Gladly. I was born in Omaha on May 19, 1925. My light color is the result of my mother's mother having been raped by a white man. I hate every drop of white blood in me. Before I am indicted for hate again, sir—is it wrong to hate the blood of a rapist? But to continue: My father was a militant follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. The Lansing, Michigan, equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan warned him to stop preaching Garvey's message, but he kept on and one of my earliest memories is of being snatched awake one night with a lot of screaming going on because our home was afire. But my father got louder about Garvey, and the next time he was found bludgeoned in the head, lying across streetcar tracks. He died soon and our family was in a bad way. We were so hungry we were dizzy and we had nowhere to turn. Finally the authorities came in and we children were scattered about in different places as public wards. I happened to become the ward of a white couple who ran a correctional school for white boys. This family liked me in the way they liked their house pets. They got me enrolled in an all-white school. I was popular, I played sports and everything, and studied hard, and I stayed at the head of my class through the eighth grade. That summer I was 14, but I was big enough and looked old enough to get away with telling a lie that I was 21, so I got a job working in the dining car of a train that ran between Boston and New York City. On my layovers in New York, I'd go to Harlem. That's where I saw in the bars all these men and women with what looked like the easiest life in the world. Plenty of money, big cars, all of it. I could tell they were in the rackets and vice. I hung around those bars whenever I came in town, and I kept my ears and eyes open and my mouth shut. And they kept their eyes on me, too. Finally, one day a numbers man told me

that he needed a runner, and I never caught the night train back to Boston. Right there was when I started my life in crime. I was in all of it that the white police and the gangsters left open to the black criminal, sir. I was in numbers, bootleg liquor, "hot" goods, women. I sold the bodies of black women to white men, and white women to black men. I was in dope, I was in everything evil you could name. The only thing I could say good for myself, sir, was that I did not indulge in hitting anybody over the head.

Haley: By the time you were 16, according to the record, you had several men working for you in these various enterprises. Right?

Malcolm X: Yes, sir. I turned the things I mentioned to you over to them. And I had a good working system of paying off policemen. It was here that I learned that vice and crime can only exist, at least the kind and level that I was in, to the degree that the police cooperate with it. I had several men working and I was a steerer myself. I steered white people with money from downtown to whatever kind of sin they wanted in Harlem. I didn't care what they wanted, I knew where to take them to it. And I tell you what I noticed here—that my best customers always were the officials, the top police people, businessmen, politicians and clergymen. I never forgot that. I met all levels of these white people, supplied them with everything they wanted, and I saw that they were just a filthy race of devils. But despite the fact that my own father was murdered by whites, and I had seen my people all my life brutalized by whites, I was still blind enough to mix with them and socialize with them. I thought they were gods and goddesses— until Mr. Muhammad's powerful spiritual message opened my eyes and enabled me to see them as a race of devils. Nothing had made me see the white man as he is until one word from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad opened my eyes overnight.

Haley: When did this happen?

Malcolm X: In prison. I was finally caught and spent 77 months in three different prisons. But it was the greatest thing that ever happened to me, because it was in prison that I first heard the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. His teachings were what turned me around. The first time I heard the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's statement, "The white man is the devil," it just clicked. I am a good example of why Islam is spreading so rapidly across the land. I was nothing but another convict, a semi-illiterate criminal. Mr. Muhammad's teachings were able to reach into

prison, which is the level where people are considered to have fallen as low as they can go. His teachings brought me from behind prison walls and placed me on the podiums of some of the leading colleges and universities in the country. I often think, sir, that in 1946, I was sentenced to 8 to 10 years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a common thief who had never passed the eighth grade. And the next time I went back to Cambridge was in March 1961, as a guest speaker at the Harvard Law School Forum. This is the best example of Mr. Muhammad's ability to take nothing and make something, to take nobody and make somebody.

Haley: Your rise to prominence in the Muslim organization has been so swift that a number of your own membership have hailed you as their articulate exemplar, and many anti-Muslims regard you as the real brains and power of the movement. What is your reaction to this sudden eminence?

Malcolm X: Sir, it's heresy to imply that I am in any way whatever even equal to Mr. Muhammad. No man on earth today is his equal. Whatever I am that is good, it is through what I have been taught by Mr. Muhammad.

Haley: Be that as it may, the time is near when your leader, who is 65, will have to retire from leadership of the Muslim movement. Many observers predict that when this day comes, the new Messenger of Allah in America—a role which you have called the most powerful of any black man in the world—will be Malcolm X. How do you feel about this prospect?

Malcolm X: Sir, I can only say that God chose Mr. Muhammad as his Messenger, and Mr. Muhammad chose me and many others to help him. Only God has the say-so. But I will tell you one thing. I frankly don't believe that I or anyone else am worthy to succeed Mr. Muhammad. No one preceded him. I don't think I could make the sacrifice he has made, or set his good example. He has done more than lay down his life. But his work is already done with the seed he has planted among black people. If Mr. Muhammad and every identifiable follower he has, certainly including myself, were tomorrow removed from the scene by more of the white man's brutality, there is one thing to be sure of: Mr. Muhammad's teachings of the naked truth have fallen upon fertile soil among 20,000,000 black men here in this wilderness of North America.

Haley: Has the soil, in your opinion, been as fertile for Mr. Muhammad's teachings elsewhere in the world—among the emerging nations of black Africa, for instance?

Malcolm X: I think not only that his teachings have had considerable impact even in Africa but that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has had a greater impact on the world than the rise of the African nations. I say this as objectively as I can, being a Muslim. Even the Christian missionaries are conceding that in black Africa, for every Christian conversion, there are two Muslim conversions.

Haley: Might conversions be even more numerous if it weren't for the somewhat strained relations which are said by several Negro writers to exist between the black people of Africa and America?

Malcolm X: Perhaps. You see, the American black man sees the African come here and live where the American black man can't. The Negro sees the African come here with a sheet on and go places where the Negro—dressed like a white man, talking like a white man, sometimes as wealthy as the white man—can't go. When I'm traveling around the country, I use my real Muslim name, Malik Shabazz. I make my hotel reservations under that name, and I always see the same thing I've just been telling you. I come to the desk and always see that "here-comes-a-Negro" look. It's kind of a reserved, coldly tolerant cordiality. But when I say "Malik Shabazz," their whole attitude changes: they snap to respect. They think I'm an African. People say what's in a name? There's a whole lot in a name. The American black man is seeing the African respected as a human being. The African gets respect because he has an identity and cultural roots. But most of all because the African owns some land. For these reasons he has his human rights recognized, and that makes his civil rights automatic.

Haley: Do you feel this is true of Negro civil and human rights in South Africa, where the doctrine of apartheid is enforced by the government of Prime Minister Verwoerd?

Malcolm X: They don't stand for anything different in South Africa than America stands for. The only difference is over there they preach as well as practice apartheid. America preaches freedom and practices slavery. America preaches integration and practices segregation. Verwoerd is an honest white man. So are the Barnetts, Faubuses, Eastlands and Rockwells.

They want to keep all white people white. And we want to keep all black people black. As between the racists and the integrationists, I highly prefer the racists. I'd rather walk among rattlesnakes, whose constant rattle warns me where they are, than among those Northern snakes who grin-and make you forget you're still in a snake pit. Any white man is against blacks. The entire American economy is based on white supremacy. Even the religious philosophy is, in essence, white supremacy. A white Jesus. A white Virgin. White angels. White everything. But a black Devil, of course. The "Uncle Sam" political foundation is based on white supremacy, relegating nonwhites to second-class citizenship. It goes without saying that the social philosophy is strictly white supremacist. And the educational system perpetuates white supremacy.

Haley: Are you contradicting yourself by denouncing white supremacy while praising its practitioners, since you admit that you share their goal of separation?

Malcolm X: The fact that I prefer the candor of the Southern segregationist to the hypocrisy of the Northern integrationist doesn't alter the basic immorality of white supremacy. A devil is still a devil whether he wears a bed sheet or a Brooks Brothers suit. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches separation simply because any forcible attempt to integrate America completely would result in another Civil War, a catastrophic explosion among whites which would destroy America—and still not solve the problem. But Mr. Muhammad's solution of separate black and white would solve the problem neatly for both the white and black man, and America would be saved. Then the whole world would give Uncle Sam credit for being something other than a hypocrite.

Haley: Do you feel that the Administration's successful stand on the integration of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi has demonstrated that the Government—far from being hypocritical—is sympathetic with the Negro's aspirations for equality?

Malcolm X: What was accomplished? It took 15,000 troops to put Meredith in the University of Mississippi. Those troops and $3,000,000—that's what was spent—to get one Negro in. That $3,000,000 could have been used much more wisely by the Federal Government to elevate the living standards of all the Negroes in Mississippi.

Haley: It is a matter of record that President Kennedy, in the face of Southern opposition, championed the appointment of Dr. Robert Weaver as the first Negro Cabinet member. Does this indicate to you, as it does to many Negro leaders, that the Administration is determined to battle the forces of white supremacy?

Malcolm X: Kennedy doesn't have to fight; he's the President. He didn't have any fight replacing Ribicoff with Celebrezze. He didn't have any trouble putting Goldberg on the Supreme Court. He hasn't had any trouble getting anybody in but Weaver and Thurgood Marshall. He wasn't worried about Congressional objection when he challenged U.S. Steel. He wasn't worried about either Congressional reaction or Russian reaction or even world reaction when he blockaded Cuba. But when it comes to the rights of the Negro, who helped to put him in office, then he's afraid of little pockets of white resistance.

Haley: Has any American President, in your opinion—Lincoln, FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy—accomplished anything worthwhile for the Negro?

Malcolm X: None of them have ever done anything for Negroes. All of them have tricked the Negro, and made false promises to him at election times which they never fulfilled. Lincoln's concern wasn't freedom for the blacks but to save the Union.

Haley: Wasn't the Civil War fought to decide whether this nation could, in the words of Lincoln, "endure permanently half slave and half free"?

Malcolm X: Sir, many, many people are completely misinformed about Lincoln and the Negro. That war involved two thieves, the North and the South, fighting over the spoils. The further we get away from the actual incident, the more they are trying to make it sound as though the battle was over the black man. Lincoln said that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, he would. But after two years of killing and carnage he found out he would have to free the slaves. He wasn't interested in the slaves but in the Union. As for the Emancipation Proclamation, sir, it was an empty document. If it freed the slaves, why, a century later, are we still battling for civil rights?

Haley: Despite the fact that the goal of racial equality is not yet realized,

many sociologists—and a number of Negro commentators—agree that no minority group on earth has made as much social, civil and economic progress as the American Negro in the past 100 years. What is your reaction to this view?

Malcolm X: Sir, I hear that everywhere almost exactly as you state it. This is one of the biggest myths that the American black man himself believes in. Every immigrant ethnic group that has come to this country is now a genuinely first-class citizen group—every one of them but the black man, who was here when they came. While everybody else is sharing the fruit, the black man is just now starting to be thrown some seeds. It is our hope that through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, we will at last get the soil to plant the seeds in. You talk about the progress of the Negro—I'll tell you, mister, it's just because the Negro has been in America while America has gone forward that the Negro appears to have gone forward. The Negro is like a man on a luxury commuter train doing 90 miles an hour. He looks out of the window, along with all the white passengers in their Pullman chairs, and he thinks he's doing 90, too. Then he gets to the men's room and looks in the mirror— and he sees he's not really getting anywhere at all. His reflection shows a black man standing there in the white uniform of a dining-car steward. He may get on the 5:10, all right, but he sure won't be getting off at Westport.

Haley: Is there anything then, in your opinion that could be done—by either whites or blacks—to expedite the social and economic progress of the Negro in America?

Malcolm X: First of all, the white man must finally realize that he's the one who has committed the crimes that have produced the miserable condition that our people are in. He can't hide this guilt by reviling us today because we answer his criminal acts—past and present—with extreme and uncompromising resentment. He cannot hide his guilt by accusing us, his victims, of being racists, extremists and black supremacists. The white man must realize that the sins of the fathers are about to be visited upon the heads of the children who have continued those sins, only in more sophisticated ways. Mr. Elijah Muhammad is warning this generation of white people that they, too, are also facing a time of harvest in which they will have to pay for the crime committed when their grandfathers made slaves out of us. But there is something the white man can do to avert this fate. He must atone—and this can only be done by allowing black men,

those who choose, to leave this land of bondage and go to a land of our own. But if he doesn't want a mass movement of our people away from this house of bondage, then he should separate this country. He should give us several states here on American soil, where those of us who wish to can go and set up our own government, our own economic system, our own civilization. Since we have given over 300 years of our slave labor to the white man's America, helped to build it up for him, it's only right that white America should give us everything we need in finance and materials for the next 25 years, until our own nation is able to stand on its feet. Then, if the Western Hemisphere is attacked by outside enemies, we would have both the capability and the motivation to join in defending the hemisphere, in which we would then have a sovereign stake. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the black man has served under the rule of all the other peoples of the earth at one time or another in the past. He teaches that it is now God's intention to put the black man back at the top of civilization, where he was in the beginning— before Adam, the white man, was created. The world since Adam has been white—and corrupt. The world of tomorrow will be black—and righteous. In the white world there has been nothing but slavery, suffering, death and colonialism. In the black world of tomorrow, there will be true freedom, justice and equality for all. And that day is coming—sooner than you think.

# The Black Revolution
# (June, 1963)

Dr. Powell, distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, friends, and even our enemies. As a follower and minister of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who is the Messenger of Allah to the American so-called Negro, I am very happy to accept Dr. Powell's invitation to be here this evening at the Abyssinian Baptist Church and to express or at least to try to represent the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's views on this most timely topic, The Black Revolution.

First, however, there are some questions we have to put to you. Since the black masses here in America are now in open revolt against the American system of segregation, will these same black masses turn toward integration or will they turn toward complete separation? Will these awakened black masses demand integration into the white society that enslaved them or will they demand complete separation from that cruel white society that has enslaved them? Will the exploited and oppressed black masses seek integration with their white exploiters and white oppressors or will these awakened black masses truly revolt and separate themselves completely from this wicked race that has enslaved us?

These are just some quick questions that I think will provoke some thoughts in your minds and my mind. How can the so-called Negroes who call themselves enlightened leaders expect the poor black sheep to integrate into a society of bloodthirsty white wolves, white wolves who have already been sucking on our blood for over four hundred years here in America? Or will these black sheep also revolt against the "false shepherd," the handpicked Uncle Tom Negro leader, and seek complete separation so that we can escape from the den of the wolves rather than be integrated with wolves in this wolves' den? And since we are in church and most of us here profess to believe in God, there is another question: When the "good shepherd" comes will he integrate his long-lost sheep with white wolves? According to the Bible when God comes he won't even let his sheep integrate with goats. And if his sheep can't be safely integrated with goats they certainly aren't safe integrated with wolves.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that no people on earth fit the Bible's symbolic picture about the Lost Sheep more so than America's

twenty million so-called Negroes and there has never in history been a more vicious and blood-thirsty wolf than the American white man. He teaches us that for four hundred years America has been nothing but a wolves den for twenty million so-called Negroes, twenty million second-class citizens, and this black revolution that is developing against the white wolf today is developing because the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, a God-sent shepherd, has opened the eyes of our people. And the black masses can now see that we have all been here in this white doghouse long, too long. The black masses don't want segregation nor do we want integration. What we want is complete separation. In short, we don't want to be integrated with the white man, we want to be separated from the white man. And now our religious leader and teacher, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, teaches us that this is the only intelligent and lasting solution to the present race problem. In order to fully understand why the Muslim followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad actually reject hypocritical promises of integration it must first be understood by every one that we are a religious group, and as a religious group we can in no way be equated or compared to the nonreligious civil rights groups.

We are Muslims because we believe in Allah. We are Muslims because we practice the religion of Islam. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that there is but one God, the creator and sustainer of the entire universe, the all-wise, all-powerful Supreme Being. The great God whose proper name is Allah. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad also teaches us that Islam is an Arabic word that means "complete submission to the will of Allah, or obedience to the God of truth, God of peace, the God of righteousness, the God whose proper name is Allah." And he teaches us that the word Muslim is used to describe one who submits to God, one who obeys God. In other words a Muslim is one who strives to live a life of righteousness. You may ask what does the religion of Islam have to do with American so-called Negro's changing attitude toward himself, toward the white man, toward segregation, toward integration, and toward separation, and what part will this religion of Islam play in the current black revolution that is sweeping the American continent today? The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that Islam is the religion of naked truth, undressed truth, truth that is not dressed up, and he says that truth is the only thing that will truly set our people free.

Truth will open our eyes and enable us to see the white wolf as he really is. Truth will stand us on our own feet. Truth will make us walk for ourselves

instead of leaning on others who mean our people no good. Truth not only shows us who our real enemy is, truth also gives us the strength and the know-how to separate ourselves from that enemy. Only a blind man will walk into the open embrace of his enemy, and only a blind people, a people who are blind to the truth about their enemies, will seek to embrace or integrate with that enemy. Why, Jesus himself prophesied: You shall know the truth and it shall make you free.

Beloved brothers and sisters, Jesus never said that Abraham Lincoln would make us free. He never said that the Congress would make us free. He never said that the Senate or Supreme Court or John Kennedy would make us free. Jesus two thousand years ago looked down the wheel of time and saw your and my plight here today and he knew the tricky high court, Supreme Court, desegregation decisions would only lull you into a deeper sleep, and the tricky promises of the hypocritical politicians on civil rights legislation would only be designed to advance you and me from ancient slavery to modern slavery. But Jesus did prophesy that when Elijah comes in the spirit and power of truth he said that Elijah would teach you the truth. Elijah would guide you with truth and Elijah would protect you with truth and make you free indeed. And brothers and sister, that Elijah, the one whom Jesus has said was to come, has come and is in America today in the person of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

This Elijah, the one whom they said was to come and who has come, teaches those of who are Muslims that our white slave masters have always known the truth and they have always known that truth alone would set us free. Therefore this same American white man kept the truth hidden from our people. He kept us in the darkness of ignorance. He made us spiritually blind by depriving us of the light of truth. During the four hundred years that we have spent confined to the darkness of ignorance here in this land of bondage, our American enslavers have given us an overdose of their own white-controlled Christian religion, but have kept all other religions hidden from us, especially the religion of Islam. And for this reason, Almighty God Allah, the God of our forefathers, has raised the Honorable Elijah Muhammad from the midst of our downtrodden people here in America. And this same God has missioned the Honorable Elijah Muhammad to spread the naked truth to America's twenty million so-called Negroes, and the truth alone will make you and me free.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that there is but one God

whose proper name is Allah, and one religion, the religion of Islam, and that this one God will not rest until he has used his religion to establish one world—a universal, one-world brotherhood. But in order to set up his righteous world God must first bring down this wicked white world. The black revolution against the injustices of the white world is all part of God's divine plan. God must destroy the world of slavery and evil in order to establish a world based upon freedom, justice, and equality. The followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad religiously believe that we are living at the end of this wicked world, the world of colonialism, the world of slavery, the end of the Western world, the white world or the Christian world, or the end of the wicked white man's Western world of Christianity.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that the symbolic stories in all religious scriptures paint a prophetic picture of today. He says that the Egyptian House of Bondage was only a prophetic picture of America. Mighty Babylon was only a prophetic picture of America. The wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah painted only a prophetic picture of America. No one here in this church tonight can deny that America is the mightiest government on earth today, the mightiest, the richest, and the wickedest. And no one in this church tonight dare deny that America's wealth and power stemmed from 310 years of slave labor contributed from the American so-called Negro.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that these same so-called American Negroes are God's long-lost people who are symbolically described in the Bible as the Lost Sheep or the Lost Tribe of Israel. We who are Muslims believe in God, we believe in His scriptures, we believe in prophecy. Nowhere in the scriptures did God ever integrate His enslaved people with their slave masters. God always separates his oppressed people from their oppressor and then destroys the oppressor. God has never deviated from his divine pattern in the past and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that God will not deviate from that divine pattern today. Just as God destroyed the enslavers in the past, God is going to destroy this wicked white enslaver of our people here in America.

God wants us to separate ourselves from this wicked white race here in America because this American House of Bondage is number one on God's list for divine destruction today. I repeat: This American House of Bondage is number one on God's list for divine destruction today. He warns us to remember Noah never taught integration, Noah taught separation; Moses

never taught integration, Moses taught separation. The innocent must always be given a chance to separate themselves form the guilty before the guilty are executed. No one is more innocent than the poor, blind American so-called Negro who has been led astray by blind Negro leaders, and no one on earth is more guilty than the blue-eyed white man who has used his control and influence over the Negro leader to lead the rest of our people astray.

Beloved brothers and sisters here, a beautiful church, here at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, because of America's evil deeds against the so-called Negroes, like Egypt and Babylon before her, America herself now stands before the bar of justice. America herself is now facing her day of judgement, and she can't escape because God Himself is the judge. If America can't atone for the crimes she has committed against the twenty million so-called Negroes, if she can't undo the evils that she has brutally and mercilessly heaped upon our people these past four hundred years, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that America has signed her own doom. And you, our people, would be foolish to accept her deceitful offers of integration at this late date into her doomed society.

Can America escape? Can America atone? And if so how can she atone for these crimes? In my conclusion I must point out that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says a desegregated theater, a desegregated lunch counter won't solve our problem. Better jobs won't even solve our problems. An integrated cup of coffee isn't sufficient pay for four hundred years of slave labor. He also says that a better job, a better job in the white man's factory, or a better job in the white man's business, or a better job in the white man's industry or economy is, at best, only a temporary solution. He says that the only lasting and permanent solution is complete separation on some land that we can call our own. Therefore, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that this problem can be solved and solved forever just by sending our people back to our own homeland or back to our own people, but that this government should provide the transportation plus everything else we need to get started again in our own country. This government should give us everything we need in the form of machinery, material, and finance, enough to last for twenty to twenty-five years until we can become an independent people and an independent nation in our own land. He says that if the American government is afraid to send us back to our own country and to our own people, then America should set aside some separated territory right here in the Western hemisphere where the

two races can live apart from each other, since we certainly don't get along peacefully while we are together.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the size of the territory can be judged according to our population. If a seventh of the population of this country is black, then give us a seventh of the territory, a seventh part of the county. And that is not asking too much because we already worked for the man for four hundred years.

He says it must not be in the desert, but where there is plenty of rain and much mineral wealth. We want fertile, productive land on which we can farm and provide our own people with food, clothing, and shelter. He says that this government should supply us on that territory with the machinery and other tools needed to dig into the earth. Give us everything we need for twenty to twenty-five years until we can produce and supply our own needs.

And in my conclusion I repeat: We want no part of integration with this wicked race of devils. But he also says we should not be expected to leave America empty-handed. After four hundred years of slave labor, we have some back pay coming. A bill that is owed to us and must be collected. If the government of America truly repents of its sins against our people and atones by giving us our true share of the land and the wealth, then America can save herself. But if America waits for God to step in and force her to make a just settlement, God will take this entire continent away from the white man. And the Bible says that God can then give the kingdom to whomsoever he pleases. I thank you.

# The Old Negro and the New Negro (September, 1963)

Malcolm X: With regard to The Saturday Evening Post article, it's just about what you would expect from a nationally circulated magazine that is writing about a group of black people not under the influence or control of the white man. To me the magazine article was, by and large, a great deal of propaganda. The very fact that it is named "Merchants of Hate" gives a clue to the purpose or objective that the people who were responsible for the article had in mind. I think that the white man has a great deal of nerve to refer to any black people as merchants of hate in the face of the hell that black people have caught in this country at the hands of the white man, even at a time when the whites are admitting that they have brutalized black people for four hundred years. They kidnapped us and brought us here; they deprived us of our rights; they made us slaves; they sold our people from one plantation to another, from one auction block to another. And even right now, 1963, they have to confess they are still depriving the black people here in America, not only of civil rights, but even of human rights. And behind all of this mistreatment and abuse that whites have inflicted upon the black people in this country, again I say, I think that a white man in a magazine published by white people has a whole lot of nerve charging black people with teaching some kind of hate about them. If black people in this country behind the deeds they have experienced at the hands of the white man don't hate him because of what they have wasting his time trying to teach someone hate behind that. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate, he teaches black people to love each other.

Moderator: Was there anything in that article, Malcolm X, relative to the Muslims that was true?

Malcolm X: There could have been. I think when it says that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us to reform ourselves of the vices and evils of this society, drunkenness, dope addiction, how to work and provide a living for our family, take care of our children and our wives—when it pointed out these aspects it was speaking truth, but this is a thing that black people have to guard against. Oftentimes a propagandist who is shrewd will tell just enough truth to make you believe that he is being objective and to get you to listen and then he starts injecting the negative

side, and this is where we become resentful.

Moderator: They did make some mention in the article, however, of the growing strength of the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X: Not because they wanted to but because they had to. I think the white man has to face the fact that black people in this country are tired of sitting around waiting for the white man to make up his mind that we are human beings. Therefore, the type of so-called Negro leadership that represents this hat-in-hand, patient, wait-another-hundred-years approach, that type of leadership is losing its grip on the mind of the masses of people. So when a man like the Honorable Elijah Muhammad steps forth in the midst of the so-called Negroes and calls it just like it is, and shows the black people that we don't have to compromise with the white man because we are right—right is on our side—and when right is on your side, and when what a man is doing to you is wrong, you don't have to sit around and give him another hundred years to get his house in order. It is this type of approach that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is using that makes the masses of black people see that he is the man for them. And it is also helping his growth.

Moderator: Mention was made in the article of the business prospects, of progress made by the Muslims, and in so doing accusations were made in the article that most of the businesses of the Black Muslims are very small neighborhood businesses. Is that true?

Malcolm X: Well, sir, when the white man himself was starting out his businesses in this country they all started out as neighborhood businesses. Woolworth started out with one store and over the years he has developed a chain into a tremendous economic enterprise. Sears, Roebuck—all of your big chain businesses or your industries that the white man has today were started as small businesses. Any business that you can point out started out small, and this is where the Negro has made his mistake. He wants to start out right now exactly as the white man is. He doesn't realize that you have to start out small and develop into that which you ultimately will become. And the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has actually showed his business ingenuity by showing how to start out small and develop our businesses—make them grow—and then our business ability grows right along with that business. And there is nothing wrong with that. And also that article did point out the fact that most of the businesses aren't

owned by the Nation of Islam or the Muslim group per se, but rather most of the businesses are owned by the individual Muslims, and this is true. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad encourages every so-called Negro that respects the religion of Islam to stand on his own two feet and start doing something for himself. So the money that we used to throw away when we were Christians—nightclubbing and drinking and smoking and participating in these other acts of immorality—the money that we save when we become Muslims—we channel it into these small business enterprises and try to develop them to where they can provide some job opportunities for the rest of our people. And I can cite a good example in New York where we have one particular brother who, when he was a Christian, was a drunkard. He was a mechanic. He used to work for the white man. And when he came to Muhammad's Mosque in New York he immediately stopped drinking and he started saving his money and he opened up a little two-by-four, or two-bit, garage in a store on 115th Street, and within three or four years he had saved up enough money to buy himself a home on Long Island plus expand his small business into a five-story garage, where he now employs fifty or so persons. Which means he is now in a position to create employment for Negroes. And he has done this only since becoming a Muslim. He is only an example of what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has taught black men to do across the country. Instead of begging the white man for what he has, he says we should get together and start doing something for ourselves. As long as a lot of these Negroes want to continue to beg from the white man and sit around and wait for the crumbs to fall from the white man's table, they don't like what Mr. Muhammad is forcing them to do: stand on their own two feet. So they slip up to the white man and whisper in his ear and make the white man think—the gullible white man think—that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching hate and trying to develop some kind of an army to overthrow the white man. And as long as the white man listens to that type of Negro he will end up overthrowing himself.

Moderator: Malcolm, I understand that you were at the Irvine Auditorium at the University of Pennsylvania today as a guest of the youth chapter of the NAACP and the report that I received was that you had better than three thousand people out there, with a number of people standing outside who were not able to gain entrance. Is that true?

Malcolm X: That is correct.

Moderator: I am wondering what your subject was and I what you talked about out there.

Malcolm X: Well, before I tell you the subject I want to comment on that crowd. You'll find that this is a pattern that we run into across the country. Wherever a Muslim makes an appearance and gives a lecture, no matter what type of crowd comes out, even a capacity crowd, very seldom will you read too much about it in the press. Very seldom will you get any indication from the press that the people in that city or in that community or in that college or in that university are showing any genuine interest in what the Muslim has to say. But when an integrationist like King or someone else comes into the city, if he talks to five people this will be blown up in the press and it will be made to appear that this is the man who represents the black masses, and that all of the black masses endorse the type of peaceful-suffering, hat-in-hand, tongue-in-cheek doctrine that is usually displayed on those occasions. So basically one of the reasons why you never hear too much about occasions like this is because of that fact. Now, my subject today dealt with primarily two different Negroes: the old Negro and the new Negro.

Moderator: Will you tell us something about it?

Malcolm X: I will. This is the thing that whites need to be made aware of, that there is an old Negro and a new Negro. The old Negro is the one that the white man is familiar with. The new Negro is the one that has resulted from the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and the whites in this country are not too familiar with this type. Back in slavery they also had two types, and to understand the types today you have to understand the two types that existed during slavery. During slavery, historians agree, there were what were known as the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negro was the one who lived in the master's house, ate the master's food, at the master's table usually—after the master had finished with it. He dressed like the master, which means he wore the same type of clothing that the master did, but usually it was clothing handed down to him by the master. He identified the master's house as his own. If the master said, "We have a fine house here," the house Negro would say, "Yes, our house is a fine house." Whenever the master said, "We," he said, "We." If the master said, "We have good food on our table," the house Negro would chime in and say, "Yes, we have plenty of food, boss, on our table." The house Negro would also identify himself so closely with his master that when the master

was sick the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we's sick?" When the master was sick he was sick. If the master's house caught on fire the house Negro would fight harder to put the flames out or keep the flames from enveloping the master's house than the master would himself. If someone were to come to the...

Moderator: He would naturally say, "We's sick," because the master was sick?

Malcolm X: Oh yes, he would say, "We's sick" or "We's in trouble." If the master was in trouble, he would say, "Boss, we is sure in trouble."

Moderator: Well, I can understand where he might be in trouble if the master was in trouble, but I can't understand how he could be sick if the master was sick!

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. This type of Negro loved the master so much—he never felt pain for himself; he only was in pain when his master was in pain. And this is very important to understand because you cannot understand the present-day twentieth century house Negro or twentieth century Uncle Tom until you have a real understanding of the Uncle Tom who lived on the plantation before the Emancipation Proclamation. And that type of Negro never identified himself with the other slaves. He always thought he was above the field Negroes. The field Negroes were the masses. The house Negroes were the minority whereas the field Negroes were in the majority.

Now, sir, if someone came to that house Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," the house Negro would look at that person like he was crazy and tell him, "Run where? How would I live, how would I sleep if I leave my master's house? How would I eat if my master didn't feed me? How would I clothe myself if my master wasn't here to give me some clothes?" Well, that's the house Negro. Now you have the other type of Negro—the field Negro. The field Negro was the one who really caught hell. He was the one who was dissatisfied. He was the one who was oppressed. He was the one who was downtrodden and exploited most. He was the one who felt the brunt of the master's whip, the lash of the master's whip—and he hated his master. If his master got sick, he didn't say, "Are we sick?" He prayed that his master would die. If his master's house caught on fire he prayed for a strong wind to come up and burn the plantation down. He never identified

himself with his master in any way whatsoever. And if someone came to that Negro, that field Negro, that mass element, and said, "Let's go, let's separate, let's leave the master and strike out on our own," he wouldn't even ask where. He would leave. He wouldn't even ask you how. He would leave. He wouldn't ask you any questions at all. As soon as you said, "Come on, let's go," he'd be gone.

Now just as you have the house Negro and the field Negro a hundred years ago, in America today you have a house Negro and a field Negro. You have the modern counterpart of that slavery-time Uncle Tom, only the one today is a twentieth century Uncle Tom. He doesn't wear a handkerchief around his head, sir. He wears a top hat. He speaks with a Harvard accent or a Howard accent. Sometimes he is a lawyer or a judge or a doctor or he is an ambassador to the UN. He represents the government in all the international conferences. He runs to the Congo and tries to settle differences there, but he can't go to Mississippi and settle differences that his own people are confronted with in the face of these Mississippi southerners.

This is the twentieth-century house Negro. He wants to live with his master. He wants to force his way into his master's neighborhood. He wants to force his way into his master's schools. He wants to force his way into his master's industry. He identifies himself with his master so much that when his master says, "Our society," he says, "Yes boss, our society." When his master says, "Our army, our armed forces," or "Our astronauts are floating around the earth," he says, "Yes." Now here is a Negro, mind you, talking about his astronauts floating around in space someplace or talking about his industry out here called General Motors or talking about his mayor in City Hall or his President in the White House. Every time the white man says, "We" that type of Negro says, "Yes, we." Now when he hears the white man say how rich we are, that Negro runs around talking about how rich we are, how enlightened we are, how educated we are, or this is the free world or this is a free country, and at the same time he is begging the white man for civil rights and integration and all that kind of stuff he doesn't have. He is a twentieth century Uncle Tom. He is a house Negro. He is no different from that house Negro during slavery other than that he is living in the twentieth century. But he identifies himself with the white man. He is never sick until the white man is sick. If you attack the white man, that Negro will open up his mouth to defend the white man better than the white man can defend himself.

Now then, you have the masses of black people in this country who are the offshoot of the field Negro, during slavery. They are the masses. They are the ones who are jobless. They are the last hired and the first fired. They are the ones who are forced to live in the ghetto and the slum. They are the ones who are not allowed to integrate. They are not the handpicked Negroes who benefit from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who get the crumbs that fall from the white man's table. They are not the ones who can slip into the White House or these big hotels when the doors are opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to live in the ghetto or forced to live in the slum or forced to get a third-rate education or forced to work in the worst form of job. They benefit in no way, shape, or form whatsoever from this thing that is called democracy. And that type of Negro—when you come to him—field Negro, this mass level type of so-called Negro—and tell him, "Let's separate," he doesn't ask you anything about "Where shall we go?" He doesn't question Mr. Muhammad's method of bringing about separation. He just says, "OK, let's separate. We are catching hell in this system we are in now. Let's separate." He has the same reaction to what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching today that the field Negroes would have if a man came during slavery and told those slaves, "Come on, let's go."

This was emphasized at the University of Pennsylvania today, to make the white people see that they are dealing with two different types of Negro. This integrationist Negro is the one who doesn't want to be black—he is ashamed to be black—and he knows that he can't be white. So he calls himself a Negro— an American Negro—which means he is neither black nor white. He doesn't want to be black and can't be white, so he is called a Negro. And since he is living in this American society he is always seeking a role for himself on the American stage. And since he knows that America is a white country and all of the economy, the politics, the civic life of America is controlled by the white man—the whole stage is controlled by the white man—whenever he sees himself on the American stage, he sees himself as a minority in the company of a white majority. So he is the underdog, and as an underdog he regards himself as a minority. He adopts the beggar role—the role of a beggar. And for everything that type of Negro seeks for himself he takes a begging attitude, a condescending attitude. So also, sir, he never looks at himself on the world stage. Usually his knowledge is limited to right here, to America, and he thinks of himself as an American in the American context which always keeps him in the role of a minority. But now when it comes to the international stage he

can't see it. He is not interested in a role on the international stage. He only wants a minority role in America.

But there is another type of Negro on the scene. This type doesn't call himself a Negro. He calls himself a black man. He doesn't make any apology for his black skin. He doesn't make any apology for being in America because he knows he was brought here forcibly by the white man. It's the white man's fault that he is here. It's the white man who created the problem here in America that they call a race problem. This type of black man sees that. So he doesn't apologize for being here; he doesn't apologize for the problem that his presence confronts the white man with. He doesn't walk around bragging that he is an American or that he wants to be a part of the American society. This particular type of black man has been exposed to the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and having been exposed to the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad his thinking is international. He sees the world. He doesn't see America. He sees the entire world. And when he sees the world he sees that the majority of people on this earth are dark people and these dark people outnumber the whites. So he doesn't think of himself as a minority, but he thinks of himself as part of this vast dark majority who outnumber the whites, and therefore he doesn't have to beg the white man for anything. He takes his role on the international stage and that's not the role of a beggar, that's the role that he was automatically born for.

While I was at the University of Pennsylvania this afternoon, or this evening, I was trying to point out to them, to make them see the importance of recognizing the fact that there are two different types of Negroes in America today, and as long as they try and do business, we might say, only with this integrationist-type Negro, the problem can never be solved. We should take into consideration the fact that the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, repeatedly, recently, has been pointing out that America's number one problem, domestic problem, is the race problem, and that failure to solve this problem is destroying America's image among the dark masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Also, failure to solve this problem has serious repercussions on the American economy, as well as upon America's foreign policy. Even a recent speech by the governor of North Carolina lends added emphasis to the importance of solving this serious race problem. North Carolina is a state where the so-called Negro has been brutalized from the time he was brought there, and even the governor of that state realizes the importance of this race problem.

So much so that that governor was on television recently, pointing out to the people of America the importance of doing something to solve this problem. And then last week an interfaith religious conference of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups which was held in Chicago, dealing with the race problem, that conference also broke up. And it broke up with the problems of racism still unsolved. In fact when one reads the results of that religious conference one has to agree that it succeeded only in highlighting their inability to eliminate white racism from their own churches and synagogues. So I was pointing out there at the University of Pennsylvania that no group or council or conference would ever solve the race problem until they first recognized and included the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as an active participant in all of their discussions and in all of their plans.

Why? Because the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the only black man in America who can speak for the oppressed and dissatisfied black masses who are impatient and tired of sitting around and waiting for the white man to make up his mind to do something to solve this problem. Plus the fact that these other so-called Negro leaders that are usually up in the white man's face are Negroes whom the white man himself has set up as leaders, and they don't represent any of the black masses. They don't speak for the dissatisfied black people or the impatient black people. Usually they know exactly what the white man wants to hear them say, and they say it in the exact manner that the white man expects them to say it. And by listening to these Negroes the problem never gets solved, it only gets worse. Also, racial unrest never occurs among the satisfied, bourgeois class of Negroes. They can easily be appeased and controlled and influenced just by continuing to drop crumbs on their table—the crumbs of tokenism. And this type of Negro that the so-called Negro leadership represents is a type that can be appeased and can be controlled with the crumbs of token integration. But the racial explosions never take place among that type. Racial explosions always erupt among the oppressed, dissatisfied black masses, and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the only black man today that is speaking out in behalf of the black masses.

I read out there at the University of Pennsylvania an article that was in the Detroit News quoting a chaplain, Rev. Malcolm Boyd, a white Episcopalian chaplain at Wayne State University who pointed out that the conference in Chicago—the Interfaith Conference in Chicago—was a failure. In the Detroit News he said, and I quote him: "Although 650 leaders of American

churches have gathered here, nothing has been brought out and nothing ever will unless the basic ideas of such a gathering as this are changed." The conference centered on the failure of religion to aid racial integration. Now Rev. Boyd pointed out, and again I quote: "My chief criticism was of the speakers selected to address the conference. They are leaders in the field of religion, highly articulate and persuasive, but they are not saying anything new or anything that will help solve the real problem for us."

Rev. Boyd believes that the conference might have accomplished much good if the speakers had included a white supremacist and a Negro race leader, preferably a top man in the American Black Muslim movement. And he went on to say, and I quote: "A debate between them (meaning this white racist and a Black Muslim) would undoubtedly be bitter, but it would accomplish one thing: it would get some of the real issues out into the open. In this conference we have not done that. The money spent to bring these people here has been wasted. We have done nothing to solve the race problem either in our churches or in our communities." Now the statements from this element that attended this interfaith conference on religion in Chicago have not been given wide coverage in the press. The press has used its outlet or its ability to reach the public to make the public think that an honest effort was put forth out there to listen to the gripes and grievances of the dissatisfied Negroes or to solve the problem. But those who attended admit, and the current Jet magazine points out, that the conference was a failure. So all of this was put forth at the University of Pennsylvania, and it was pointed out to them that the only way the white man can solve his problem is to realize the existence of two different, distinct types of Negroes. This is the old type and the new type: that old type who is the Uncle Tom and wants to continue to beg white people to accept him or to force himself into the white society; then this new type of black man who wants to think for himself, speak for himself, stand on his own feet, and walk for himself. This type is following the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. If he is not an outright follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad he is in sympathy with the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and he believes that the only way our problem can be solved is that, instead of sitting around waiting for the white man to solve it, the black people have to come together. We have to forget our differences. We have to forget our religious differences, our economic differences, our social differences. We have to submerge our differences and get together behind the door and formulate some kind of plan, come to some kind of conclusions of what we can do to solve the problem of our ever increasing

number of black people across the nation. And it was also pointed out to the students at the University of Pennsylvania this afternoon that the only way they can understand the thinking of this new type of black man is to realize what he sees when he opens his eyes and looks around this world. And this new type of black man realizes that, in the past, dark mankind was ruled by white mankind. This is a fact. Right up until today, recent history, black, brown, red, and yellow man was ruled by the white man—which means European colonialism. This is what they call it, but in essence European colonialism meant that the white man was ruling the black, brown, red, and yellow people of this earth—which is, in reality, white supremacy. Now these same dark people who were ruled by the European minority were actually in the majority. It means that in the past the European minority, the white minority, was able to come together both by hook and by crook and rule the dark majority by practicing divide and conquer."

When the black, brown, red, and yellow man of Africa and Asia realized what was going on, they had a conference in Indonesia which has come to be known as the Bandung Conference. And what they did at that Bandung Conference actually changed the course of history. They had many differences: they had religious differences, economic differences, all types of differences. But at the Bandung Conference the black, brown, red, and yellow man agreed to submerge their differences and come together against the common enemy, the thing that all of them had in common: that they were all being exploited by the white man, they were all being oppressed by the white man. They called him European, but actually he was a white man.

So once they reached a conclusion that they had oppression in common, exploitation in common, they were able to identify a common enemy, and this enabled them to unite against the common enemy; and out of this grew what we today know as the African-Asian-Arab bloc. They have differences among themselves, yet they work together. Their working unity enabled them to free the dark nations of Africa. The fast emerging independence of the nations in Africa has taken place since the Bandung Conference. As these nations in Africa began to get their independence and come into the United Nations they had a vote, they had a voice, and they soon were able to outvote the white man, outvote the European, outvote the colonial powers. And by being able to outvote the colonial powers their vote was sufficient to produce a power that forced the people of Europe to turn loose the black man in Tanganyika, the black man in the

Congo, the black man in what we today know as the former French West African territories. All of this stems from the unity of the black, brown, red, and yellow man in the United Nations. It created a new era. It created a new world. And it created a situation where the only people who were able to sit at the helm of the United Nations were no longer white or European or Christian or in the person of Trygve Lie or Dag Hammarskjold or some of the others. Right after the black man, brown man, red man, yellow man agreed to submerge their differences and come together in unity, their unified force was sufficient to make it almost impossible today for a white man to be elected to the helm of the United Nations or for a Christian to be elected to the helm of the United Nations or for a European to be elected to the helm of the United Nations. Everyone that you see now sitting in the top seat of authority in the UN is either an African, an Asian, or an Arab, or he is either a Hindu, a Buddhist, or a Muslim. And all of this is the result of the ability of these black, brown, red, and yellow people to forget their little differences and come together against the common foe, against the common enemy, the oppressor.

And this is a good example that the black people in America can copy if we want to bring about freedom, justice, equality, and human dignity of the black people in this country. It was also pointed out today at the University of Pennsylvania that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's program is designed to make black, brown, red, and yellow people here in America, the so-called Negro, forget our differences. Any differences that we have we should take them behind the door, or any argument that we want to engage in among ourselves should be done behind the door. Instead, we need to present a common front against a common enemy, and the common enemy of the black, brown, red, and yellow man is anyone standing in the way of our freedom.

Anyone standing in the way of our justice or equality. Anyone who deprives the black man in America of civil rights is an enemy to the black man. Anyone who deprives the black man of citizenship in America is an enemy to the black man. And when the black people in this country learn how to recognize the enemy, the common enemy, then the black people can get together in unity and harmony and do whatever is necessary to solve our own problems. We won't be sitting around here waiting for the white man to issue some kind of emancipation proclamation. We won't be waiting for the Senate or Congress. We won't be waiting for any Supreme Court. Our unity will be sufficient to bring about human dignity, to bring

about freedom, justice, and equality, and to bring about whatever the black man needs to enable him to stand on his own feet like a man.

It was also pointed out to them, so they wouldn't think hard of me in saying that their world was coming to an end, that their world was decreasing, that their power was on the downgrade, that they were losing out all over the world I reminded them of a speech that was made by Prime Minister Macmillan on April 26, 1962, at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City, to the leading publishers and editors of America, at which time Prime Minister Macmillan himself pointed out that in his own lifetime a change, a new world, has come into existence. He said that when he was a boy the world was a white world. Britain's power extended so far across this planet that they used to brag that the sun would never set on the British Empire. In Macmillan's own lifetime, the power of the Englishman, the white man in England, has decreased so much, or the British Empire has decreased so much, that today when the sun rises you can hardly find the British Empire. And this is all symbolic of the decrease in power that the white man has suffered just in recent years. Just as Britain has dwindled down to nothing in prestige and influence in the face of the rising dark nations of this earth, all of your white nations have done the same thing.

France has dwindled down to nothing. She has lost her possessions in Asia and, after she lost her possessions in Asia, I think called Indo-China, it affected her economy so much that she didn't have enough strength, economic strength, to keep in existence an army large enough to dominate the large West African territories. She had to turn them loose, and finally she had to turn Algeria loose, I just in our own lifetime, just in this present generation. Not only did this happen to England and France, but the Netherlands had to give up Indonesia. And as soon as the Netherlands turned loose the brown man's lands in Indonesia, the economy of the Netherlands dwindled down so that you hardly hear of the Dutch. You hardly hear of Belgium. Belgium used to be a power on this earth, as I long as she could dictate to the black people in the Congo. But as soon as Belgium had to turn loose the Congolese, within a matter of months, the loss of the free and cheap mineral resources that the white man from Belgium in Europe was getting from the black man's lands in Africa affected the Belgium economy so much they had a collapse in the Belgium government. And all of this is a pattern that the white man's whole world, his whole kingdom, has had to face up to in recent times, during your and my generation. So I pointed these things out to the white students at the

University of Pennsylvania so that they could see themselves that their world is shrinking, that their world is coming to an end. And the thing that is bringing about an end to their world is the awakening of the dark world. As the dark world awakens, the dark world is rising. And as the dark world rises and increases, the power of the white world decreases. So when the Honorable Elijah Muhammad mentions to us, the so-called Negroes here in America, that we are living at the end of the world, all that means is that we are living at the end of the white world. When he says we are living at the end of time, all that means is that we are living at the end of the white man's time. The time that the white man could exercise unilateral and dictatorial power over the destiny of black people, brown people, red people, and yellow people on this earth has come to an end. And when the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says this they call him a black supremacist, they call him a racist, while at the same time in the halls of the United Nations Prime Minister Macmillan and all of the international diplomats are getting on the podium at the UN and crying the blues because they can see the handwriting on the wall.

And just like it took Daniel in Babylon to read the handwriting on the wall for that slave master or the descendants of Nebuchadnezzar, it takes the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, a little ex-slave here in America, to stand up here in this House of Bondage today and read the handwriting on the wall and let the white man know that his time is up, that his days are numbered, that he has been weighed in the balance and all of the seeds of injustice that he has sown in the past are coming home to plague him today. All of the injustices committed by past generations of whites the present generation of Englishmen is suffering because it breaks them up to see themselves lose their empire. But still they are losing their empire because of seeds sown by their own foreparents in England and the present generation of Englishmen has to face that as a fact. The seeds of their forefathers have come home to plague this generation of Englishmen that live on this earth today.

Likewise, here in America, what has the American white man got to realize? That a crime was committed against the so-called Negro. And I think that the most important thing that was pointed out to the students of the University of Pennsylvania today was that a crime was committed against the so-called American Negro when our people were brought here. And today the white man, not realizing, not being capable of facing up to the fact, that a crime was actually committed, thinks he is doing the so-

called Negro a favor when he opens the door to freedom. And I pointed out to the students: when someone sticks a knife into my back nine inches and then pulls it out six inches they haven't done me any favor. And if they pull that knife which they stuck in my back all the way out they still have not done me any favor. They should not have stabbed me in the back in the first place. Likewise, it was pointed out to them that when you take a man and frame him up, an innocent man and frame him up, and put him in prison—and because he rebels against this illegal and unjust framing and imprisonment he then is placed in solitary confinement within the prison to keep him from rebelling against the laws of the penal institution—after his spirit is broken in solitary confinement—why, the warden isn't doing that man any favor by taking him out of solitary confinement and then giving him more freedom within the confines of the prison wall. He shouldn't be imprisoned in the first place. And if they break down the prison walls completely and let that man out they still aren't doing that man any favor because they imprisoned him illegally and unjustly in the first place.

Now the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the white man captured millions of black people and brought us into prison, a prison house called America. They called it slavery; it was prison. And during the slavery or imprisonment of the black man in this country they inflicted the most extreme form of brutality against us to break our spirit, to break our will to resist, to destroy our manhood, to take the bone out of our back, to destroy our backbone. And after destroying our will, making us docile and humble, so that today we will turn the other cheek to those who are brutalizing us, after they did all of this to us for 310 years, then they come up with some so- called Emancipation Proclamation supposedly bringing us out of what we would call solitary confinement and giving us more freedom here within the prison walls of America.

And today the white man actually runs around here thinking he is doing the black people a favor because he gives us a little degree of freedom or justice or equality, or because he lets another one or two or three Negroes go to school with white people. The white man has the audacity to imply that he is doing black people a favor. What the white man should be made to realize is that his forefathers committed a crime by bringing our people here to this country. They committed a crime when they murdered our people throughout America. They committed a crime when they sold us from one plantation to another plantation like chattel or like merchandise

or like common property. This was a crime and all of those crimes that were committed during the 310 years against the black people in this country are the crimes that have come home to roost today on this present generation of whites. And the only black man in America, the only black leader in America, the only black spokesman in America who will sit down and talk to the white man like a man, like a black man to a white man, and spell it out the way it is, is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

If the white man wants to solve his problem, if the white man wants to solve the race problem, if the white man wants to eliminate racial tension, then the white man should do the same thing that Pharaoh did who was the ruler of the House of Bondage in the days of Egypt. He was not able to solve his problem until he sat down and talked with Moses. Nebuchadnezzar wasn't able to solve his problems until he sat down and talked with Daniel. And today, here in America, this white man will never solve his problems until he sits down and talks with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad will tell him the same thing that Moses told Pharaoh: Let my people go. Not let my people integrate with you, but let my people separate from you. Let us go to ourselves and solve our own problems and build up some kind of society, some system, some kind of agricultural system, so that we can feed and clothe and shelter our own people, an economic system so that we can provide the necessities of life for our own people, and have our own government, our own flag, our own everything. The white man can stay to himself and we can stay to ourselves. Perhaps then we can get some kind of solution to the problem.

But they'll never solve the problem listening to these handpicked, Uncle Tom, bourgeois, upper-class Negroes whose only desire is to sit down in the white man's house or in the white man's neighborhood or in the white man's school. Some of them now even insist upon dying and being buried in the white man's cemetery. That's foolish, and the masses of black people in this country don't think that this in anyway is a solution to our problem.

So all of these things were pointed out to the students of the University of Pennsylvania this afternoon, not with any animosity or any hostility but in the language of frankness. And I think they listened very objectively and very intelligently. Sometimes there were little temporary disturbances by some—I guess they were white segregationists, I don't know whether they were segregationists or integrationists—who were sitting up in one part

of the balcony. They were trying to do a little heckling, but it is impossible for a white man to heckle a Muslim. There is nothing that he can come up with that surprises a Muslim or in any way phases a Muslim. We are not interested in his heckling. All we are interested in is spelling out the problem. And if he is man enough to listen then perhaps he will get a better understanding of it.

So in this lecture this afternoon at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as the lecture at Michigan State University on Wednesday, our primary objective and purpose was to show the white man that just dealing with the integrationist-minded Negro will never solve the problem If you read this week's Jet, the one that is on the newsstand right now, the observers who attended this interfaith religious conference in Chicago all agreed that it was impossible for the type of Negro leadership that was represented there to sit down and hold any kind of discussion with whites and really get to the root, to the nitty-gritty of the problem. The only way that the root of the problem can be gotten to is to have someone in those conferences who represents the masses.

You read about the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. One of the things that's always pointed out even by his critics is that the intellectual Negro doesn't follow Mr. Muhammad; they say that the educated Negro doesn't follow Mr. Muhammad; they say that the Negro with the high income bracket doesn't follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. What they always emphasize is that the only Negroes that follow Muhammad are those who don't have too much education, those who are oppressed, unemployed, and dissatisfied. Well, what they are doing right there, then, is admitting that it is the masses who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, because the masses of black people in this country are unemployed. Even the job that they have is the same as no job, because their wages are so small that it is the same as not having any job at all.

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Question: Mr. Malcolm X says that we are so-called Negroes. I have been raised and taught that I am a Negro and now I have to file applications and they say what nationality are you. I would like for Mr. Malcolm X to tell me what shall I put down after this question when they ask me.

Malcolm X: We put down Asiatic. Asiatic in this sense: the Honorable

Elijah Muhammad teaches us that originally this entire planet today known as Earth was called Asia. When you read some of the so-called great historians they even point out that the entire earth was once known as Asia and all of the people on it at that time were Asiatic. The only people here were black, brown, red, and yellow. At that time there were no white people here at all. We refer to ourselves as the Asiatic black man. On my draft card it says Asiatic. And anything that anybody puts in front of me that wants to know what is my race or my nationality, any Muslim will put down Asiatic and that ends it. But never put down Negro. The worst thing that you can call yourself is a Negro. If you don't think so just call yourself that and immediately you will find all the doors closed. But at the same time the blackest man from Africa comes here and he rejects the term Negro. You can't call him a Negro. He will tell you he is an African and every door is open. Last year Kennedy made a special point in Maryland and Virginia to tell all those whites down there: don't do anything to practice discrimination against the African. Now at the same time he wouldn't make any statements concerning the American Negro, but he did come out and make a statement about the Africans. Which shows you that there is a difference between being Negro and being black. The African proudly calls himself black. But now when you call yourself a Negro that is when you encounter all these racial indignities.

Question: The Muslims seem to have a great deal of answers to many of the problems that seem to surround the Negro neighborhoods. Now, why is it they don't have enough of their men who can go around, help work, and solve some of the problems, not only in Philadelphia, but nationwide. The Muslims seem to be doing a very fine job of recruiting men and turning them over from vice and crime into a better way of life. If the Negroes in our society who can see this group would come about to work with them, even if they don't follow a religious program, I think, as he said, we should put away our differences and seek a way to a better understanding.

Malcolm X: That's a good question. An incident that happened recently right here in Philadelphia pretty well answers that. The local president of the local NAACP, Attorney Moore, came out and began to take a militant, uncompromising stand in behalf of the black people, and immediately he was accused of being a Muslim, from what I read in the paper. Instead of giving him credit for showing leadership, for showing the dynamic necessary to approach this problem and get it solved, all of the other elements, from what I understand, banded against him and attacked him.

Now as Muslims it is an admitted fact by the critics of Mr. Muhammad that he is able to eliminate the vice, the immorality, the dope addiction. All the things they accuse the Negro of being guilty of, Mr. Muhammad is able to eliminate. And you would think that all these organizations would try to work with him. But instead of trying to work with him, as he would like to work with them, they can't do it because usually they don't have that much independence. Most of these Negro leaders have been put in their positions as leaders by the white man, and the only other black people that they can work with are black people who are approved also by the white man. And since the Muslims, Mr. Muhammad and his followers, are not on the approved list of the white man, this type of Negro leadership is afraid to openly identify or sympathize with what Mr. Muhammad is doing even though they know that what he is doing is good for the problems that our people are confronted with.

Question: Sir, what I wanted to know is, being that he has just asked the question that the Muslims have men that will go out to work with organizations like NAACP regardless of religions, their creed—they won't accept these members of the Muslim sect to do this, would he suggest that those who are qualified should infiltrate and perhaps try to influence them in the religion of Muhammad?

Malcolm X: He struck up a good point. I think you'll find, brother, that there are Muslims everywhere. Wherever you find militancy today among so-called Negroes, watch real closely. You're liable to be looking at a Muslim. This is by now what the white man is beginning to be afraid of. Every time he sees a Negro who speaks without compromise he swears that this man must be a Muslim. That's why I used Cecil Moore as an example. As long as you have a local man here in Philadelphia who can be maneuvered and manipulated and frightened by the white liberal, all these other Negro leaders will fall right in line and go along with him. But as soon as you get a black man who will stand up—I don't care whether he is in the NAACP or CORE or in any other organization—if he starts taking an uncompromising stand whether the white man likes it or not, you'll find that the Uncle Tom leadership will rally against him and classify him or charge him or signify or insinuate that he must be a Black Muslim. And you'll never make progress as long as you have those kinds of Negroes around. The only time the Negro leaders show any tendency in trying to get together in unity is when they want to attack another Negro. But those same Negroes who unite against one Negro, you can't get them to unite

together on any problem under the sun except against another Negro.

Question: I feel that the American Negroes have enough money to get together and build, but they just won't do it. As you say, they'll fight each other and still bicker among themselves. So I can see what you are talking about there. But I also would like to know what he thinks about the real white man.

Moderator: I don t know what he means by the real white man. Is there an unreal white man?

Malcolm X: The real one is probably the one he sees after his eyes come open. I might comment on something that he said that was very important, about the Negro having enough money to actually solve his problems. Anytime the so-called Negro has access to twenty billion dollars a year and you don't find him able to provide job opportunities himself, this is a sign of sickness. And the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that if this so-called Negro would channel his wealth into business enterprises and create employment or create businesses that would provide employment then our problem would be solved. But as a rule, sir, in most Negro communities across the country the only thing you'll find Negroes building are Negro churches. An example: In Long Island the white man bought a city block. He built a huge supermarket on it. It creates job opportunities for about three or four hundred people. Now in the next block, believe it or not, the Negroes got together and bought it and built a million-dollar church. Now here this church provides a job only for the preacher; it provides clothing and shelter only for this Negro preacher. Now if this Negro preacher has the ingenuity that it takes to raise a million dollars or to finance a million-dollar project, but the only thing he can finance is a church, it's a problem. If you notice, white people in their neighborhoods build factories, they build schools, they build everything, and then they also build churches. But the Negro leadership, especially the religious leadership, has actually committed a crime almost in encouraging our people to build churches. But at the same time we never build schools; we never build factories; we never build businesses; we never build housing and things that will solve our problem.

Question: Do you approve of the Cubans coming to this country when we have so much unemployment already?

Malcolm X: I don't get involved in politics. But it does make the black people in this country who are jobless and unemployed and standing in the welfare line very much discouraged to see a government that can't solve our problem, can't provide job opportunities for us, and at the same time not only Cubans but Hungarians and every other type of white refugee imaginable can come to this country and get everything this government has to offer. But the Negro, this faithful soldier during wartime and servant during peace time, is always the last one in line when it comes to having some of his problems solved. It is not surprising that Hungarians and Polacks and Cubans can come to this country—who have never fought for this country, who have never contributed anything to this country's economy, who have never contributed to the defense of this democracy—can come here and get all the benefits of it. But the black man who has contributed with his life blood and his sweat for four hundred years is still the last hired and the first fired, and the only time they recognize him first is when it comes time to draft him into the army in defense of his country. I think first things first. And the first law of nature is self-preservation. And we are interested in the black man in this country. And the white man—if he has got all that money to be given away all over the world—should be doing something toward correcting the condition that his own crime created when he brought our people here and made us slaves.

Question: I would like Malcolm X to explain what he thinks about all this talk about birth control. Who is it for?

Malcolm X: The white man is worried today the same way that Pharaoh was worried when you read the first chapter of Exodus in the Bible. The slaves under Pharaoh had begun to multiply so fast and Pharaoh and his people were almost becoming sterile. It tells you in there that because these Hebrew slaves were multiplying so fast Pharaoh had to devise a scheme whereby the fertile women and the babies that they were producing would be destroyed. And all this birth control that you hear the white man talking about today, it is not birth control. It is sterilization designed to make this productive, fertile black woman stop producing. As the previous listener pointed out, they never tell you the real number of black people in this country. When you look around here in Philadelphia and New York and Chicago and other cities why you can hardly go into any community without seeing a large number of black faces. Negroes are multiplying, they are increasing too swiftly. And just as Pharaoh had to do something to stop the growth of his slaves, today the American white man must do

something to stop the rapid increase of the so-called Negroes. Already the Negro is the balance of power in any political election. The Negro holds the balance of power. In anything that goes on in this country, the ever-increasing number of Negroes holds the balance of power. So something must be done to stop that growth or else it has to be controlled. And it cannot be done the legal way or ethical way so they use underhanded measures or underhanded methods in so doing.

Question: I want to comment on the magazine article, number one. The Saturday Evening Post did the same thing when Nkrumah, if you'll remember, took over Ghana. He took the image of the Queen of England out of the Parliament. He took their image off his currency and he replaced them with their own portraits so that they could stimulate black honor and black dignity in their people. Now The Saturday Evening Post is doing the same thing now. That's one thing I want to point out. Now I want to ask Malcolm X this: Is it true that in your Elijah Muhammad speech two weeks ago you said that the struggle in the Congo was a struggle to recreate world colonialism and to control the resources of the Congo, because 86 and 2/10 percent of the copper is used in America and the gold deposits and also the stuff of which they make atomic bombs. If that is cut off America will suffer. And why are they spending $10,500,000 per month to kill people in Africa when they won't spend $10,500,000 a month to help the people right here in America?

Malcolm X: Sir, you're a man after my own heart. I'm glad that you were able to see how the white press immediately turned against Nkrumah when they found out that they couldn't control him and use him as an agent as they use many others over there. And it is true that Katanga Province is one of the richest sources of minerals, vital minerals, that exists on this earth. And if you were to do some research and find out who it is who has money invested in Katanga—some of them who are sitting in high positions in this government right now in this country, and some of them who are accepted by Negroes in this country as liberals in shining armor—when you find out who among the wealthy whites or powerful whites have money invested in the Congo or in Katanga, then you will see behind the struggle over there and why there is so much support for this man Tshombe and for trying to keep him in power. Anything you read in our newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, you can bet that it is true. If it wasn't truth they would stop us from printing it. And it is the only black paper in this country that will give you the raw truth that is taking place anywhere in which black people are

involved on this earth. Did I answer all his questions?

Moderator: I think so. He used some figures.

Malcolm X: It was true, and I wanted to point out, as a preacher, this man shows great intelligence in being able to analyze the news and show how the white press, as soon as the black man begins to take a militant and uncompromising stand, whether it be in America or Africa, will begin to project that man either as a dictator or as a black supremacist or teacher of hate.

Question: I would like to know whether it is true that Malcolm X was arrested within the past four weeks and I how much bond he had to pay to get out of jail.

Malcolm X: I have never been arrested since I became a Muslim. What you are probably talking about is when two of our brothers were arrested in Times Square in New York on Christmas Day, selling newspapers, selling our newspaper in Times Square. In this particular paper there was an article about Congressman Nix, a local congressman from right here in this city, in which he himself took a stand, an open stand, against police brutality. And by the brothers selling the paper in the Times Square area a white policeman took offense and tried to stop them and arrested them and charged the two brothers with assaulting the cop. This is what police always do in cases of police brutality. They brutalize the black man and then turn around and charge the black man with attacking them. So we all went to court on that. But I didn't go as an arrested person. I went as a Muslim who was interested in seeing that my brother got justice. No sir, I have never been arrested since I have been a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. But that doesn't mean I am afraid to be arrested, and it doesn't mean that I am afraid of jail or prison. When it comes to telling the truth about what the white man is doing to the black people in this country I'll tell it and go to jail myself. They don't have to take me, I will go. So they can never hold that thing in front of me as a kind of threat. That is one of the things that the white man uses to make Negroes afraid to take a stand. You don't have to go behind bars to be in jail in this country. If you are born in this country with black skin you are already in jail, you are already confined, you are already watched over by a warden who poses as your mayor and poses as your governor and poses as your President. He is nothing but your warden keeping you in confinement. Don't ever talk that

jail talk to me. I'll go faster than anybody in this country for the truth and be proud to go and be proud to die for the truth that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching us. And any other Muslim will be just as proud to do so, and will do it just as fast.

Question: Mr. X claims that our spending power is about twenty billion dollars. Is that true?

Malcolm X: Yes sir, according to the government economists.

Question: Well, all the speeches you make, or anyone else makes, is not going to make any difference in the world to the American Negro until he learns to hold onto that money. As fast as he gets it in his hands he runs around the corner and hands it back to the white man. The American Negro has got to put that money to use and build schools and build businesses.

Malcolm X: Sir, I agree with everything you say. Everything you say is 100 percent true, and if you notice the Muslims have set up schools. If you'll read this Saturday Evening Post article, they don't like it. The white man doesn't like it but the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has set up a school in Detroit, a school in Chicago, and schools elsewhere, and it is in these schools that the racial dignity of the black man is taught to our children. We don't have any dropouts. We don't have any delinquency. We don't have any crime rate. We don't have the problems that the white man accuses the Negroes of allowing to exist in the Negro community. Insofar as the twenty billion dollars are concerned, we don't blame the white man because we are not able to take advantage of this money. We blame ourselves. And this is what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says. That instead of us sitting around here begging the white man for a job in his factory or a house in his neighborhood, what we need to do is get together and unite. Pool our resources, pool our talent, and do something for ourselves. But what you have to understand is that the white man is afraid.

The white man has a guilt complex and the white people today are so afraid since they know what they have done to the black people in this country. Their secret fear is that if the black man ever gets independent, if he ever gets able to stand on his own feet, the fear on the part of the whites is that you and I will retaliate against him. So the whites don't want the Negro to become involved in any kind of program that is going to make them

independent of whites. They want the Negro to launch a program that the whites can still control or that the whites can still influence or in which they can still offer their guidance. But they do not want us to separate from them and go out on our own as the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is teaching us to.

Question: What does Mr. X think about the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King?

Malcolm X: I think that any black man who goes among so-called Negroes today who are being brutalized, spit upon in the worst fashion imaginable, and teaches those Negroes to turn the other cheek, to suffer peacefully, or love their enemy is a traitor to the Negro. Everybody on this earth has the right to defend himself. Everybody on this earth who defends himself is respected.

Now the only people who are encouraged to love their enemy is the American Negro. The only people who are encouraged to adopt this old passive resistance or wait-until-you-change-your-mind-and-then-let-me philosophy is the American Negro. And any man that propagates that kind of doctrine among Negroes is a traitor to those people. It is time for the black people in this country to come together and unite and do whatever is necessary to gain the recognition and respect of the world. And you know what Patrick Henry had to do to get some respect: he said liberty or death. He didn't talk any kind of peaceful suffering or passive resistance. George Washington didn't talk peaceful suffering or passive resistance. No hero who is respected by whites ever tried to propagate some kind of peaceful suffering or passive resistance. The Hungarian Freedom Fighters fought against the Russians. The odds were against them. They were greatly outnumbered, the odds were against them, but because they took a stand and were willing to die for what they believed in, those same freedom fighters can come to this country and get respect and recognition and work on jobs and live in communities that these Negro, what do you call 'em, Freedom Riders, sit-inners, haven't been able to do yet. So anytime you will show that you are willing to die for what you believe then you will get respect and recognition and this is what the black man has to learn. If it is all right for black people to be drafted and sent to Korea or South Vietnam or Laos or Berlin or someplace else to fight and die for the white man, then there is nothing wrong with that same black man doing the same thing when he is under the brutality in this country at the hands of the white man.

Question: I was down South recently, in South Carolina, in Georgia, in Florida, and whatever the signs say about desegregating, my wife and I were refused a bathroom, we were refused liquor. What I want to know is: Does he talk the same way down there as he does up here?

Malcolm X: I preach what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches me in Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and throughout the South. I am scheduled to be in Charlotte, North Carolina, next Wednesday. I've been to Birmingham. We have a large mosque, a group of Muslims, in Birmingham, in Tuscaloosa. No, the South is no different from the North. Let me tell you the only difference. The white man in the South is a wolf. You know where he stands. When he opens his mouth and you see his teeth he looks vicious. Well, the only difference between the white man in the South and the white man in the North is that one is a wolf and this one is a fox. The fox will lynch you and you won't even know you have been lynched. The fox will Jim Crow you and you don't even know you're Jim Crowed. And this is the basic difference between the southern white man and the northern white man.

Moderator: In other words, the northern white man is foxier than the southern white man.

Malcolm X: He is foxy. When he opens his mouth and shows you his teeth you think he is smiling and when you look at a fox you think a fox is smiling, but actually the objective of the fox and the wolf is the same. They want to exploit you, they want to take advantage of you. Both are canine, both are dogs—there is no difference. Their methods might differ, but their objective is the same, and the southern white man and the northern white man are in the same category.

Moderator: To answer the gentleman's question, the answer is that you speak the same in the South as you do in the North.

Malcolm X: Oh, yes, no different. Muslims speak the same everywhere, North, South, East, or West.

Question: I want to ask Malcolm X that he says it is the white man's fault that many of the Negroes have turned against Negroes by them going around killing each other, robbing from each other. And if I am correct

I think you said that the white man had driven many of the Negroes to doing what they have done.

Malcolm X: Oh definitely, definitely. When you see Negroes fighting and shooting and killing each other, all this is a throwback from slavery. There has always been open season on Negroes. A Negro can punch a white man in the mouth and the hunting season is always there. If you notice, sir, there is only a certain season when you can kill a bear or a rabbit.

Moderator: You have to have a license to kill an animal.

Malcolm X: You have to have a license. But there are only certain seasons that you can kill that animal. But you don't need a license to kill a Negro and you can shoot one out of season—anytime—and you won't get any time. By Negroes knowing this, what the white man has done is set up a psychological situation where the average Negro thinks he can do anything to another Negro and get away with it. And this has made us antagonistic toward one another, hostile toward one another, and very disrespectful toward one another. And this is what makes Negroes continue to fight and kill each other.

Question: I am a doctor in the city and this refers to the statements by Malcolm X about the white brutality against the Negroes and the general type of campaign which he seems to state that we have against the Negroes. A great deal of my time is spent in the emergency ward treating whites and blacks, and I must say that the greater percentage of patients who commit brutality to each other are the black to the black. Much of our time is spent suturing up these people, and treating very serious injuries, which shows the great brutality among themselves. And until they can show the whites that they treat themselves in a more humane fashion, I don't think they will develop the respect that they wish. The main thing I wish to say is that they should be improving themselves, as he stated, and they shouldn't speak of wanting money from government and whites, as he did in referring to the Cuban situation.

Malcolm X: I think that the doctor brought out a very good point. It is true that Negroes kill Negroes but this is because the white man himself has taught Negroes to hate Negroes. The Negro hates another Negro because this was taught to us during slavery and the Negro hates everything about himself. And what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is doing is teaching

our people to love ourselves, respect ourselves, and uplift ourselves. And if the white man would realize that what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is doing is actually correcting the myth that the white man has made, then the white man should stop harassing Mr. Muhammad and propagandizing against him and misrepresenting him in his news media, and instead thank him for the good work that he is doing.

Moderator: Thank you, Mr. Malcolm X.

# Malcolm X at UC Berkeley (October 11, 1963)

Mr. Moderator, students and faculty here at the University of California, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies. The bell up there took so long to stop ringing, I began to suspect that it was probably being manipulated by an integrationist!

Recently the state of California, the Supreme Court here, denied Negro inmates who had become converted to the religion of Islam while serving time in these penal institutions of this state, denied them the right to receive qualified Muslim religious instructors from the outside on the ground that the Muslims who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad are not an authentic religious group.

At the same time, the state's esteemed body of educators here at the University of California barred me from speaking on this campus on the grounds that we do represent an authentic religious group. It meant that your top judicial body deprives us of our religious rights by saying we aren't a bona fide religious group, and your top body of educators—I think that's what they'd be called—deprive us of our religious rights by saying we are a bona fide religious group.

Well, I'm happy and thankful to our God, Allah, for enabling them to come to some kind of conclusion as to what we actually are. Because it confused us to see how two important branches of your state government could logically come to opposite conclusions on the same subject.

Or is it that in this state you are permitted the type of intellectual flexibility that enables your state government to speak out of both sides of its mouth in this manner at the same time? And to make certain that there'd be no clarification of the misunderstanding about our religion, I read in the—I think the San Francisco Chronicle, or one of your papers, yesterday—that I was permitted to speak here as long as I didn't get into religion, or stuck to what they call secular matters.

So it's not my intention to discuss the Muslim religious group today nor the Muslim religion, but I am a Muslim. But I intend to stick to secular problems. It's like inviting a Catholic priest or bishop here to speak but

forbidding him to mention Catholicism or the pope. Or inviting Billy Graham and telling him not to mention Christ. Or a member of the Kennedy family and expecting him not to mention politics.

It boils down to inviting a Muslim minister to speak on what you call secular problems but denying him the right to speak religiously or from a religious point of view. It's like telling a bird to fly without his wings. Or a race horse to run without his legs. Then you condemn that bird that you have crippled yourself and condemn the horse that you've also crippled because it can't keep up. This is very hypocritical. But tomorrow, or Sunday, rather, it's our intention to hold a meeting at the Civic Center in Richmond, at 1:00 p.m. at which time we intend to spell out our religious beliefs, our religious motives, and our religious objectives.

Today during the time that we have, we would like to point out that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that America is faced with her gravest crisis since the Civil War. Wherever we look today, whether it be in the South, the North, the East, or the West, we see ever-increasing racial tensions.
We see the increase of racial animosity, the increase of racial hostility, and the increase of outright racial hatred. We see masses of Black people who have lost all confidence in the false promises of the hypocritical white politicians. We see masses of Black people who are thoroughly fed up with the deceit of the so-called white liberals, or the white so-called liberals. White liberals who have posed as our friends, white liberals who have been eager to point out what the white man in the South is doing to our people there, while they themselves are doing the same thing to us here in the North.

They have been making a great fuss over the South only to blind us to what is happening here in the North. And now that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has opened the eyes of America's 20 million Blacks, we can easily see that this white fox here in the North is even more cruel and more vicious than the white wolf in the South. The southern wolves always let you know where you stand. But these northern foxes pose as white liberals. They pose as your friend, as your benefactor, as your employer, as your landlord, as your neighborhood merchant, as your lawyer. They use integration for infiltration. They infiltrate all your organizations, and in this manner, by joining you, they strangle your militant efforts toward true freedom.

Throughout America, here in the North, as well as the South, masses of Black people are demonstrating against the oppression and exploitation of the American white man. Our people have lost all fear of the white man. They have ceased to waste their love on the white man, and they have ceased turning their nonviolent cheek to the violent white man. And because of this new fearless, more militant attitude on the part of our people, we see the increase of violence and bloodshed between the white oppressor and the oppressed, the white exploiter and the exploited, the white former slavemaster and his 20 million ex-slaves.

The question that is asked, where will all of this end? I repeat, America is faced with her worst domestic crisis since the Civil War. The worst crisis since the Revolutionary War. For America now faces a race war. The entire country is on the verge of erupting into racial violence and bloodshed simply because 20 million ex-slaves here in America are demanding freedom, justice, and equality from their former slavemasters.

Twenty million so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, seeking nothing but human dignity and human rights, the right to live in dignity as a human being. And rather than give genuine sincere respect to your cry for human rights, the American white man answers your nonviolence with violence. He answers your prayers and freedom songs with false promises, deceitful maneuvers, and outright bloodshed.

According to what we were taught from the white man's textbooks in school, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War were two wars fought on American soil supposedly for freedom and democracy. But if these two wars were really fought for freedom and human dignity of all men, why are 20 million of our people still confined and enslaved here in America by second-class citizenship? The truth is that the Revolutionary War was fought on American soil to free the American white man from the English white man. The Revolutionary War was never fought to provide freedom and a democracy in this white country for the Black man. Our people remained slaves here in America even after the Declaration of Independence was signed. In fact most of the white Founding Fathers who signed the Declaration of Independence were slave owners themselves.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that it is sheer ignorance, insanity, for our people to celebrate the Fourth of July as Independence Day, while white America denies us the first-class citizenship that goes

with independence. And it is nothing but hypocrisy on the part of the American white man to pretend that the Revolutionary War was truly a war of independence as long as 20 million Black people here in America are denied the privileges of an independent people.

The Civil War was fought on this continent, but not to free the Black slaves as is commonly taught in the white man's schools. The Civil War was actually fought to preserve the Union, to keep the country intact for white people.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that in essence this means the American white man fought the Revolutionary War to get this country for himself. He then fought the Civil War to keep this country intact for himself. And today he will now fight a race war to keep from having to share this country on an equal basis with anyone else but himself. Especially on an equal basis with his 20 million former slaves.

So again I ask, where will these demonstrations end? And who dares to say that our people are not justified in demonstrating our resentment over the injustice and mistreatment that our people have suffered these 400 years at the hands of this cruel, inhuman American white man?

The Black masses are crying out, "What have we to lose but our chains? What have we to lose but the hell that we experience every day living in these rat-filled slums that we're relegated to?" The worst housing conditions in America always exist in the so-called Negro community. Yet the white liberals, who own these run-down houses, force us to pay the highest rent. Faced with this high overhead, we are forced to take in roomers in order to help make up our rent. Our apartments are filled with both relatives and strangers. Our communities soon become overcrowded. These overcrowded conditions under which our people are forced to live eliminate all chances for a normal life, a clean life, or a healthy life.

Because our children grow up in this overcrowded atmosphere, the lack of much-needed privacy destroys their sense of shame. It lowers their moral standards and leaves them exposed to every form of indecency and vice imaginable. Our young girls, our daughters, our baby sisters become unwed mothers before they are hardly out of their teens. Our community has thousands of unmarried mothers, mothers who have no hope of ever getting a husband. And our community has tens of thousands of little

babies who have no father to act as their provider or protector. In fact the only provider any of our children know is the white welfare agent or the white social worker. Many of our children actually mistake the welfare agent or the white social worker for their father.

And oftentimes this is true.

The overcrowded homes of our community force us to live under some of the worst sanitary conditions imaginable. It becomes almost impossible to practice the rules of good hygiene. And therefore tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea, and other destructive social diseases are on the rampage throughout our community.

Our people in the Negro community are trapped in a vicious cycle of ignorance, poverty, disease, sickness, and death. There seems to be no way out. No way of escape. The wealthy, educated Black bourgeoisie, those uppity Negroes who do escape, never reach back and pull the rest of our people out with them. The Black masses remain trapped in the slums.

And because there seems to be no hope or no other escape, we turn to wine, we turn to whiskey, and we turn to reefers, marijuana, and even to the dreadful needle—heroin, morphine, cocaine, opium—seeking an escape.

Many of us turn to crime, stealing, gambling, prostitution. And some of us are used by the white overlords downtown to push dope in the Negro community among our own people. Unemployment and poverty have forced many of our people into a life of crime. But the real criminal is in the City Hall downtown, in the State House, and in the White House in Washington, D.C. The real criminal is the white liberal, the political hypocrite. And it is these legal crooks who pose as our friends, force us into a life of crime, and then use us to spread the white man's evil vices in our community among our own people.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that our people are scientifically maneuvered by the white man into a life of poverty. Because we are forced to live in the poorest sections of the city, we attend inferior schools. We have inferior teachers and we get an inferior education. The white power structure downtown makes certain that by the time our people do graduate, we won't be equipped or qualified for anything but the

dirtiest, heaviest, poorest-paying jobs. Jobs that no one else wants.

We are trapped in a vicious cycle of economic, intellectual, social, and political death. Inferior jobs, inferior housing, inferior education which in turn again leads to inferior jobs. We spend a lifetime in this vicious circle. Or in this vicious cycle going in circles. Giving birth to children who see no hope or future but to follow in our miserable footsteps.

So we thank God for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. We who are Muslims saw no way out until we accepted the religion of Islam and the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. We saw no solution to our problems. We saw no real leader among our people.

But today the whole world is talking about the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the divine solution he received from the God of our forefathers. Not your God but from the God of our forefathers. Not a temporary solution which will benefit only the handpicked upper-class Negroes, but a solution divinely designed to solve the plight of the Black masses in this country permanently and forever.

The government does not want our people to listen and understand the solution that God has given the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. The government is against Mr. Muhammad because the government is against our God. In order to trick our people away from God's true solutions, the government is trying to deceive our people with a false solution, a phony solution, a deceitful solution called token integration. I may add, whenever you get on the bus or the subway or the streetcar and you have to use a token, that token is not the real thing but it is a substitute for the real thing. And wherever you have a token, you have a substitute. And wherever you have token integration, you don't have anything but a substitute for integration and there's no real integration anywhere in North America—North, South, East, or West, not even in San Francisco, Oakland, or Berkeley.

Has the government effort to bribe our people with token integration made our plight better, or has it made it worse? When you tried to integrate the white community in search of better housing, the whites there fled to the suburbs. And the community that you thought would be integrated soon deteriorated into another all-Black slum. What happened to the liberal whites? Why did they flee? We thought that they were supposed to be our

friends. And why did the neighborhood deteriorate only after our people moved in?

It is the tricky real estate agents posing as white liberal friends who encourage our people to force their way into white communities, and then they themselves sell these integrated houses at such high prices that our people again are forced to take in roomers to offset the high house notes. This creates in the new area the same overcrowded conditions, and the new community soon deteriorates into the same slum conditions from which we thought we had escaped. The only one who has benefited is the white real estate agent who poses as our friend, as a liberal, and who sells us the house in a community destined by his own greedy schemes to become nothing but a high-priced slum area.

Today our people can see that integrated housing has not solved our problems. At best it was only a temporary solution. One in which only the wealthy, handpicked Negroes found temporary benefit.

After the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, the same thing happened when our people tried to integrate the schools. All the white students disappeared into the suburbs. Now the caliber of what our people thought was to be an integrated school has fallen to the same level of the slum school from which we thought we had escaped. Just as efforts to integrate housing failed miserably, efforts to integrate schools have been an even more miserable failure.

Having failed to get integrated housing and failed to get integrated schools, now the Negro leaders are demanding integrated jobs. That is they are demanding a certain quota, or percentage, of white people's jobs.

First the Negro leadership demanded the white man's house, and the whites vacated their run-down houses for us and built new homes for themselves out in the suburbs. Then the Negro leaders demanded seats for our children in the white man's schools. The whites evacuated the schools as our children moved in and they built modern schools for themselves in the suburbs. But now the Negro leadership is demanding the white man's job. Can the whites vacate their jobs like they did their homes and their schools and move to the suburbs and create more jobs? No. Not without violence and bloodshed. The same white liberals who used to praise our people for their patient nonviolent approach have now become openly impatient and

violent themselves in defense of their own jobs. Not only in the South but also in the North, even here in the Bay Area.

For thirty-three years the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has been warning us that the time would come when the white man would not have enough jobs for himself much less enough jobs for our people. So the present demand of our people for more of the white man's jobs must lead to violence and bloodshed. It may even lead to a race war—a bloody race war. And it is the government itself that is now pressing the people of this country into a racial bloodbath.

But the white man is misjudging the times and he is underestimating the American so-called Negro because we're living in a new day. Our people are now a new people. That old Uncle Tom—type Negro is dead. Our people have no more fear of anyone, no more fear of anything. We are not afraid to go to jail. We are not afraid to give our very life itself. And we're not afraid to take the lives of those who try to take our lives. We believe in a fair exchange. We believe in a fair exchange. An eye for an eye. A tooth for a tooth. A head for a head and life for a life. If this is the price of freedom, we won't hesitate to pay the price.

By trying to oppose the divine solution that God has given to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the American government will actually provoke another Civil War. That is, this government—and especially that present administration in Washington, D.C.—will provoke a civil war among whites by trying to force them to give up their jobs and homes and schools to our people. And our people will provoke a race war by trying to take the white man's jobs and his schools and his home away from him.

This racial dilemma poses a serious problem for white America. Civil war between whites on the one hand, a race war between the whites and their 20 million ex-slaves on the other hand. And the entire dark world is watching, waiting to see what the American government will do to solve this problem once and for all.

We must have a permanent solution. A temporary solution won't do. Tokenism will no longer suffice. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad has the only permanent solution. Twenty million ex-slaves must be permanently separated from our former slavemaster and placed on some land that we can call our own. Then we can create our own jobs. Control our own

economy. Solve our own problems instead of waiting on the American white man to solve our problems for us.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that on our own land we can set up farms, factories, businesses. We can establish our own government and become an independent nation. And once we become separated from the jurisdiction of this white nation, we can then enter into trade and commerce for ourselves with other independent nations. This is the only solution.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that in our own land we can establish our own agricultural system. We can grow food to feed our own people. We can raise cattle and use the hides, the leather, and the wool to clothe our people. We can dig the clay from the earth and make bricks to build homes for our people. We can turn the trees into lumber and furnish the homes for our own people. He says that we can dig the natural resources from the earth once we are in our own land. Land is the basis of all economic security. Land is essential to freedom, justice, and equality. Land is essential to true independence. And the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says we must be separated from the American white man, returned to our own land where we can live among our own people. This is the only true solution.

For just as the biblical government of Egypt under Pharaoh was against Moses because Moses had been directed by God to separate the Hebrew slaves from Pharaoh and lead them out of the house of bondage to a land of their own, today this modern house of bondage under the authority of the American government opposes this modern Moses. Opposes the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's efforts to separate our people, who have been made slaves here in this country, and lead us to a land of our own.

The government opposes the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's efforts to wake us up, clean us up, and stand us on our own feet so we can follow him out of this house of bondage to our own land where we can live among our own people. Just as the government of biblical Egypt was against the God of the Hebrew slaves, today the American government is against the God of her Negro slaves, the God of our forefathers. And just as that Pharaoh tried to trick the Hebrew slaves into rejecting the offers of salvation from their God by deceiving them with false promises through hired magicians and carefully staged demonstrations like the recent ridiculous march on

Washington, today this government is paying certain elements of the Negro leadership to deceive our people into thinking that we're going to get accepted soon into the mainstream of American life.

The government is deceiving our people with false promises so we won't want to return to our own land and people. The government is saying, "Stay here, don't listen to this Muhammad, we will desegregate the lunch counters and the theaters and the parks and the toilets"—meaning this public accommodation thing where you can sit on a toilet with a white person or in a toilet with a white person.
"We'll give you more civil rights bills. We won't give you civil rights, but we'll give you civil rights bills." The government promises our people this only to keep you from listening to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and to stop us from waking up. They know that if we listen to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad long enough, we will begin to do our own thinking. He'll make us see, hear, think, and able to speak for ourselves.

Whenever you become fed up in this country with the white man's brutality and you get set to take matters in your own hands in order to defend yourself and your people, the same government—and again I repeat, especially that Catholic administration in Washington, D.C.—tries to pacify our people with deceitful promises of tricky civil rights legislation that is never designed to be a true solution to our problem. Civil rights legislation will never solve our problems. The white liberals are nothing but political hypocrites who use our people as political footballs only to get bills passed that will increase their own power.

The present proposed civil rights legislation will give the present administration dictatorial powers and make America a legal police state, but still won't solve the race problem. The present administration is only using civil rights as a political football to gain more legislation and power for itself. Our people are being used as pawns in the game of power politics by political hypocrites. They don't want our people to listen to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad because they know he will make them—make us see them as they really are.

So I say in my conclusion, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's message and solution is simple. He says: "Since we are not wanted in this country, let's pack our bags and go back home to our own people, to our own land." The propaganda of the American government is skillfully designed to make

our people think that our people back home don't want us. Government propagandists tell us constantly, "Africa is a jungle. Africans are savage and backward. They have no modern conveniences and you're too much like us white folks. How could you live comfortably back there?"

This propaganda is government strategy against the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, realizing that his mission is to teach our people the truth about our own kind, clean us up, and then return us to our own land and unite us with our own people. The American government turns us against our own kind in order to keep us from making a mass exodus out of this country where we can live at home among our own people.

Therefore, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says, American propaganda is designed to make us think that no matter how much hell we catch here, we're still better off in America than we'd be anywhere else. They want us to think we have no place else to go. And many of our so-called intellectuals who pose as our leaders and spokesmen actually believe that we have no place else to go. So their solution to our problem is that we stay here and continue to catch hell from the American white man.

But the only permanent solution is complete separation or some land of our own in a country of our own. All other courses will lead to violence and bloodshed. It will lead to the destruction of America, and it will also lead to the destruction of our people who fall for it. So his message is flee for your lives and save yourselves. And I thank you.

* * *

Question: In the last issue of Muhammad Speaks there was an article telling of the elimination of racial discrimination in Cuba; telling how Afro- and Latin- Cubans lived in harmony. How does this jibe with the devil concept of the white man and that the idea that freedom can only be achieved through separation?

Malcolm X: The Cubans don't refer to themselves either as white people or Black people. They refer to themselves as people. You find the American white man is the one who has laid such stress on being white or being black. When you become a Muslim, you don't look at a man as being black, brown, red, or yellow. You look upon him as being a man. And this is something that is foreign to the American concept.

I don't know anything about Cuba. The article was written by Howard, a UN correspondent who spent time in Cuba along with the son of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad when all of the students went. And they did say that they found a great deal of equality, freedom, and justice among the people of Cuba. So I think that in that direction Castro has made a great accomplishment and contribution, but I haven't been there myself.

Now, when you try and bring the same thing about between the American white man and the American Black man, you're dealing with a man who used to have as total possession over the Black people in this country as a farmer has possession over his cow, his chickens, his horse. And this has created an attitude among American whites that they themselves find almost impossible to eliminate. And unless it is eliminated and until it is eliminated the problem will get worse instead of better. I personally don't think it will ever be eliminated.

Question: How do you intend to gain possession of this land that you want and how do you intend to get there?

Malcolm X: That's a good question. Number one, we didn't have any trouble getting to America because the white man...by that I mean we weren't Pilgrims. We didn't come on the Mayflower, and we didn't come from Europe, and we didn't come of our own volition. We were brought here in chains at the bottom of a slave ship. And since we didn't pay transportation here, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the contribution that the Black man made in this country, which amounts to 310 years of slave labor for which we have never been given a dime or a cent, places a burden upon the American white man today for which the government should pay. And he says that our people should be allowed to go back to our own homeland, that the government itself should supply us with the transportation.

And that they should supply us with the machinery and the tools necessary that will enable us to dig the soil and develop our own agricultural system and feed ourselves for the next twenty to twenty-five years until we are in a position to be completely independent and stand on our own feet. And he says that if the government does not want a mass exodus of Black people from this country back to our own homeland, since we cannot live in peace, together, mixed up on this continent, the alternative to that

solution is to divide a separate part of this country into which our people can migrate.

For your clarification, because this has been brought up, some people say, "Well, why should the government do this?" If this government can send billions of dollars to Communist countries like Poland and Yugoslavia and to neutralist countries in Asia and Africa, who have never made any contribution whatsoever to the sum, net worth of this economy and country, and at the same time, this government feels that it is too much to set about something real to solve the problem for the slaves who made a greater contribution than even your people did, why the government doesn't even deserve to continue to function as a government.

Question: You mentioned again, just now, land set aside for your people, sir. What land is available that's not already possessed by others?

Malcolm X: When you came to this country the land was inhabited by the Indians and you didn't have any problem then.

Question: Actually, I have two questions. The first one I would like to ask you: Do you believe in Islam just because it gives you dignity as a Black man living in America? Or do you believe in Islam as a whole? So, if you believe in Islam as a whole, you know that Islam believes in socialism rather than capitalism. This is the first question. The second question: You said that Muhammad taught you that you should have your own land so you can find all, to do what you want in it. Will you please give me one statement either from the Quran or from Muhammad's speeches which says, you know, asks for this situation?

Malcolm X: If I understood my Muslim brother correctly, I hope that he's aware of the fact that my opening statement pointed out that the front page of the San Francisco Chronicle, I think it was, told me that the only way I could come here and speak was to speak on secular matters rather than religious, and for that reason I pointed out at the outset that I wasn't going to get onto the religion of Islam. Since you, as a student I imagine, brought it up, it does open the door for me to reply and I thank you for it. Number one, Islam is a word which means in Arabic complete submission to the will of God. Complete obedience to the will of God. And this means—and the Jews referred to this God as Jehovah. They're monotheistic. The Christians referred to him, I think, as Christ. Only they're polytheistic, and

it's difficult to give one name to their many gods.

So that in Islam, since we believe that there is one God, we believe that all of the prophets who came forth on this earth taught the same religion. Abraham was a Muslim; Moses was a Muslim; Jesus was a Muslim. And as Black men in America, we accept the religion of Islam because we recognize it as the true religion of God. This is why I'm a Muslim. I am a Muslim because the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has taught me that Islam is God's only religion. And it does say in the Holy Qur'an that this religion will overcome all other religions.

We believe that we're living in the day and the time and at the hour when God intends to make this religion, Islam, overcome all other religions. This is why we're Muslims. And we want to separate ourselves from America, because we believe that when God comes to establish the religion of Islam or the kingdom of Islam or the world of Islam, he can't do so without first destroying all other religions, governments, nations and worlds that stand in his way. All governments that won't accept one religion and practice the principles of brotherhood, freedom, justice, and equality among all people, regardless of color, regardless of race or anything else involved, we believe that they'll be destroyed today, and we don't think that you can get the American people to accept the religion of Islam. I have no knowledge of socialism. That's something else.

Question: Sir, you seem to interchange the term white liberal with hypocritical politician. I don't believe this is true. I don't believe that our white liberals are in office. They are, by the way, investigating—

Moderator: Do you have a question please?

Question: I just wondered why you interchanged these terms when they're so evidently not interchangeable.

Malcolm X: Historically in America, the white liberal has been the one always supposedly who has the solution to the race problem. An example: the leading white liberal in American history was supposed to be Abraham Lincoln. He's the one who has been dangled in front of our people as a God who brought us out of slavery into the promised land of freedom. Martin Luther King last year was begging President Kennedy to issue another Emancipation Proclamation. If the Emancipation Proclamation

of Abraham Lincoln was authentic and produced the results that it was supposed to and if it had been sincere, it would have gotten results. Then Martin Luther King wouldn't have to be begging for another proclamation of emancipation today.

And other times—the white liberals supposedly fought the Civil War to free the slaves, and our people are still slaves, still begging for freedom. Some more white liberals came along with the so-called Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and other amendments to the Constitution supposedly to solve our problem. The Constitution has been amended and the problem is still here. Nine white liberals on the Supreme Court bench came up with a desegregation decision in 1954 supposedly to desegregate the schools, and the schools haven't been desegregated yet. Kennedy ran on a platform as a white liberal three years ago and said all he had to do was take out his fountain pen and put his name on some paper and our problem would be solved, and it was three years in office before he found where his fountain pen was, and the problem isn't solved yet.

Question: I'm a second-generation American, and my people came over in the bottom of ships. And they had second-class citizenship in Europe, and they lived in ghettos and things of this sort, and they got out of them. How come I have attitudes toward Negroes that may be prejudiced? Where did I get these attitudes, if they weren't from the Negro people? None of my people ever owned slaves, or anything of this sort. How did I get my prejudices?

Malcolm X: If you didn't steal the property, you can be held responsible today for being in possession of stolen goods. The book says that the sins of the fathers will be visited upon the heads of the children even unto the seventh generation. And although there are many whites who came here from Europe after 1865, they fit right into the whole, overall pattern of exploitation, of modern slavery, that still exists in this country today. Because it's only a modern form of slavery that our people experience today, and white liberals, again, encourage us to join groups that they set up that they call the National Advance—National Association for the Advancement of Some Colored People, from ancient slavery to modern slavery. If I may add, your mention of white immigrants just coming here proves the inability of Negroes to solve this problem by the present course, or the past course that they've been taking. It's true, Italians, French, Spanish, and others came here as immigrants, uneducated, poverty-

stricken. And their parents were able to open up stores. Little stores. They lived in the back, sent their children to school. Their children studied business and came back and expanded the businesses, and most businesses in the white community are called so-and-so brothers, so-and-so and son, and so forth. This is how you established what you call the American economy, somewhat—speaking on the run.

Negroes have been here, free, since 1865, so-called, have a purchasing power of $20 billion per year, have more education than any group, any minority group on this earth. You can't go in the Negro community anywhere in the Bay Area and find five businesses owned by Negroes, so-and-so and son or so-and-so brothers.

The mistake that we made differs from the mistake you didn't make. Your parents solved your problems economically, of their own volition, with their own ingenuity. Our leaders have done nothing to teach us how to go in business. They have done nothing to teach us how to elevate the level of our schools. They've done nothing to teach us how to keep up the standard of our community.

It is not some masses of Black people who are at fault for this. It's this Negro puppet that the white liberal has set over the Negro community to act as our leader and act as our spokesman who has failed to show us how to solve our own problems. So we remain crippled, and accept to follow the advice of this white liberal who does nothing but continue to exploit us instead of trying to help us solve the problem. Hope I didn't answer you too long.

Moderator: We have time for only one more question, I'm afraid, and I recognize this gentleman.

Question: I'd like to ask Mr. X simply, why cannot a Negro infiltrate the political machine and use power politics to his own end?

Malcolm X: If he studies the science of politics, he probably would. Most Negroes don't. They become involved politically from an emotional point of view rather than a scientific point of view. You show me a Negro politician, and I'll show you one who's controlled by the white political machine. And if you show me one who isn't controlled by the white political machine, I'll show you one whom the white political machine has

labeled as a racist, an extremist.

Adam Powell is one of the best examples of it. Anyone that they endorse, who will do what they want him to do, he's all right. But when you become politically independent in this country, the white media, they label you as a racist. The reason for this is, the only way you can become politically independent of the white political machine is to have the support of the Black masses. The only way you can get the support of the Black masses is to say how they think and how they feel. And when you begin to speak to the Black masses, how they feel and think, then the whites call you a racist. Because you have to talk in the context of the intense degree of dissatisfaction that exists in the Negro community.

Whites don't want to hear this. They want to be told that the problem is being solved. You're not solving the problem for anybody but a few handpicked, Uncle Tom Negroes who benefit from your token integration. And as long as you deal with that, you're going to be adding more powder to a keg that's inside your house that can blow you higher, that could explode, higher than a million-megaton bomb. So when you go down here and find how the masses of Black people really feel, you're too intelligent to act as you are, if you know how they really feel. And the only Black man who will tell you exactly how a Black man feels is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. The rest of them are going to talk to you out of the corner of their mouth. Try and make friends with you.

# A Message to the Grassroots (November 10, 1963)

During the few moments that we have, we want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me—us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here. And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red, or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell 'cause you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell 'cause you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell 'cause you're a Methodist or Baptist. You don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican. You don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk. And you sure don't catch hell 'cause you're an American; 'cause if you was an American, you wouldn't catch no hell. You catch hell 'cause you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we are all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You are nothing but a ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the "Mayflower." You came here on a slave ship—in chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the "Mayflower." You were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: we have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have this common enemy, then we unite on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy—the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at the Bandung conference, and the results of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together. Their were dark nations from Africa and Asia. Some of them were Buddhists. Some of them were Muslim. Some of them were Christians. Some of them were Confucianists. Some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists; some were socialists; some were capitalists. Despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red, or yellow.

The number one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get together. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line. This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity.

They were able to submerge their little petty differences and agree on one thing: that though one African came from Kenya and was being colonized by the Englishman, and another African came from the Congo and was being colonized by the Belgian, and another African came from Guinea and was being colonized by the French, and another came from Angola and was being colonized by the Portuguese, when they came to the Bandung conference, they looked at the Portuguese, and at the Frenchman, and at the Englishman, and at the Dutchman, and learned or realized that the one thing that all of them had in common: they were all from Europe, they were all Europeans, blond, blue-eyed and white-skinned. They began to recognize who their enemy was. The same man that was colonizing our people in Kenya was colonizing our people in the Congo. The same one in the Congo was colonizing our people in South Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia, and in Burma, and in India, and in Afghanistan, and in Pakistan. They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together under this basis—that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who

have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man: blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin—same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle—don't let the enemy know that you got a disagreement.

Instead of us airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet—argue it out behind closed doors. And then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man. Put the white man out of our meetings, number one, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's all you gotta do.

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution. There's a difference. Are they both the same? And if they're not, what is the difference? What is the difference between a black revolution and a Negro revolution? First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, and the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program. You may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed. The French Revolution—what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost; was no compromise; was no negotiation. I'm telling you, you don't know what a revolution is. 'Cause when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the

alley; you'll get out of the way. The Russian Revolution—what was it based on? Land. The landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed!

And you're afraid to bleed.

I said, you're afraid to bleed.

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people. But when it comes time to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls be murdered, you haven't got no blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed, you bite when the white man says bite and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you're going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else that you don't even know?

If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it's wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it's wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

The Chinese Revolution—they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yeah, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article—don't be shocked when I say I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read an article in Life magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger 'cause he was an Uncle Tom Chinaman. When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms—just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl become a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth—by the white man. 'Cause there are no Uncle Toms over there.

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. And once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight. There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were revolutionaries; they were the ones who made the word " Uhuru". They were the ones who brought it to the fore.The Mau Mau, they were revolutionaries. They believed in scorched earth. They knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land. In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists; they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France: to hell with France. They wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you, you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that's nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution based on loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folk...on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is worldwide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution—that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia. Revolution is in Africa. And the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

A revolution is bloody. Revolution is hostile. Revolution knows no compromise. Revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No,

you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, as Reverend Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing "We Shall Overcome"? Just tell me. You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing; you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for no nation. They're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too, yes, it was white nationalism. You don't think so? Why you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? Black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Reverend Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else here in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

To understand this, you have to go back to what the young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro. Back during slavery, there was two kinds of slaves. There was the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes, they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good 'cause they ate his food—what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved their master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house quicker than the master would. The house Negro, if the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" "We" sick! He identified himself with his master more than his master identified with himself. And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's

escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call him today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America? This good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you get here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa!

On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negro, those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there was Negroes in the house. The Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn't get nothing but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call 'em "chittlin'" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were: guts. That's what you were, a gut-eater. And some of you all still gut-eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night. He lived in a shack, in a hut. He wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was intelligent. That house Negro loved his master. But that field Negro—remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn't try and put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone comes to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here." You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear these little Negroes talking about "our government is in trouble." They say, "The government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "Our government"! I even heard one say "our astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant...and "our astronauts"! "Our Navy"...that's a Negro that's out of his mind. That's a Negro that's out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, 20th century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent. That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and 'cause you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. 'Cause someone has taught you to suffer—peacefully.

The white man do the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and don't have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering—just suffer peacefully. As Reverend Cleage pointed out, "Let your blood flow In the streets." This is a shame. And you know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me!

There's nothing in our book, the Qur'an—you call it "Ko-ran"—that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life: That's a good religion. And doesn't nobody resent that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teach you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teach us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't lay down our life all by itself. No, preserve your life. it's the best thing you got. And if you got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, and fed him well, and even gave him a little education—a little education; gave him a long coat

and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and make him prominent, build him up, publicize him, make him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes—and a Negro leader.

I would like to just mention just one other thing else quickly, and that is the method that the white man uses, how the white man uses these "big guns," or Negro leaders, against the black revolution. They are not a part of the black revolution. They're used against the black revolution.

When Martin Luther King failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia, the civil-rights struggle in America reached its low point. King became bankrupt, almost, as a leader. Plus, even financially, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was in financial trouble; plus it was in trouble, period, with the people when they failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia. Other Negro civil-rights leaders of so-called national stature became fallen idols. As they became fallen idols, began to lose their prestige and influence, local Negro leaders began to stir up the masses. In Cambridge, Maryland, Gloria, Richardson in Danville, Virginia, and other parts of the country, local leaders began to stir up our people at the grassroots level. This was never done by these Negroes, whom you recognize, of national stature. They controlled you, but they never incited you or excited you. They controlled you; they contained you; they kept you on the plantation.

As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets. King got out and went out to California to a big rally and raised about—I don't know how many thousands of dollars. He came to Detroit and had a march and raised some more thousands of dollars. And recall, right after that Wilkins attacked King, accused King and the CORE of starting trouble everywhere and then making the NAACP get them out of jail and spend a lot of money; and then they accused King and CORE of raising all the money and not paying it back. This happened; I've got it in documented evidence in the newspaper. Roy started attacking King, and King started attacking Roy, and Farmer started attacking both of them. And as these Negroes of national stature began to attack each other, they began to lose their control of the Negro masses.

And Negroes was out there in the streets. They was talking about we was going to march on Washington. By the way, right at that time Birmingham

had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. So, and right after that, Kennedy got on the television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? We're going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt; don't let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and don't let no airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

It was the grass roots out there in the street. Scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D. C. to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins; they called in Randolph; they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look, you all letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "Well If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."

A matter of hours went by. They had a meeting at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City. The Carlyle Hotel is owned by the Kennedy family; that's the hotel Kennedy spent the night at, two nights ago; it belongs to his family. A philanthropic society headed by a white man named Stephen Currier called all the top civil-rights leaders together at the Carlyle Hotel. And he told them that, "By you all fighting each other, you are destroying the civil-rights movement. And since you're fighting over money from white liberals, let us set up what is known as the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership. Let's form this council, and all the civil-rights organizations will belong to it, and we'll use it for fund-raising purposes." Let me show you how tricky the white man is. And as soon as they got it formed, they elected Whitney Young as the chairman, and who you think became the

co-chairman? Stephen Currier, the white man, a millionaire. Powell was talking about it down at the Cobo [Hall] today. This is what he was talking about. Powell knows it happened. Randolph knows it happened. Wilkins knows it happened. King knows it happened. Everyone of that so-called Big Six, they know what happened.

Once they formed it, with the white man over it, he promised them and gave them $800,000 to split up between the Big Six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them $700,000 more. A million and a half dollars, split up between leaders that you've been following, going to jail for, crying crocodile tears for. And they're nothing but Frank James and Jesse James and the what-do-you-call-'em brothers.

Soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal; and then they begin to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally, they weren't even in the march. You was talking this march talk on Hastings Street—is Hastings Street still here?—on Hasting Street. You was talking the march talk on Lenox Avenue, and out on—what you call it?—Fillmore Street, and Central Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over. And the first move they made after they took it over, they invited Walter Reuther, a white man; they invited a priest, a rabbi, and an old white preacher. Yes, an old white preacher. The same white element that put Kennedy in power—labor, the Catholics, the Jews, and liberal Protestants; the same clique that put Kennedy in power, joined the march on Washington.

It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What you do? You integrate it with cream; you make it weak. If you pour too much cream in, you won't even know you ever had coffee. It used to be hot, it becomes cool. It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it'll put you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it. They didn't integrate it; they infiltrated it. They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. They ceased to be angry. They ceased to be hot. They ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. You had one right here in Detroit—I saw it on television—with

clowns leading it, white clowns and black clowns. I know you don't like what I'm saying, but I'm going to tell you anyway. 'Cause I can prove what I'm saying. If you think I'm telling you wrong, you bring me Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer and those other three, and see if they'll deny it over a microphone.

No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover. When James Baldwin came in from Paris, they wouldn't let him talk, 'cause they couldn't make him go by the script. Burt Lancaster read the speech that Baldwin was supposed to make; they wouldn't let Baldwin get up there, 'cause they know Baldwin's liable to say anything. They controlled it so tight—they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown. Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors 'cause they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

Malcolm X at Columbia University (November 20, 1963)

Dr. Mencher and students. First I want to thank Dr. Mencher for the invitation to speak here this afternoon. And I should start out by pointing out that in the Columbia Law Review I think it was, in December of I think last year, there was an extensive article carried in it about the Muslims and pointing out that there were a group of law students here at this particular campus studying some of the legal aspects of the Muslims and how it would be possible to find some way to stop the spread of their religion according to the Constitution. And whenever you have a University as famous as this in which there are students dedicated to no purpose other than to try and find some constitutional means to stop the spread of an unpopular religion, why that in itself is enough in my introductory remarks to point out why the Muslims in this country are greatly misunderstood.

The press has referred to us as "Black Muslims, which we aren't. We are black people who are Muslims because we believe in the religion of Islam. When you believe in the religion of Islam, color doesn't play any part.

There's no such thing as a brown Muslim, a red Muslim, yellow Muslim, white Muslim, or black Muslims when you believe in the religion of Islam. But here in the West, the Christian world, where color is the criterion by which a person is measured, in most references that are used to designate people, usually color is one of the main ingredients mentioned. We are Muslims. Our religion is Islam. We believe in Allah. We believe in one God, one creator, one supreme being, who is called by us Allah. And this God is believed in by people in what you call the Moslem world, which covers pretty much all of Asia, Africa, and today, many parts of Latin America.

As Muslims believing in one God, we also believe that this one God has only one religion, and all of the prophets who came forth on this earth spread that one religion. The name of that religion is Islam.
Here in America the so-called Negroes have been cut off from our own forefathers, from our own people, and from our own kind, from our own culture, for nearly four-hundred years. And during the four hundred years we've been cut off from our people back home, we have been exposed to every type of religious philosophy except the religion of Islam, a great deal of time has been taken to keep the religion of Islam away from the ears and the mind of Negroes in this country.

The honorable Elijah Muhammad, we believe, was raised by God from our midst for the express purpose of teaching the religion of Islam to the American so-called Negroes. And those of us who have accepted this religion believe that this religion is the only real cure to what ails our people in this part of the world.

One of the reasons that this religion is the only cure is because we believe that it's just the plain naked truth, and one of the causes of our ailments in this part of the world is our lack of exposure to truth during the 400 years that we've been here. We believe that most of what Negroes have been taught in America is lies, deliberately concocted lies, scientifically told lies. And these lies are designed to make Negroes feel inferior and at the same time make white people feel superior. And if anyone has any doubts as to the purposes of the American educational system is designed to do, then all they have to do is examine the general attitudes of white and the general attitudes of blacks, and I think the result will pretty well bear out this statement.

In the religion of Islam, as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the main characteristics that one undertakes after having been exposed to it is an awakening. It causes our people to wake up. By "wake up," I mean it develops within us racial pride, racial dignity and a strong sense of racial confidence. And this is the missing ingredient that most Negroes find absent whenever they are graduated from the educational system here in America, academic or religious; whereas Mr. Muhammad's teaching of Islam restores this racial pride and this racial dignity, this self-respect and confidence in our own kind by restoring our cultural roots, giving us a knowledge of our cultural roots, or I should say connecting us with our roots in the past; and by pointing out to us our historic roots, automatically we can lay hold of them. Just as a tree receives nutrition from its roots, we find that when the so-called Negro in this country is reconverted or turned back to the religion of Islam, it has a tendency to do to us the same thing that the roots of a tree do to those trees.

Also it points out and lends emphasis to the contributions that our people have made to science, to culture, to civilization in the past; whereas the American educational system has completely destroyed all contributions made to science and civilization by dark-skinned people, and lends emphasis—ofttimes false emphasis—to contributions that were made primarily by whites.
And after this wake-up process has been accomplished, the next thing that Mr. Muhammad lends emphasis to in his religious teachings to us is clean-up. Since the general characteristics attributed by sociologists to the so-called Negro community are drunkenness, laziness, welfare problems and things of that sort, today when the Honorable Elijah Muhammad gives us the religion of Islam, immediately the Muslims who accept it turn away from tobacco, from narcotics, alcohol, lying, cheating, stealing, gambling, profanity, boisterousness, most of the this that the critics associate with Negroes.

It develops within us the strong desire to respect our women, protect our women and elevate our women, and also to provide for our women. These are Muslim characteristics. And it gives us a strong respect also for law-enforcement officers and for the law. We are obedient to the law as long as the law is obedient to itself, and we respect the law as long as the law respects itself. And also his teachings have had a strong tendency to rehabilitate men who have gone to prison. In the case of Muslims, seldom does a Muslim ever go to prison for having broken the law. Most Negroes

who are in prison who are Muslims became Muslims after going to prison. They went to prison as Christians, and when they get into prison and find that their Christian philosophy or beliefs weren't sufficient to turn them away from crime and keep them from behind prison bars, they become very disillusioned. When they hear the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, usually they accept it. Overnight they change; they're rehabilitated; they're reformed and become better persons.

The last step in that process, after wake-up, and clean-up, is stand-up. This religion also gives black people who accept it the desire to start doing something for ourselves instead of sitting around and waiting for the white man to solve our problems and tell us that we are free or do some kind of justice or equality. The Muslims don't feel that it is up to the white men to tell us when our people are really free or when our people are ready for anything. Once we awaken, it is up to us to get what is our right by whatever means necessary to enforce those rights. I might say in this short opening statement that the basic difference between black people in America who are Christians and black people in America who are Muslims is that the black man in America who is a Christian usually identifies himself with America, with all of America's troubles and problems and be doesn't see himself on the world stage at all.

Usually his scope is very limited. He has never been taught in the American educational system to think of himself beyond the confines of America or see what part he plays in the dark world. His role is limited to America and to the American stage in his own eyes. And therefore on the American stage, which is a white stage, he sees himself as a minority, as the underdog, one against whom the odds are stacked. Usually the black man who is a Christian, when he approaches the problem, he approaches it as an underdog; and he approaches it as a beggar, and he approaches it in a manner where he thinks the white power structure is doing him a favor when they drop crumbs from their table.

So he leaves his entire future in the hands of the white man whereas a black man who is a Muslim and who is a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad—his scope isn't limited to the confines of America, but rather he looks at the entire problem in its world context. And as such, he sees that the majority of people of this earth are dark-skinned people or non-white people. And since the majority of people on this earth are non-whites and he himself is non-white, he sees himself in that context; not as

a minority on the American stage, but a part of the vast majority of dark-skinned people who outnumber whites on this earth.

But to the Muslim, the white man is just another microscopic minority. And the blacks who accept Islam don't see where whites are doing us any favors when they speak in terms of freedom, justice and equality; nor do we think that it is left up to the white man or should be left up to the white man to make up his mind that Negroes are human beings too, and therefore one of these days pass some kind of legislation that will guarantee to the the Negro rights as human beings.

I hope that's sufficient, and if it's not, we'll try and clarify it later. Thank you.

* * *

Question: I'm struck by similarities between ideas preached by the Muslim movement and the ideas of the proponents of negritude, and I wonder if you could say anything about the relationship between the Muslim movement and this movement in Africa with the newly independent African states. You've sometimes talked about your people going back to where they came from. To what extent is this something that's practical? Is there any dialogue between Africa and the Muslims?

Malcolm X: Mr. Muhammad teaches us that the only solution to this problem that confronts our people in this particular society here, where we are absolutely unwanted, is a departure, an immediate departure, from this unwanted area back to our own homeland where we can live among our own kind in peace and security. And the basic cause of the race problem in this country actually stems from the fact that Negroes are not wanted in this country as anything but chattel or commodity or property which can be exploited politically, economically and otherwise. And as black people in this country wake up and begin to think with their own brain and see the reality of their position in this society, you'll find them becoming increasingly disenchanted; and they'll have a tendency to disassociate themselves completely from America's present as well as from America's future, which means the only future for a black man who has been exposed to the brutalities and hypocrisies of the American system is a departure back home among our own kind where we can live among our own kind. And if this man that you've named refers to it as negritude,

a word which I don't go for too much myself, then it's good; because we believe that a white man should be white and a black man should be black. We believe that white people by nature think in terms of what is good for white people first and foremost. We believe that whatever whites do, since they are intellectually mature—whether they are morally mature is another question—but whenever they become intellectually mature, they think in terms of what is good for white people And everything that they do stems from that particular premise—what is good for whites. And we believe that black people...and the white man is not wrong for thinking like this. He is applying the first law of nature, which is self-preservation. But by the same token, when the black man becomes truly independent, not only politically and economically but intellectually, we believe that the black man also will then begin to think in terms of what's good for himself collectively as a people first and foremost, which is only natural, and then that leads to something else.

Question: You said that Mr. Elijah Muhammad was raised by God in America. I believe that most Muslims in the East believe that the holy prophet Mohammed was the very first prophet

Malcolm X: Well, if you'll recall, I didn't say that Mr. Muhammad was a prophet. Sir, we don't refer to Mr. Muhammad as a prophet. A prophet in my understanding of the word is one who predicts the future, one who says what's coming some day. We're not interested in some day. We're interested in right now. We refer to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as a messenger who has a message of truth for the black people here in America. Now, when our brothers in the East were taught the religion of Islam and then we, their own people, were kidnapped from the East and brought to this country and held here in bondage for 400 years, our Muslim brothers over there never took the time to come over here and spread the religion of Islam among us or teach us about the religion of Islam, much less teach us anything about our lot. They failed to do this. Those who did come spent most of their time trying to teach Islam to the white man of America who had made us slaves. So they're not in a position to question the authenticity of anyone who tries to spread the religion of Islam in America among the black people of America. And the bulk of them who come to this country—and I think they number around 2- or 300,000—all of them combined have never been successful in converting yet 100 Americans to the religion of Islam. The religion of Islam is a religion of propagation. It's a religion in which, when one accepts it in truth and in sincerity, he's

not satisfied unless he is spreading it. This is the nature of Islam; this is the history of Islam. But our brothers over there haven't spread Islam in a long time. In fact, they aren't even living up to it themselves. So whenever the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, a little black man from Georgia, is able to stand up in his country and get not a hundred or two hundred, but hundreds of thousands of ex-slaves, so-called Negroes, to turn towards Mecca five times a day giving praise to Allah and practicing the principles of the religion of Islam even on a more strict basis than it is practiced in most of the world today, they should give him credit—not question his religious authenticity.

Question: Mr. X, in 1959 when Elijah Muhammad traveled to the Near East he was welcomed by international leaders. At the same time, however, national American leaders of the American Moslem movement, repudiated your group. Can you tell me, since that time has there been any change in that policy? Has there been any interweaving between the two groups?

Malcolm X: Number one, you will not find true Muslims, who are religiously sincere, washing their dirty clothes in public. This is one of the natural characteristics again of Islam. Islam creates brotherhood. It makes Muslims one happy family and whenever members of the same family have a disagreement, they go behind closed doors and iron it out; and then they come out in public with a united front. The Muslims in the Muslim world who welcomed the Honorable Elijah Muhammad upon his trip into the Muslim world in 1959 did so because they realized that he was doing work for the religion of Islam in the West that they themselves combined, with all the resources, were incapable of doing; whereas, on the other hand, you had Muslim groups in this country who are not religiously sincere and who live off the crumbs gain that fall from the table of this so-called power structure in which they live and whatever they say is usually designed to cater to the people who run that power structure or to appease them. So their pronouncements three or four years ago used to be filled with criticism and condemnation of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. But if you'll notice in your press, this has decreased recently.

Usually when a Muslim comes here from abroad, reporters will give him a leading question or a loaded question. A reporter will meet that Muslim with the statement that the black Muslims teach hate, they're against all white people,"What do you think of the black Muslims?" Why good night, the man can't give but one answer. So this is what this particular segment

of the earth has done, and some of our brothers from abroad have come here and fallen victim to it. Rather than coming to us and finding out what it is we stand for and what we are teaching and why, they listen to the enemy of Islam and let the enemy put words in their mouth. So we don't have any sympathy or patience with them either, although actually they don't understand.

Question: How do you feel about the interest that the American Nazi party has shown in your movement?

Malcolm X: I know nothing about the American Nazi party. I think probably all of them can fit in one garden; that is, the practicing Nazis. However, I think that more white people in this country are in sympathy with Naziism than they are with practicing democracy. There are more whites who use little pockets of Nazis as whipping boys actually practice more Naziism and put up with more Naziism than Hitler did in Germany. And I don't think any white is in a moral position to ask me what I think about Nazis in light of the fact you're living in a country which in 1963 permits the bombing of Negro churches and the murder of little innocent and defenseless black children—why, you're not in a position to ask me anything about Naziism. Naziism is practiced by this government. Excuse me for giving it to you so bluntly, but I run into this question every now and then; and it doesn't make me look bad, it makes you look bad. The same thing that Hitler was practicing in Germany is practiced in this country against Negroes and it's also practiced against Muslims—Negroes in general and Muslims in particular. They hide behind the fact that Rockwell is supposed to be a Nazi, but Rockwell couldn't do what he's doing and get as much support as he's getting if there weren't a large segment of whites in this country who think exactly like Rockwell does only they camouflage their real feelings behind a lot of haughty, pious-sounding phrases like "integration," "civil rights," and other things.

Question: If you think that our government practices Naziism, what about the efforts of, let's say, the justice department to obtain legislation... about accusing the justice department of not trying to do anything for the Negroes. What about the Kennedy legislative policy?

Malcolm X: What about it?

Question: What about it? What about it?

Malcolm X: The Kennedy's don't see any legislation. Kennedy never mentioned any legislation until those Negroes started erupting in Birmingham. As long the dogs were biting black people in Birmingham and King was trying to get the President to send him some troops to protect the victims of police brutality in Birmingham, the President said nothing, the department of justice did nothing. As long as the Negroes were nonviolent, the department of justice did nothing. It was only when the Negroes erupted on Saturday morning and began to retaliate against their brutal attackers that the President came on the television and then started talking about some kind of civil rights legislation that he was going to ask for. He had his back to the wall; he was in a corner; this was the only time he mentioned it. It became a moral issue then. I'm not so much influenced by whites who become very moral when someone puts a gun to their head, whether it's the President in the white House or just another Rockwell or Wallace.

To show you the hypocrisy of the justice department, including the man in the White House, as soon as they felt that the Negro, what they called "revolt" had died down, they began to water down their efforts to bring out some kind of civil rights legislation. And every day they come out more so and they admit that there's less chance of any civil rights legislation being passed this year. So I don't think that the justice department or anybody else is being true to the situation as it is faced by Negroes—again, especially in light of the fact that, although the justice department couldn't send anybody to Birmingham, Kennedy was ready to send troops into Saigon to protect 2- or 3,000 Americans that didn't even have any business to go over there. And he was ready to send troops into Cuba and other places on this earth. But when it comes to sending troops or police to defend the lives and the property of black people in this country, It's just a whole lot of talk. Nothing ever materializes. And I think white people should realize that Negroes are more aware of this hypocrisy than many whites are willing to admit to themselves.

Question: Sir, on the question of nonviolence, Mr. Williams, the North Carolina Negro now in Cuba, has suggested that American Negroes arm themselves in self- defense. I was wondering if you'd like to comment on Mr. Williams' views, especially the question of arms.

Malcolm X: Well, I wouldn't comment on Mr. Williams' views because I don't know what they are, but I can give you Mr. Muhammad's view. That's

what I'm here for. I don't represent Robert Williams. Robert Williams is in Cuba. He's in exile. Evidently he didn't know what he was doing. He should have gone ahead and used what he said he believed in. Muslims who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad believe that our people should be intelligent, should obey laws, should carry themselves with respect, but any time anybody puts their hands on us, we should send them straight to the cemetery—no matter what the odds against us are. We should always obey the law; we should respect everyone; we should carry ourselves in an intelligent and respectful and friendly way. But any time anyone comes to put their hands on us, that person should get what be has coming to him. And I don't think there's anything wrong with that because America has always practiced this herself. I've never read anything in the history of America where Uncle Sam has practiced turning the other cheek. When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, America didn't say, "Bomb us again." He didn't turn the other cheek. No! She retaliated. She wanted to retaliate against Russia just because Russian missiles were in Cuba.

Anybody who's intelligent is going to defend himself when he's being attacked. And the black people in this country who accept the religion of Islam and become followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, no matter what be odds are against us—we don't carry any weapons; we don't arm ourselves—but we do believe when someone attacks us, we are going to lay down our life right there on the spot, or we are going to lay somebody else's life down beside ours. I hope this clarifies that point

Question: In Mr. Byrd's article based on interviews with Elijah Muhammad, he mentions the possibility of political activity force. Could you comment on that?

Malcolm X: Yes. What Mr. Muhammad has in mind is not clear to me. I don't know what his political intentions are. He has not spelled them out. But I might lend emphasis to the fact that the same Herald-Tribune that carried his series, in 1961, in February I think it was, they mentioned that in this country you have approximately 3,000,000 Negroes who vote and 8,000,000 who don't vote. You have 11,000,000 who could vote. They said 2,700,000 do, which in round figures is approximately 3,000,000 who do and 8,000,000 don't. So the question is: who are the type of Negroes who vote? And I think if you study, you'll find usually they're the middle class bourgeois professional type Negro or semi-professional type Negro who take an active part in politics. The masses of black people in this country

don't participate in politics. This doesn't mean that they're politically immature or politically lethargic, but they don't take part in politics because they don't trust the politicians, neither the Negro politician nor the white politician, because most of the Negro politicians are only puppets in the white political machine. They have no voice whatsoever. And when a Negro politician does become independent of the white political machine, usually the press labels him as a racist, an extremist, a demagogue and things like that. You know how they do with probably Adam Clayton Powell. And Powell is one of the only Negroes in this country who has ever shown his ability to be independent of a white political machine. So they label you when you show real independence. Whites don't go along with any black man who is independent of them. As long as a black man will listen to white advice and put himself under white control, then that white man goes along with that black man and calls him a "responsible Negro leader," and by that he means that Negro is responsible to him and will listen to him. So these 3,000,000 are in the minority, the upper class Negro; whereas the 8,000,000, the masses who don't participate, they're the most dangerous element, because if 3,000,000 carry such strategic weight that your Presidential candidates and others will go far out of their way to make love to the 3,000,000, you can imagine what they could have to do if the 8,000,000 who are inactive become active. Why, they would upset the entire political picture in this country.

Those are the facts. Never before this generation has there been a real leader who appealed to the masses other than Marcus Garvey. Marcus Garvey had mass appeal, and he frightened the government and the power structure to death, to the point where they had to get a lot of these Uncle Tom Negroes to join his outfit and get him framed up and sent him to Atlanta penitentiary so they could deport him. The first man to be a leader since Garvey is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. And those students of political science who are aware of the structure of the Negro community are well aware of the fact that if Mr. Muhammad ever became politically active, you'd have a changed picture on the entire political scene of this country. So what his aims are, I don't know.

Question: Sir, I understand that one of the philosophies of the movement is for geographic separation of the races, and I understand also that South Africa recently has established their new policy, which calls for the actual separation into black conclaves. Is there any application of this policy in the United States?

Malcolm X: You can't compare what Mr. Muhammad is asking for with anything that's going on in South Africa. South Africa is South Africa. The apartheid policy is a policy being carried out by the white power structure, which is the minority, against the blacks, who are in the majority And if the white minority thought that the separation of those blacks and whites was going to give the blacks an equal footing, they would be just as much against it as they are now for it. But they figure that they are going to put the black into some kind of segregated society which will still be under their jurisdiction and which they can control. We're not asking anything like that. Mr. Muhammad wants complete separation and independence from this particular political system, economic system that you call America, a system which will enable the black man then to utilize his own dormant talent and know-how and resources to lift himself by his own bootstraps instead of sitting around here as a beggar in this system, dependent upon this system.

Question: Could you forecast how this could happen in the United states? ?

Malcolm X: Number one, Mr. Muhammad isn't saying, "Give us part of this country." His solution is, as I think I've said, is the complete exodus of our people from this country back to our own homeland where we can live among our own people, and that this government should supply us with all of the machinery and tools necessary for us to till the soil back home and develop our own agricultural system, feed, clothe and shelter ourselves, and thereby make our own people an independent people standing on our own feet

And if this government does not want that, then the alternative would be, since we can't get along together in peace on this continent mixed up with each other, to separate this continent geographically and give us an area where there's plenty of rainfall and mineral resources and the machinery and the tools necessary for us to begin the existence of our own independent civilization, society and government there. Then there will be some kind of peace. But other than that, as long as black and white try to stay under the same roof in the same room mixed up together, pretty soon you're going to have some very, very serious trouble because the black man is waking up. And when he wakes up, you can't contain him or trick him. You can't appease him. And tokenism doesn't move him. So if the white society will react as violently as it has only to the tokenism that the Negro is asking for, what do you think white society's reaction will

be when the Negro wakes up and begins to ask for the real thing? White society will react violently and then to their shock they're going to find that Negro society reacting just as violently. You've forgotten right now that the majority of people on this earth are dark-skinned people, they're not white people. We represent a minority only in this particular society. But worldwide we're a part of the dark majority and we'll stand on that. And when our brothers over there wake up, they won't continue to be satisfied to come over here and go to the United Nations and berate South Africa for its racism and keeping hush-mouthed on Uncle Sam for his racism. No.

Question: To get what you want, what concrete plans do you have to push that through?

Malcolm X: The honorable Elijah Muhammad, as those of you who are Christians probably will recall in the Bible where Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Well, we believe that. We believe that when the black people In this country are exposed to the truth (that's why I said, "wake up') about themselves, their own past, then the worst crime that the white man committed against us will be corrected, because actually the worst crime that the white man today is guilty of is that he has destroyed a people; he has destroyed a human being. 20,000,000 Negroes have ceased to be human in the sight of white society simply because the white system has destroyed all evidences of culture that these people ever had. And when these cultural characteristics have been destroyed, then it is possible for the same system to convict us of having once been savages and cannibals, and then this means that the slave system which we underwent here was a favor to us rather than a crime. And most Negroes actually have fallen for this. But once Elijah Muhammad teaches us the truth about our past and about the cultural, the scientific achievements and contributions of our people in Africa at a time when your own forefathers were crawling around in caves, why immediately this restores within the so-called Negro some kind of racial pride and racial incentive and gives him the ability to stand on his own feet and start thinking with his own brain instead of waiting for a white man to think for him or a white man to do something to solve his problems for him. The truth is sufficient to wake our people up, and once our people wake up, you have a new man, a new people.

It won't be this old handkerchief-head, head-scratcher and knee-knocker that you've been dealing with. He'll be a man who'll meet you with respect

as long as you carry yourself with respect. But he'll not be a man who will salute you just because your skin is white. those days are over.

Question: Mr. X, I wonder if you can tell us if the Muslims, your people vote, and at the same time could you tell us your opinion of the three men who are already involved in the campaign—Mr. Goldwater, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Kennedy?

Malcolm X: The honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach us to vote. He tells us to wake up. Once a man is awakened intellectually, he can think for himself. He knows whatever is good for himself and then he does that which is good for him, collectively and individually. I should say individually and collectively. Wake up is the first step. Most politicians don't want to wake Negroes up. They want Negroes to register and stay asleep, so they can hitch the Negro vote to their particular wagon. But you never hear any of the Negro leaders talking about waking the Negro up, make him intellectually and politically mature. They just say, "Get him to register."And if he registers in the mental condition that he is now, any politician can come along and use him. So Mr. Muhammad says, "Wake up." That is, "Think for yourself and then do whatever is good for yourself." So the three candidates who are front running—I forget their names, but whoever they are it doesn't make any difference to me. I would list them as foxes and wolves. Goldwater is a wolf. He lets you know where he stands. He doesn't like Negroes. At least all of his pronouncements and behavior give Negroes the impression that he's very vicious and dangerous, a wolf-type character. And as to the others...which one was it?

Question: Rockefeller?

Malcolm X: A fox. Foxes and wolves usually are of the same breed. They belong to the same family—I think it's called canine. And the difference is that the wolf when he shows you his teeth, you know that he's your enemy; and the fox, when he shows you his teeth, he appears to be smiling. But no matter which of them you go with, you end up in the dog house. And Negroes in New York State should probably be well acquainted with this because they have no more freedom, justice and equality here than they have anywhere else. The same thing is practiced in New York State as is practiced in Arizona and Mississippi. Only in New York it's done in a more subtle manner. It's done with a smile. It's done in a friendly way. But all of the demonstrations that have been taking place here in New York City I

think will well bear out what I'm saying. I make no distinction between a fox and a wolf other than that distinction. One is a fox and the other is a wolf.

Question: How would you classify President Kennedy?

Malcolm X: Same. A fox. John F. That "F" stands for fox. He's undoubtedly more foxier than any of the others because any time a man can become President and be in office three years and do as little for Negroes as he has done despite the fact that Negroes went for him 80% and he can still maintain the friendly image in the mind of Negroes, I'll have to say he's the foxiest of the foxy.

Question: Out of these three candidates, whom would you vote for next year?

Malcolm X: I don't think that if I was cornered by any fox or a wolf, that I would have to take a choice between either one. I don't see any choice between a fox or a wolf. A fox is a fox and a wolf is a wolf—to me. Neither one is the lesser of two evils. Both of them are evil. And Negroes, when they become politically mature, I think will realize that you don't have to throw the bullets out of your gun just because you have a gun. Likewise you should wait until you have a target and bring that target down. I think when Negroes become really mature, they won't vote just because they can vote. Sometimes they'll abstain. Ofttimes in a position of abstaining is as effective in its results as an actual vote, as is proved in the UN. You have those who say "yes," those who say "no," and those who abstain. And those who abstain have just as much weight. And probably the most intelligent thing Negroes could do at this juncture would be to abstain and withhold their vote completely and make both the fox and the wolf fight it out among themselves.

Question: Could you give me some idea of the strength of the black Muslims here in New York City?

Malcolm X: No. I don't know how strong they are. I have no idea whatsoever.

Question: Are there any records of membership?

Malcolm X: No. If there are, I don't have them. I'm not the secretary. I have no idea how many Muslims there are in New York or elsewhere. Murray Kempton, writing for the New York Post, said that he has a sneaking suspicion that, he said that he doesn't think there will ever be very many Negro Muslims, but he has a sneaking suspicion that most Negroes have some Muslim in them. I think he was speaking with reason in one breath and with emotion in the next breath. As an intelligent person, his analysis would force him to see that if he were a Negro and he heard what Mr. Muhammad were teaching, he would accept it, but as a white person, he could see it would be against him; so he's hoping that Negroes don't accept it. But I think you would be shocked If you knew how many.

Question: Mr. Muhammad claimed that by 1970, 90% of the Negroes would be converted to Islam. Are you able to state whether its increased in membership?

Malcolm X: Yes, I heard Mr. Muhammad when he made that statement to Lou Lomax when Lomax was a reporter for Mike Wallace; that by 1970, he said that all the Negroes in this country would be resurrected from the grave; and the symbolic language used there only means that they would know the truth, and this truth would wake them up—by 1970. And there is every indication that the momentum that is gathering speed as that date arrives. Negroes are waking up, and frankly I believe that if white people knew the degree of speed with which Negroes are waking up, their whole attitude would be a lot different. And the only way you are going to know how fast Negroes are waking up is when you start asking these Uncle Toms, and go out into the Negro community and ask somebody who represents the Negro community.

Question: You said that white men are responsible for the condition that black people are in, and then you said that they should give the black people land, how do you reconcile these two?

Malcolm X: I think it's easily reconciled. When you consider that our people were slaves in this country for over 310 years, this was the contribution of free labor, slave labor. Any time that you take the people that are in this classroom right now and take their individual income, individually it would amount to nothing; but collectively it would tip the scales—just your earning power. Now take the same earning power and multiply that, not weekly, but yearly and you could imagine just what

income you'd have from the group right here in this small room. When you look at it like that and realize that America didn't have a hundred but had millions of black people in this country whom they could work as animals for over 300 years without having to pay out one dime even in upkeep nor wage, you can see how it was possible for this particular country to become richer than any other country in history faster than any country in history. This is the contribution that the Negro made to the American economic, political and social system.

Now, based on that, the only just compensation today would not be an integrated cup of coffee. Since we have made this contribution to help this country become what it is and now that we are in it we can't get along, and believe me, we can't get along, not as brothers and sisters—it will never happen—the only sensible thing that the whites can do to preserve at least part of what you have is to go ahead and give the Negro his share, let him depart and go back to his own homeland and start life among his own people.

I might add, if you'll notice I said earlier, this and the alternative and I stopped, because there's got to be a result if either the solution or the alternative doesn't work. There's got to be a result. We're not going to wait around another five years, ten years or another century to get this race problem solved. It's got to be solved or there won't be any problem to solve.

Question: You haven't yet specified whether any particular area where you want to go. Is there any indication of what area you have in mind or whether the people will assent to you or whether you'll be able to find the kind of place you want?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. These are our people back home. What would they look like not accepting us? Although, if you'll excuse me for saying this, the colonial system has always been divide and conquer, and the American government has put out the propaganda that our brothers in Africa don't want us, and they've put out the propaganda among Africans that our people over here don't want them. And when the Africans come to this country there's a mile gap between us and we never knew why. It's this same old divide and conquer, plus the fact that they know that if they keep Negroes thinking that they have no place else to go, then the Negro has to be a beggar over here in America because he thinks there's no other alternative. And most Negro integrationists are nothing but beggars;

whereas what Mr. Muhammad is saying is, "Let us go. Give us something here that will enable us to solve the problem with the masses."

And if I might take the time to point this out: You see, the difference between what Mr. Muhammad is asking and what the Negro civil rights leaders are asking is this: Mr. Muhammad's solution solves the problem for the masses, and it solves it permanently, once and for all. Whereas the Negro civil rights leaders—their solution will solve the problem for a handful of hand-picked Negroes, and even that solution is temporary, because you can't name one place in America where integration has been brought about other than on a token basis. Wherever it is brought about on a token basis the only ones who receive the benefits of it are the hand-picked Negroes. A handful of hand-picked Negroes. And the masses still remain completely up in arms. So you only make a fool out of yourselves coming up with tokenism which doesn't solve anything. Whereas if you come up with a complete separation and a settlement right now, the problem would be solved once and for all.

Question: You didn't answer my question.

Malcolm X: Answer your question? Well, I don't think it would be wise on our part to specify any geographic or political area on this earth where we would settle other than to say that our people back home will accept us with open arms, and I don't think you should hold it against me for being reluctant to speak on that. Any time a sheep finds itself in a den of wolves and the shepherd comes to take him, what would he look like telling the wolf where he's going?

Question: Sir, would you be in favor, instead of the Negroes withholding their vote, of an all-Negro party perhaps?

Malcolm X: I'm sorry I don't know whether I understood your question.

Question: You said that instead of voting for these three men who are running for President that the Negroes ought to withhold their vote. Do you think that instead of this, maybe the Negroes should set up their own all-Negro party in order to get these aims which are political?

Malcolm X: Well, I don't know. You mentioned freedom Now, well, I think they attempt to do that. You'll notice that whenever Negroes attempt to

set up an all-Negro anything, the Negro leaders of national stature knock it. Because, you see, Negroes of national stature aren't really leaders of the Negro community, and they don't go along with anything that's really designed to solve the problem for the Negro community. They're controlled, their salaries are paid by what you call white liberals who are the most dangerous things in America, these things who call themselves white liberals. And so you'll never find one of these nationally recognized Negroes going along with anything that's all Negro or anything that's all black because their own position stems from their ability to draw a paycheck, and they don't feel that they can really draw a paycheck in any society that's all black. They're more interested in solving their own personal, individual problem than they are the masses of black people. I shouldn't say that we as Muslims couldn't endorse any specific party whether it was all anything. But the very fact that we are Muslims and are black I think pretty well speaks for itself as to which direction our weight would be thrown in if going in that direction was going to bring about a solution to the problem for the masses, not just a few handpicked Negroes. The top Negroes are insufficient to meet the Negro's needs.

Question: Why doesn't the black Muslim movement assume the leadership of a party? What is that reason for this?

Malcolm X: What the present Negro leadership in this country is doing will destroy it; they're riding a tiger. If you'll notice, the Negro leaders have never been really militant, never truly militant, nothing that you call Negro leaders. They only became militant when the masses became militant. And then the Negro leaders had to pretend to be militant in order to keep their position in front of the masses. So when they jumped out and pretended to be militant, they began to ride a tiger, which they themselves can't ride nor can they control it. So whenever you find any stirring up by these big Negroes, you'll find that they're stirring up people that they can't control. There's only one man who can ride that tiger. And they admit it in private, but they won't admit it in public. The tiger will eat them.

Question: Sir, how do you reconcile the fact that you say the Negro is waking up when at a rally in Harlem only a few thousand people attend

Malcolm X: Well, let me answer you in this way: I read in the paper here where the Big Six, with the support of all the news media, TV, radio and the press were going to have a rally at the Polo Grounds. And with all of

that support, they only rallied I think 500 people. If you check back, I think you'll agree with me that this is what happened. And also whenever Muslims give a rally, if the press says there were 2000 present, you can bet how many were present. The white press acts in concert to play down the effect of Muslims and the influence of Muslims in the so-called Negro community at a local level, a state level and a national level, because the wishful thinking of many of these whites is that most Negroes certainly don't think like Muslims claim they do. So they try and delude themselves. This is one of the most dangerous mistakes this present generation of white people are making. They delude themselves with wishful thinking.

Question: What about the thousand Negroes that marched on Washington?

Malcolm X: I can explain it easily. The march on Washington had reached a complete block and was not getting any reaction at all...originally the idea to march on Washington was brought by the mass of people across the country who were discontent and extremely disenchanted. And at the time that they were talking about marching on Washington—if you go back and check all the press reports—Wilkins and the national leaders weren't involved in it at all: those Big Six weren't involved in it at all. It was talked about developing into such an uncontrollable thing that you will recall President Kennedy called in Wilkins and I think Randolph and one of the others and told them to call it off. And then the President was told that they couldn't call it off because they weren't the ones that had started it, then shortly after that, Wilkins and them returned to New York and a meeting was held at the Carleton Hotel in downtown New York, the hotel that Kennedy stays at, I think owned by his family or somebody close to him. This meeting was called by a philanthropic society called the Foundation which is he headed by Stephen Courier, and Stephen Courier had these Negro leaders where they were destroying themselves by fighting each other and that we should unite into what they called the united civil rights leadership committee—something like that. And once they formed this thing—it was supposed to be for fund-raising purposes, Courier maneuvered Young into the chairmanship of it and he became the Co-Chairman. And this particular organization was then used to represent and control and influence all the civil rights movement. The first step was to take over the march on Washington. And the Big Six were projected by the news media as the leaders of the march, as being in control of the march. And as soon as the public accepted them or identified them

as being inseparable with the march image, their next step was to invite Walter Reuther, a rabbi, a priest and a preacher to join; the same white clique that put Kennedy in power in Washington, D.C. joined the march in Washington because when Kennedy himself found that he couldn't stop it, fox that he is, he joined it. He endorsed it; he welcomed it, and said, "Come on to Washington." And he got his friends to join it. And when they joined it, they weakened it. It became nothing. It's like when you have a black cup of coffee that's too strong to drink, you integrate it with cream; or you pour cream in it, and as you pour the cream in it, it cools down and it weakens it, you eventually don't have the same substance that you started out with. The march on Washington turned out the same way. It shows the shrewd political reassuring and trickery of this group that is running the country right now. They joined it. And they put so many whites in it that it lost its militancy; it lost its flavor; it lost its anger.

They controlled it completely and they controlled it lock, stock and barrel to the point where the government was the one that told those Negroes what time to leave town, when to arrive, where they could march, and what they could say, what they could sing, and told them they better leave town by sundown. This was your march on Washington. Most of the real militant Negroes haven't been to Washington yet. As soon as the whites took it over they stayed away from it. The only ones who really believe that the March on Washington accomplished anything are a handful of bourgeois Negroes and a lot of wishful thinking whites. It was controlled by whites, not by Negroes. And it benefitted nothing.

To show you the extent to which it was worthless, within two weeks after it was over they bombed a church down in Birmingham, murdered four little girls, shot two more little black boys in the back; and Kennedy had things under control to the extent where he didn't even send any help and sent a football coach down there to... Negroes are just a football team...and he sent his head coach down there to make sure that things didn't get out of hand. So don't mention the march on Washington. It was a farce, and it didn't impress anybody except those who wanted to be impressed by it even before it took place. I want to thank you for the invitation and I hope that my blunt speaking won't be taken by you as a manner of disrespect. This is not the case. I know that you invited me here to speak what I think, not just what you want to hear. Some of the others come and tell you what you want to bear.

# God's Judgement of White America (December 4, 1963)

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that as it was the evil sin of slavery that caused the downfall and destruction of ancient Egypt and Babylon, and of ancient Greece, as well as ancient Rome, so it was the evil sin of colonialism (slavery, nineteenth-century European style) that caused the collapse of the white nations in present-day Europe as world powers. Unbiased scholars and unbiased observers agree that the wealth and power of white Europe has rapidly declined during the nineteen-year period between World War II and today.

So we of this present generation are also witnessing how the enslavement of millions of black people in this country is now bringing White America to her hour of judgment, to her downfall as a respected nation. And even those Americans who are blinded by childlike patriotism can see that it is only a matter of time before White America too will be utterly destroyed by her own sins, and all traces of her former glory will be removed from this planet forever.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that as it was divine will in the case of the destruction of the slave empires of the ancient and modern past, America's judgement and destruction will also be brought about by divine will and divine power. Just as ancient nations paid for their sins against humanity, White America must now pay for her sins against twenty-two million "Negroes." White America's worst crimes her hypocrisy and her deceit. White America pretends to ask herself: "What do these Negroes want?" White America knows that four hundred years of cruel bondage has made these twenty-two million ex-slaves too (mentally) blind to see what they really want.

White America should be asking herself: "What does God want for these twenty-two million ex-slaves?" Who will make White America know what God wants? Who will present God's plan to White America? What is God's solution to the problem caused by the presence of twenty-two million unwanted slaves here in America? And who will present God's solution?

We, the Muslims who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, believe

whole-heartedly in the God of justice. We believe in the Creator, whose divine power and laws of justice created and sustain the universe. We believe in the all-wise Supreme Being: the great God who is called "Jehovah" by the monotheistic Hebrews. We do not believe in the Trinity (or "plurality of gods") as advocated by the Polytheistic Christians. We who are Muslims call God by his true name: Allah, the great God of the Universe, the Lord of all the worlds, the Master of the Day of Judgement. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that Allah is the true name of the divine Supreme Being, and that Islam is an Arabic word which means complete submission to God's will, or obedience to God's guidance.

We who are Muslims believe in this religion that is described in the Arabic language by the word "Islam." This religion, Islam, teaches us submission to God's will and obedience to God's guidance. It gives us the moral discipline that makes it easy for us to walk the path of truth and righteousness. "Muslim" is an Arabic word, and it describes a person whose religion is Islam. A Muslim is one who practices complete submission and obedience to God's will. Here in America the word "Muslim" is westernized or anglicized and pronounced "Moslem." Muslim and Moslem are actually the same word. The true believers in Allah call themselves Muslims, but the non-believing infidels refer to Muslims as Moslems or Muhammadans.

Many of the weak, backsliding Muslims who come to this country have also adopted some of these same pronunciations coined for them by the infidels. But we don't condemn these "orthodox" Muslims, because the reward of the believer, as well as the chastisement of the nonbeliever and the backslider, comes only from Allah. Allah is the only judge. He alone is master of this Day of Judgment in which we now live.

Why is the American white man so set against the twenty-two million "Negroes" learning about the religion of Islam? Islam is the religion that elevates the morals of the people who want to do right. Just by teaching us the religion of Islam, and by showing us how to live the life of a Muslim, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is turning hundreds of thousands of Americans "Negroes" away from drunkenness, drug addiction, nicotine, stealing, lying, cheating, gambling, profanity, filth, fornication, adultery, and the many other acts of immorality that are almost inseparable from this indecent Western society. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad has restored our cultural roots, our racial identity, our racial pride, and our racial confidence. He has given us the incentive and energy to stand on our

own feet and walk for ourselves.

Just as we believe in one God, whose proper name is Allah, we believe also that this one God has only one religion, the religion of Islam. We believe that we are living in the time of "prophecy fulfillment," the time predicted by the ancient prophets of God, when this one God would use his one religion to establish one world here on earth—the world of Islam, or Muslim world—which only means: a world of universal brotherhood that will be based upon the principles of truth, freedom, justice, equality, righteousness, and peace.

But before God can set up his new world, the Muslim world, or world of Islam, which will be established on the principles to truth, peace, and brotherhood, God himself must first destroy this evil Western world, the white world...a wicked world, ruled by a race of devils, that preaches falsehood, practices slavery, and thrives on indecency and immorality. You and I are living in that great Doomsday, the final hour, when the ancient prophets predicted that God himself would appear in person, in the flesh, and with divine power He would bring about the judgement and destruction of this present evil world. The hour of judgement and doom is upon White America for the evil seeds of slavery and hypocrisy she has sown; and God himself has declared that no one shall escape the doom of this Western world, except those who accept Allah as God, Islam as his only religion, and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as his Messenger to the twenty-two million ex-slaves here in America, twenty-two million "Negroes" who are referred to in the symbolism of the Scriptures as the Lost Sheep, the Lost Tribes, or the Lost People of God.

White America is doomed! God has declared that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is your only means of escape. When you reject the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, when you refuse to hear his message or heed his warning you are closing your only door of escape. When you cut yourself off from him, you cut yourself off from your only way out of the divine disaster that is fast approaching White America.

Before your pride causes you to harden your heart and further close your ears, and before your ignorance provokes laughter, search the Christian Scriptures. Search even the histories of other nations that sat in the same positions of wealth, power, and authority that these white Americans now hold...and see what God did to them. If God's unchanging laws of justice

caught up with every one of the slave empires of the past, how dare you think White America can escape the harvest of unjust seeds planted by her white forefathers against our black forefathers here in the land of slavery!

According to the Scriptures, when God was going to destroy the wicked world with the flood, He first raised up a man named Noah, and missioned him as a warner to warn the wicked world that the flood was coming, and that he, Noah, was their only way out. But their own wickedness and lust for evil made them too blind to see Noah, and they were thus destroyed by the flood of their own evil deeds. Again, when God prepared to destroy the wicked world of the Sodomites with the fire of his wrath, He first raised up a man Lot, and missioned him to warn the Sodomites of the fire that was coming to destroy them because of their evil deeds, and to let them know that Lot was their only way out. But the Sodomites' addiction to their own lowly passions also made them too blind to see the divinity of Lot's mission and too deaf to heed his warning. They inherited the sea of fire and brimstone as reward for their rejection of God's servant.

Still later. when God prepared to turn his wrath upon the Egyptians, that House of Bondage, or Land of Slavery, God raised his servant Moses as a warner to the cruel slave master, Pharaoh. Moses' message to the slave master was simple and clear: "Let my people go. Let them no longer be segregated by you; stop trying to deceive them with false promises of integration with you; let them separate themselves from you. Let them go with me to a place wherein the God of our forefathers has prepared a land for us...a land in which we can serve our own God, practice righteousness, and live in peace among our own kind." And Moses warned Pharaoh: "If you will not let them separate from you and go with me, then our God will destroy you and your entire slave empire from the face of this earth." Pharaoh's wealth and power made him too proud to listen to the little inarticulate ex-slave named Moses. He ridiculed Moses' lack of eloquence. White America's attitude today is the same toward the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. They ridicule him because of his lack of education and his cotton-field origin in Georgia. White America chooses to listen to the Negro civil rights leaders, the Big Six. Six puppets who have been trained by the whites in white institutions and then placed over our people by these same whites as "spokesmen" for our people. These handpicked "spokesmen" do nothing but parrot for the whites exactly what they know the whites want to hear.

Pharaoh used this same strategy to oppose Moses. Pharaoh also set up puppet-magicians to parrot his lies and to deceive the Hebrew slaves into thinking that Moses was a hate-teacher, an extremist, who was advocating violence and racial supremacy simply because Moses was trying to restore unto his people their own lost culture, their lost identity, their lost racial dignity...the same as the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is trying to do among the twenty-two million "Negro" slaves here in this modern House of Bondage today. By opposing Moses, Pharaoh was actually opposing Moses' God; thus that same God (Jehovah) was forced to drown Pharaoh in the Red Sea, destroy his slave empire, and remove the Egyptian influence from the face of this earth.

History is repeating itself today. America faces the same fate at the hands of Almighty God. That same divine handwriting is now on the walls of this modern American House of Bondage. We, the Muslims who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, believe that the symbolic stories in these ancient Scriptures paint a prophetic picture of today, of America, and of the twenty-two million "Negroes" herein America....We believe that our present generation is witnessing the fulfillment of these divine prophecies, through the work being done among our people here in America today by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

This little, meek, humble, inarticulate ex-slave is a modern Noah, a modern Lot, a modern Moses...a modern Daniel. In fact, he is a modern David, and like ancient David the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has refused the carnal weapons of this wicked world and, armed only with a "slingshot" and "stones of truth," this modern David is battering the head of this modern Goliath (giant America), with a doctrine that no "helmet of falsehood" or "shield of deceit" can withstand...and it is only a matter time, before the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's gospel of truth will make this American "giant of falsehood" topple and fall for ever.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us to believe in all of the prophets (including prophet Jesus), all of the Scriptures, the resurrection of the dead (not the resurrection of the physical dead, but the resurrection of the mentally dead American Negroes); also Judgment Day and Doomsday which only means: the judgment of this wicked world and its destruction by God himself. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us belief but also the principles of Muslim practice:

1) We practice prayer toward the Holy City of Mecca five times daily.

2) We make charitable contributions toward the spread of Islam, or to spread this divine truth that will save our people from the destruction of this wicked Western world.

3) We practice fasting (we eat only one meal every twenty-four hours, and we abstain from all food for three days out of every month of the year...and we fast also during the holy month of Ramadan.)

4) Those of us who can afford it strive to make the pilgrimage to the Holy City, Mecca, at least once during out lifetime. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and two of his sons made this trip in December of 1959, and others of his followers have been making it since then.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's mission as messenger is to remind America that God has not forgotten America's crimes against his long-lost people, who have spent four hundred miserable years in this land of bondage. His mission is to warn America of the divine destruction that twill soon rain down upon her from the very skies above her. His mission is to warn America to repent, and to atone for her sins against God's people...or face complete destruction and permanent removal from the face of this earth...and removal not only as a nation but removal even as a race! The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's divine mission, his message, and his work here in America is the same as that of Noah, Lot, Moses, and Daniel. He is a warner to our white oppressor, but a savior to the oppressed. He is preaching the divine execution of the wicked slave master (whom God can justifiably hold responsible for all sins); but he preaches forgiveness and salvation for the Negro ex-slaves, who have been made so deaf, dumb, and mentally blind by the slave master that no just God could now condemn these American Negroes for their sinful, ignorant behavior.

When the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says "end of the world," he does not mean the end of the earth; he is referring to the end of a race of "world of people," and their removal from this earth: the removal of their world. There are many "worlds" here on this earth: the Buddhist world, Hindu world, Jewish world, Christian world, Capitalist world, Communist world, Socialist world, Eastern world and Western world -- Oriental world and Occidental world -- dark world and white world. Which of these many worlds has come to the end of its rope, the end of its time? Look around

you at all of the signs and you will agree that it is the end of time for the Western world, the European world, the Christian world, the white world.

The time is past when the white world can exercise unilateral authority and control over the dark world. The independence and power of the dark world is on the increase; the dark world is rising in wealth, power, prestige, and influence. It is the rise of he dark world that is causing the fall of the white world. As the white man loses his power to oppress and exploit the dark world, the white man's own wealth (power or "world") decreases. His world is on its way down; it is on its way out...and it is the will and power of God himself that is bringing an end to the white world.

You and I were born at this turning point on history; we are witnessing the fulfillment of prophecy. Our present generation is witnessing the end of colonialism, Europeanism, Westernism, or "White-ism"...the end of white supremacy, the end of the evil white man's unjust rule. I must repeat: The end of the world only means the end of a certain "power." The end of colonialism ends the world (or power) of the colonizer. The end of Europeanism ends the world (or power) of the European...and the end of "White-ism" ends the world (or power) of the white man.

According to the Christian Bible, Judgment Day is that final hour when God will cause "those who led others into captivity to go into captivity themselves"...and "those who killed others with the sword to be killed by the sword of justice themselves." Justice only means that the wicked slave master must reap the fruit (or harvest) of the evil seeds of slavery he has planted. This is justice! Other slave empires received justice, and now White America must receive justice. According to White America's own evil past, which is clearly recorded on the pages of history, so shall God judge her today.

Before God can bring about this divine destruction, He must first separate the innocent from the guilty, the righteous from the wicked, the oppressed from the oppressor, the exploited from the exploiter, the slaves from the slave master. God never integrates his people with those who are not his people. The Scripture says God will separate his (black) sheep from the (white) goats, and the wheat from the tare. The goats are to be slaughtered and the tare cast to the burning flame...while the sheep are to be gathered into his pasture and the wheat into his barn.

In like manner God has prepared a Doomsday (a day of slaughter, a lake of fire) for this sinful white world of colonizers, enslavers, oppressors, exploiters, lynchers...and all others who refuse to repent and atone at the end of this white world. God has also prepared a refuge, a haven of salvation, for those who will accept his last Messenger and heed his last warning.

White America is doomed! Death and devastating destruction hang at this very moment in the skies over America. But why must her divine execution take place? Is it too late for her to avoid this catastrophe?

All the prophets of the past listed America as number one among the guilty that would be too proud, and too blind, to repent and atone when God's last Messenger is raised in her midst to warn her. America's last chance, her last warning, is coming from the lips of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad today. Accept him and be saved; reject him and be damned! It is written that White America will reject him; it is also written that White America will be damned and doomed... and the prophets who make these prophecies are never wrong in their divine predictions.

White America refuses to study, reflect, and learn a lesson from history; ancient Egypt didn't have to be destroyed. It was her corrupt government, the crooked politicians, who caused her destruction. Pharaoh hired Hebrew magicians to try and fool their own people into thinking they would soon be integrated into the mainstream of that country's life. Pharaoh didn't want the Hebrews to listen to Moses' message of separation. Even in that day separation was God's solution to the "slave's problem." By opposing Moses, the magicians were actually choosing sides against the God of their own people.

In like manner, modern Negro magicians are hired by the American government to oppose the Honorable Elijah Muhammad today. They pose as Negro "leaders." They have been hired by this white government (white so-called liberals) to make our people her think that integration into this doomed white society will soon solve our problem.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad warns us daily: The only permanent solution to America's race problem is the complete separation of these twenty-two million ex-slaves from our white slave master, and the return of these ex-slaves to our own land, where we can then live in peace and

security among our people. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad warns us daily: The American government is trying to trick her twenty-two million ex-slaves with promises that she never intends to keep. the crooked politicians in the government are working with the Negro civil rights leaders, but not to solve the race problem. The greedy politicians who run this government give lip-service to the civil rights struggle only to further their own selfish interests. And their main interest as politicians is to stay in power.

In this deceitful American game of power politics, the Negroes (i.e., the race problem, the integration and civil rights issues) are nothing but tools, used by one group of whites called Liberals against another group of whites called Conservatives, either to get into power or to remain in power. Among whites here in America, the political teams are no longer divided into Democrats and Republicans. The whites who are now struggling for control of the American political throne are divided into "liberal" and "conservative" camps. The white liberals from both parties cross party lines to work together toward the same goal, and white conservatives from both parties do likewise.

The white liberal differs from the white conservative only in one way: the liberal is more deceitful than the conservative. The liberal is more hypocritical than the conservative. Both want power, but the white liberal is the one who has perfected the art of posing as the Negro's friend and benefactor; and by winning the friendship, allegiance, and support of the Negro, the white liberal is able to use the Negro as a pawn or tool in this political "football game" that is constantly raging between the white liberals and white conservatives.

Politically the American Negro is nothing but a football and the white liberals control this mentally dead ball through tricks of tokenism: false promises of integration and civil rights. In this profitable game of deceiving and exploiting the political politician of the American Negro, those white liberals have the willing cooperation of the Negro civil rights leaders. These "leaders" sell out our people for just a few crumbs of token recognition and token gains. These "leaders" are satisfied with token victories and token progress because they themselves are nothing but token leaders.

According to a New York Herald-Tribune editorial dated February 5, 1960, out of eleven million qualified Negro voters, only 2,700,000 actually took

time to vote. This means that, roughly speaking, only three million of the eleven million Negroes who are qualified to vote actually take an active part. The remaining eight million remain voluntarily inactive...and yet this small—three million—minority of Negro voters hold the decisive edge in determining who will be the next President.

If who will be the next President is influenced by only three million Negro voters, it is easy to understand why the presidential candidates of both political parties put on such a false show with the Civil Rights Bill and with false promises of integration. They must impress the three million voting Negroes who are the actual "integration seekers." If such a fuss is made over these three million "integration seekers," what would presidential candidates have to do to appease the eight million non-voting Negroes, if they ever decide to become politically active? Who are the eight million non-voting Negroes; what do they want, and why don't they vote?

The three million Negro voters are the so-called middle-class Negroes, referred to by the late Howard University sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, as the "black bourgeoisie," who have been educated to think as patriotic "individualists," with no racial pride, and who therefore look forward hopefully to the future "integrated-intermarried" society promised them by the white liberals and the Negro "leaders." It is with this hope that the "integration-minded" three million remain an active part of the white-controlled political parties. But it must never be overlooked that these three million "integration seekers" are only a small minority of the eleven million potential Negro voters.

The eight million non-voting Negroes are in the majority; they are the downtrodden black masses. The black masses have refused to vote, or to take part in politics, because they reject the Uncle Tom approach of the Negro leadership that has been handpicked for them by the white man. These Uncle Tom leaders do not speak for the Negro majority; they don't speak for the black masses. They speak for the "black bourgeoisie," the brainwashed, white-minded, middle-class minority who are ashamed of being black, and don't want to be identified with the black masses, and are therefore seeking to lose their "black identity" by mixing, mingling, intermarrying, and integrating with the white man.

The race problem can never be solved by listening to this white-minded minority. The white man should try to learn what the black masses want,

and the only way to learn what the black masses wants is by listening to the man who speaks for the black masses of America. The one man here in America who speaks for the downtrodden, dissatisfied black masses is this same man so many of our people are flocking to see and hear. This same Mr. Muhammad who is labeled by the white man as a black supremacist and as a racist.

If the three million white-minded Negroes are casting their ballots for integration and intermarriage, what do the nonvoting black masses want? Find out what the black masses want, and then perhaps America's grave race problem can be solved.

Think how the late President himself got into office by only scant margin which was "donated" to him by Negro voters, and think how many governors and other white politicians hold their seats (some by less than five thousand votes). Only then can you understand the importance of these white liberals place on their control of the Negro vote! The white liberals hate the Honorable Elijah Muhammad because they know their present position in the power structure stems form their ability to deceive and to exploit the Negro, politically as well as economically.

They know that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's divine message will make our people (1) wake up, (2) clean up, and (3) stand up. They know that once the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is able to resurrect the Negro from this mental grave of ignorance, by teaching him the truth about himself and his real enemy, the Negro will then be able to see and think for himself. Once the Negro learns to think for himself, he will no longer allow the white liberal to use him as a helpless football in the white man's crooked game of "power politics."

Let us examine briefly some of the tricky strategy used by white liberals to harness and exploit the political energies of the Negro. The crooked politicians in Washington, D.C., purposely make a big noise over the proposed civil rights legislation. By blowing up the civil rights issue they skillfully add false importance to the Negro civil rights "leaders." Once the image of these Negro civil rights "leaders" has been blown up way beyond its proper proportion, these same Negro civil rights "leaders" are then used by white liberals to influence and control the Negro voters, all for the benefit of the white politicians who pose as liberals, who pose as friends of the Negro.

The white conservatives aren't friends of the Negro either, but they at least don't try to hide it. They are like wolves; they show their teeth in a snarl that keeps the Negro always aware of where he stands with them. But the white liberals are foxes, who also show their teeth to the Negro but pretend that they are smiling. The white liberals are more dangerous than the conservatives; they lure the Negro, and as the Negro runs from the growling wolf, he flees into the open jaws of the "smiling" fox. The job of the Negro civil rights leader is to make the Negro forget that the wolf and the fox both belong to the (same) family. Both are canines; and no matter which one of them the Negro places his trust in, he never ends up in the White House, but always in the dog house.

The white liberals control the Negro and the Negro vote by controlling the Negro civil rights leaders. As long as they control the Negro civil rights leaders, they can also control and contain the Negro's struggle, and they can control the Negro's so-called revolt. The Negro "revolution" is controlled by these foxy white liberals, by the government itself. But the black revolution is controlled only by God.

The black revolution is the struggle of the nonwhites of this earth against their white oppressors. The black revolution has swept white supremacy out of Africa, out of Asia, and is getting ready to sweep it out of Latin America. Revolutions are based upon land. Revolutionaries are the landless against the landlord. Revolutions are never peaceful, never loving, never nonviolent. Nor are they ever compromising. Revolutions are destructive and bloody. Revolutionaries don't compromise with the enemy; they don't even negotiate. Like the flood in Noah's day, revolution drowns all opposition, or like the fire in Lot's day, the black revolution burns everything that gets in its path.

America is the last stronghold of white supremacy. The black revolution, which is international in nature and scope. is sweeping down upon America like a raging forest fire. It is only a matter of time before America herself will be engulfed by the black flames, these black fire brands. Whenever an uncontrollable forest fire is roaring down upon the farmhouse, the only way the farmer can fight that forest fire is by building a "backfire," a smaller fire that he himself can control. He then uses this "controlled fire" to fight the fire that is raging beyond his control.

Here in America, the black revolution, the "uncontrollable forest fire," is personified in the religious teachings, and the religious works, of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. This great man of God cannot in any way be controlled by the white man, and he will not compromise in any way with the wrongs this government has inflicted upon our people.

The Negro "revolt" is controlled by the white man, the white fox. The Negro "revolution" is controlled by this white government. The leaders of the Negro "revolution", the civil rights leaders, are all subsidized, influenced and controlled by the white liberals; and all of the demonstrations that are taking place on this country to desegregate lunch counters, theaters, public toilets, etc., are just artificial fires that have been ignited and fanned by the white liberals in the desperate hope that they can use this artificial revolution to fight off the real black revolution that has already swept white supremacy out of Africa, Asia, and is sweeping it out of Latin America... and is even now manifesting itself also right here among the black masses in this country.

Can we prove that the Negro revolution is controlled by white liberals? Certainly!

Right after the Birmingham demonstrations, when the entire world had seen on television screens the police dogs, police clubs, and fire hoses brutalizing defenseless black women, children, and even babies, it was reported on page twenty-six in the May 15 issue of The New York Times, that the late President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, during a luncheon conference with several newspaper editors from the State of Alabama, had warned these editors that they must give at least some token gains to the moderate Negro leaders in order to enhance the image of these moderate Negro leaders in the eyesight of the black masses; otherwise the masses of Negroes might turn in the direction of Negro extremists. And the late President named the Black Muslims as being foremost among the Negro extremist groups that he did not want Negroes to turn toward.

In essence, the late President told these southern editors that he was trying to build up the weak image of the Negro civil rights leaders, in order to offset the strong religious image of the Muslim leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. He wasn't giving these Negro leaders anything they deserved; but he was confessing the necessity of building them up, and

propping them up, in order to hold the black masses in check, keep them in his grasp, and under his control. The late President knew that once Negroes hear the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the white liberals will never influence or control or misuse those Negroes for the benefit of the white liberals any more. So the late President was faced with a desperate situation.

Martin Luther King's image had been shattered the previous year when he failed to bring about desegregation in Albany, Georgia. The other civil rights leaders had also become fallen idols. The black masses across the country at the grass roots level had already begun to take their cases to the streets on their own. The government in Washington knew that something had to be done to get the rampaging Negroes back into the corral, back under the control of the white liberals.

The government propaganda machine began encouraging Negroes to follow only what it called "responsible" Negro leaders. The government actually meant Negro leaders who were responsible to the government, and who could therefore by controlled by the government, and be used by that same government to control their impatient people. The government knows that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is responsible only to God and can be controlled only by God. But this white government of America doesn't believe in God!

Let us review briefly what happened last spring: In May in Birmingham, Negroes erupted and retaliated against the whites. During the many long weeks when the police dogs and police clubs and the high-pressure water hoses were brutalizing black women and children and babies, and the Birmingham Negroes had called for the government to intervene with Federal troops, the late President did nothing but sit on his hands. He said there was nothing he could do. But when Negroes in Birmingham exploded and began to defend themselves, the late President then sent in Federal troops, not to defend the Negroes, but to defend the whites against whom the Negroes had finally retaliated.

At this point, spontaneous demonstrations began taking place all over the country. At the grass roots level Negroes began to talk about marching on Washington, tying up the Congress, the Senate, the White House, and even the airport. They threatened to bring this government to a halt. This frightened the entire white power structure. The late President called in

the Negro civil rights leaders and told them to bring this "march" to a halt. The Negro civil rights leaders were forced to tell the late President that they couldn't stop the march because they hadn't started it. It was spontaneous, at the grass roots level across the country, and it had no leadership whatsoever. When the late President saw that he couldn't stop the march, he joined; he endorsed it; he welcomed it; he became a part of it; and it was he who put the six Negro civil rights leaders at the head of it. It was he who made them the Big Six.

How did he do it? How did he gain control of the March on Washington? A study of his shrewd strategy will give you a glimpse of the political genius with which the Kennedy family was ruling this country from the White House, and how they used the America Negro in all of their schemes. The late President endorsed the march; that should have been the tip-off. A few days later in New York City, at the Carlyle Hotel, a philanthropic society known as the Taconic Foundation, headed by a shrewd white liberal named Stephen Currier, called a meeting of the six civil rights leaders in an effort to bring unity of action and purpose among all the civil rights groups.

After Martin Luther King had been released from his Birmingham jail cell in May, he traveled from coast to coast in a fund-raising campaign for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Roy Wilkins then began to attack King, accusing him of stirring up trouble, saying that after the NAACP would bail out King and the other demonstrators, then King would capitalize on the trouble by taking up all the money for his own organization, leaving the NAACP to hold the bag at a great financial loss.

As King, Wilkins, and the other civil rights leaders began to fight publicly among themselves over the money they were trying to get from the white liberals, they were destroying their own leadership "image."

The white liberal, Stephen Currier, showed them how they were destroying themselves by attacks upon each other, and it was suggested that, since most of their divisions and disagreements stemmed from competition for funds from white liberals, they should unite their fund raising efforts. Then they formed the Council for the United Civil Rights Leadership, under the pretext that it would be for fund-raising purposes. They chose the Urban League's Whitney Young as the chairman, and the white liberal Stephen Currier became the co-chairman.

It took the white man to bring those Negro leaders together and to unite them into one group. He let them select their own chairman, but he himself became the co-chairman. This shrewd maneuver placed the white liberal and the Taconic Foundation in the position to exercise influence and control over the six civil rights leaders and, by working through them, to control the entire civil rights movement, including the March on Washington. (It also put the white liberals in a position to force the Big Six to come out against the recently proposed Christmas boycott by threatening to withdraw their financial support from the civil rights drive.)

According to the August 4 edition of The New York Times, $800,000 was split up between these six Negro civil rights leaders on June 19 at the Carlyle Hotel, and another $700,000 was promised to be given to them at a later date after the march was over, if everything went well with the march. Public relations experts were made available to these "Six Big Negroes," and they were given access to the news media throughout the country. The press skillfully projected them as the leaders of the March on Washington, and as soon as the Big Six were looked upon in the public eye as the organizers of the march, and their first step was to invite four white "leaders" to become a part of the march "godhead." This group of leaders would supposedly okay all the plans and thereby control the "direction and the mood" of the march.

These four white "leaders" represented the same factions that had put the late President in the White House: Catholics, Jews, Labor, and Protestant liberals. When the late President had learned that he couldn't stop the march, he not only joined it himself but he encouraged all of his political bedfellows to join it. This is the way the white liberals took over the March on Washington, weakened its impact, and changed its course; by changing the participants and the contents, they were able to change the very nature of the march itself.

Example: If I have a cup of coffee that is too strong for me because it is too black, I weaken it by pouring cream into it, I integrate it with cream. If I keep pouring enough cream in the coffee, pretty soon the entire flavor of he coffee is changed; the very nature of the coffee is changed. If enough cream is poured in, eventually you don't even know that I had coffee in this cup. This is what Happened with the March on Washington. The whites didn't integrate it; they infiltrated it. Whites joined it; they engulfed it; they became so much a part of it, it lost its original flavor. It ceased to be

a black march; it ceased to be militant; it ceased to be angry; it ceased to be impatient. In fact, it ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, an outing with a festive, circus-like atmosphere...clowns and all.

The government had learned that in cases where the demonstrators are predominantly black, they are extremely militant, and ofttimes very violent. But to the same degree that whites participate, violence most times is decreased. The government knew that in cases wherein blacks were demonstrating all by themselves, those blacks are so dissatisfied, disenchanted, and angry at the white man that they will ofttimes strike back violently regardless of the odds or the consequences. The white government had learned that the only way to hold these black people in check is by joining them, by infiltrating their ranks disguised as integrationist; by integrating their marches and all their demonstrations, and weakening them: in this way only could they be held in check.

The government told the marchers what time to arrive in Washington, where to arrive, and how to arrive. The government then channeled them from the arrival point to the feet of a dead President, George Washington, and then let them march from there to the feet of another dead President, Abraham Lincoln.

The original black militants had planned to march on the White House, the Senate, and the Congress and to bring all political traffic on Capitol Hill to a halt, but the shrewd politicians in Washington, realizing that those original black militants could not be stopped, joined them. By joining the marchers, the white liberals were able to lead the marchers away from the White House, the Senate, the Congress, Capitol Hill, and away from victory. By keeping them marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Monument, marching between the feet of two dead Presidents, they never reached the White House to see the then living President.

The entire march was controlled by the late president. The government in Washington had told the marchers what signs to carry, what songs to sing, what speeches to make, and what speeches not to make, and then told the marchers to be sure to get out of town by sundown.

One of the Big Six leaders, John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was prevented from making a very militant speech. He wanted to attack the Kennedy administration for its

hypocrisy on civil rights. The speech was censored by the Rt. Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, the Catholic Archbishop of Washington, D.C.. This was a case in which the Catholic Church itself, for whom Rev. O'Boyle speaks, put itself in the position of censoring the legitimate opinion of one of the Big Six Negro civil rights leaders.

The late President's shrewd strategy was: If you can't beat them, join them. The Catholic President placed his Catholic bishop in a strategic position to exercise censorship over any one of the Big Six Negro leaders who tried to deviate from the script in this great "extravaganza" called the March on Washington, which the government had controlled right from the very beginning.

So, in the final analysis of the march: It would have to be classified as the best performance of the year; in fact it was the greatest performance of this century. It topped anything that Hollywood could have produced. If we were going to give out Academy Awards in 1963, we would have to give the late President an Oscar for the "Best Producer of the Year"; and to the four white liberals who participated should get an Oscar as the "Best Actors of the Year," because they really acted like sincere liberals and fooled many Negroes. And to the six Negro civil rights leaders should go and Oscar for the "Best Supporting Cast," because they supported the late President in his entire act, and in his entire program.

Now that the show is over, the black masses are still without land, without jobs, and without homes...their Christian churches are still being bombed, their innocent little girls murdered. So what did the March on Washington accomplish? Nothing!

The late President has a bigger image as a liberal, the other whites who participated have bigger liberal images also, and the Negro civil rights leaders have now been permanently named the Big Six (because of their participation in the Big Fix?)...but the black masses are still unemployed, still starving, and still living in the slums...and, I might add, getting angrier and more explosive every day.

History must repeat itself! Because of America's evil deeds against these twenty-two million "Negroes," like Egypt and Babylon before her, America herself now stands before the "bar of justice." White America is now facing her Day of Judgment, and she can't escape because today God himself

is the judge. God himself is now the administrator of justice, and God himself is to be her divine executor!

Is it possible for America to escape this divine disaster? If America can't atone for the crimes she has committed against the twenty-two million "Negroes," if she can't undo the evils she has brutally and mercilessly heaped upon our people these past four hundred years, then America has signed her own doom...and our own people would be foolish to accept her deceitful offers of integration into her doomed society at this late date!

How can America atone for her crimes? The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that a desegregated theater or lunch counter won't solve our problems. Better jobs won't even solve our problems. An integrated cup of coffee isn't sufficient pay for four hundred years of slave labor, and a better job in the white man's factory or position in his business is, at best, only a temporary solution. The only lasting or permanent solution is complete separation on some land that we can call our own.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that the race problem can easily be solved, just by sending these twenty-two million ex-slaves back to our own homeland where we can live in peace and harmony with our own kind. But this government should provide the transportation, plus everything else we need to get started again in our own country. This government should provide everything we need in machinery, materials, and finance; enough to last us for from twenty to twenty-five years, until we can become an independent people in our own country.

If this white government is afraid to let her twenty-two million ex-slaves go back to our country and to our own people, then America must set aside some separate territory here in the Western Hemisphere, where the two races can live apart from each other, since we certainly don't get along peacefully while we are here together.

The size of the territory can be judged according to our own population. If our people number one-seventh of America's total population, then give us one-seventh of this land. We don't want any land in the desert, but where there is rain and much mineral wealth. We want fertile, productive land on which we can farm and provide our own people with sufficient food, clothing, and shelter. This government must supply us with the machinery and other tools needed to dig into the earth. Give us everything we need

for them for from twenty to twenty-five years, until we can produce and supply our own needs.

If we are a part of America, then part of what she is worth belongs to us. We will take our share and depart, then this white country can have peace. What is her net worth? Give us our share in gold and silver and let us depart and go back to our homeland in peace. We want no integration with this wicked race that enslaved us. We want complete separation from this race of devils. But we should not be expected to leave America and go back to our homeland empty-handed. After four hundred years of slave labor, we have some back pay coming, a bill owed to us that must be collected.

If the government of White America truly repents of its sins against our people, and atones by giving us our true share, only then can America save herself! But if America waits for Almighty God Himself to step in and force her into a just settlement, God will take this entire continent away from her, and she will cease to exist as a nation. Her own Christian Scriptures warn her that when God comes He can give the "entire Kingdom to whomsoever He will"...which only means that the God of Justice on Judgment Day can give this entire continent to whomsoever He wills!

White America, wake up and take heed, before it is too late!

# A Visit From the FBI (February 4, 1964)

FBI Agent: Morning, how do you do. We are with the FBI. You have a couple minutes? We'd like to talk to you.

Malcolm X: Come on in.

FBI Agent: I am sorry, did we get you up?

Malcolm X: I was on the telephone. Your name is?

FBI Agent: Beckwith.

Malcolm X: And your name is.?

FBI Agent: Fulton.

Malcolm X: Which office are you from?

FBI Agent: From New York. There's only one out here. We have two problems we would like to talk to you about. One...why don't you take the article and read it. You might have been called by a couple of reporters, is that right?

Malcolm X: Yes.

FBI Agent: What did they quote you saying, nonsense?

Malcolm X: I cussed them out. What paper is this from?

FBI Agent: One of the New York ones, I don't know, I think the Times, I am not sure. The problem in this connection is that we have every reason to believe that this fella lied to us when he gave us the original.

Malcolm X: You should.

FBI Agent: Now, of course, that is a violation of the federal law, so he is

in jail awaiting trial. Now the U.S. attorney up there preparing the case wanted you interviewed to disprove part of his story which isn't here; that he attended a meeting, I believe Monday or Tuesday, the fourteenth, in Rochester, from about seven or eight until ten or ten-fifteen at night, at which you were there. Of course, you were very well known, naturally, and how he got your name, I don't know. It is part of our proof, see, showing that you in fact were not there. And, if that is the case, that was on Tuesday night, wasn't it?

Malcolm X: Yes, on January 14. Ordinarily, I could have been anywhere, but it just so happens that on that night I was at the International Hotel, out here at the airport, Kennedy Airport, with a writer, Alex Haley, who writes for the Reader's Digest. You can get his number from the Reader's Digest, he lives in Rome, New York.

FBI Agent: Yes, I have heard his name. Doubleday is doing a book. He wrote us a letter.

Malcolm X: Right, he wrote a letter.

FBI Agent: In fact, copies are right here. When that letter came in, he said that Egypt was trying to interview him about something. Now, they had been down to where he formerly lived. We had no information on it other than the person who got the letter. So you were with him that night?

Malcolm X: Yes, I was with him, and strange as it may seem, I got a call the next day from a lawyer downtown. Someone had apparently gotten hit over here on Junction Boulevard and Northern Boulevard and my license number had been turned in and he was saying it was I.

FBI Agent: Do you know the lawyer's name?

Malcolm X: Epstein or something.

FBI Agent: You didn't get his address or anything?

Malcolm X: No, but as far as I can recall, his name was Epstein. So, luckily, I was able to tell them where I was and Haley was with me until two o'clock in the morning. I picked him up at the airport.

FBI Agent: That would encompass the entire time. What time did you leave there?

Malcolm X: Must have been around seven o'clock.

FBI Agent: You said you picked him up at the airport. Had he flown in from Rome?

Malcolm X: No, he flew in from Chicago. He was doing a story on Fuller for the Digest, for the Digest or Playboy.

FBI Agent: You would have no objection to us referring to our conversation if it is necessary to ask him to corroborate your story, would you?

Malcolm X: No. It was quite fortunate, frankly, that I was tied up with him that night, because I could have been anywhere.

FBI Agent: Well, of course, as you know, we are aware of most of your activities and that is true. That is one reason why we couldn't, on our own eliminate the fact that you were in fact in or not in Rochester.

Malcolm X: I was here.

FBI Agent: Had you been in Rochester at any time around this day?

Malcolm X: I haven't been in Rochester in probably six months.

FBI Agent: Do you know this fella, Booker, by any chance?

Malcolm X: No.

FBI Agent: Does that name mean anything to you?

Malcolm X: No.

FBI Agent: Philip Alpert?

Malcolm X: I know a lot of people that I wouldn't know by name.

FBI Agent: Well, he used the name up there, Alpert Leyton, spelled L-E-Y-

T-O-N, he originally used it.

Malcolm X: I don't know it. What did he say, somebody had a meeting up there?

FBI Agent: Well, basically, his information, when he gave it at first, we couldn't prove or disprove it, so that caused quite a commotion with us. Someone is going to assassinate the President. I mean, that is of some significance. He attended a meeting. Now this is his story, briefly. On Tuesday night from, I don't know the times, eight to ten, something like that, he was at a meeting of the Muslims in Rochester. He couldn't tell us the exact place, he was blindfolded and taken there, which, of course, is not the way you people, I know, usually do things. This is his story. Ten were present, including you, and the assassination was planned, not the details, but it was planned to the extent that the ten people would get down in two cars—five each—to Washington, leaving late that night or early thy next morning. Now beyond there, the story fizzles out as to how they were going to do it. They had no arms as far as he knew. But, they were definitely going down. Well, of course, when we got this over the phone, you know, my God, you know. So when we kept talking to him and he finally admitted, he said no, it was false. Of course, then we threw him in jail for fraud against the government. That is the kind of case—that is the statute under which we have authority to bring him before the commission. He couldn't make bail, so, of course, he went to trial and the trial is coming up shortly. I don't know when the trial will be. Now you'd be put in the position, if necessary—of course, this is between you and me—in other words, I don't know that you would even be called, but you would be a government witness in this case. Of course you would be protected by a subpoena and of course any expenses.

Malcolm X: I shouldn't see where I have to get involved in something like this. Let me tell you what it is. It is so ridiculous that what it does, actually what it does...

FBI Agent: I will tell you the first reply that I made was that it was made up probably for that purpose, to embarrass your organization.

Malcolm X: Certainly that is what it sounds like to me. It is so ridiculous, number one, that it sounds like to me that it was something that was invented even though it would be denied, it would still serve as a

propaganda thing.

FBI Agent: I agree; My first reaction was that it is possible that some people are going to do that, but not the Muslims.

Malcolm X: No.

FBI Agent: Of course, that doesn't relieve us of the responsibility of trying to do something about it. This information of yours, seems as how it is a "fraud against the Government" case, the way we record the information is at your discretion. We, of course, will make a memorandum of our conversation on this point, unless you would prefer to have it written out and you sign it.

Malcolm X: No, I won't sign anything.

FBI Agent: It is entirely up to you. I will phrase it you prefer not to give any signed statement in this matter. You have no objection to us recording that?

Malcolm X: I don't see why I should have to get in it.

FBI Agent: You don't, but I have to ask you a few questions. May I take a moment here to get a detail straightened out? Now, as particular to that night of the fourteenth, you said you picked Mr. Haley up?

Malcolm X: Yes.

FBI Agent: Was that the International Airport you picked him up at?

Malcolm X: Yes.

FBI Agent: He came into that airport?

Malcolm X: Yes. And then.
..

FBI Agent: And then you went to the International Hotel?

Malcolm X: Checked in under Alex Haley, under his name. I wasn't checked in there. He had to work. It was about 7 P.M.

FBI Agent: About 7 P.M.?

Malcolm X: Yes, about 7 P.M.

FBI Agent: You remained with him until.

Malcolm X: About two o'clock in the morning. A waiter came in twice. One time around eight and another time around one o'clock.

FBI Agent: You didn't know his name.

Malcolm X: No. It would be easy to check.

FBI Agent: You remained there until two and then you came home?

Malcolm X: Right, I came home.

FBI Agent: After meeting with Mr. Haley you spent the rest of the night there?

Malcolm X: I haven't been in touch with him since I left. I don't know what time he left the next day.

FBI Agent: He was scheduled to leave the next day by plane, I presume?

Malcolm X: Most likely.

FBI Agent: You can see one of the big problems we have on a thing like this. It is trying to prove a negative, so to speak.

Malcolm X: But you know, you have people in Washington who are past masters for making positive out of negative.

FBI Agent: No comment. In all probability, this is the type of party who is going to go up and say "I plead guilty." But if he doesn't and goes to trial then it is up to us to show that his story was false because that is the charge. He furnished us false information. And, that in fact he knew it was false—which he has already admitted to us.

Malcolm X: What would be his purpose in making a statement like this?

FBI Agent: I will tell you his reason between us, now I don't know what it is, the reason is that he wanted to test the ability of the government agency. He was worried since President Kennedy's assassination that we may not be on the ball. I don't know.

Malcolm X: Well, was he a Negro?

FBI Agent: Yes, from Baltimore. He gave us a rather ridiculous story. He wanted to test the capabilities of making any preparations. Now, that is what he said. Of course, we right from the start were pretty much aware that he was wrong, he made up a story. He said he joined the Muslims, and the blindfold bit.

Malcolm X: Has he ever been a Muslim?

FBI Agent: We don't know for sure. As far as we know, no. He claims that he joined in Baltimore. He said he joined and then became a junior dragon.

Malcolm X: What is that supposed to be?

FBI Agent: We don't know. Of course, we know better and you know better, and then afterward, after serving his time as a junior dragon, he then became a dragon. He involved you in several different ways in addition to being there on that night. See, he probably knows your name. I would like to bring this out to you. He said in the summer of '63, he was designated by the Baltimore temple as a research specialist to make a study of Negro problems; home, house, family, so forth, in
Baltimore, and as a research specialist in Baltimore it had to have your approval since you were in charge of the entire East Coast of the Nation of Islam at that time. He said you approved his position as a research specialist in Baltimore.

Malcolm X: I have no knowledge of it, although we do need some research.

FBI Agent: Then he said that last summer, with your approval, he was designated the research specialist for the State of New York. That is when he went to Rochester and was doing research of this type in that area. He turned his reports over to Elmer X—he claimed—and then he passed them

on to you.

Malcolm X: Elmer X who?

FBI Agent: He said it was Elmer X up there, and the only Elmer X we were acquainted with was Mr. Grant in Buffalo. As you may well be aware of, he was interviewed as a result of some investigation in that area. All members were contacted. He turned his reports over to Elmer X and that was the last he saw of them. Those are the other two positions where he involved you, being named a research specialist for the State of New York with your approval.

Malcolm X: Has he backed up on that score?

FBI Agent: Yes.

Malcolm X: He is a nut.

FBI Agent: Well, not being a psychiatrist...

Malcolm X: You wouldn't have to be a psychiatrist. You wouldn't have to be a policeman to know that someone is breaking the law. Common sense. If you have a knowledge of the law, you know once you are breaking it. And this man is even violating laws of intelligence.

FBI Agent: I think that clears up that. The other problem is probably what you assume we came up for—to obtain any information you want to give us about the Muslims.

Malcolm X: I don't assume anything.

FBI Agent: That is a very general statement on my part. But, as you know, we follow the activities of the Muslims as best we can but we are always looking for new avenues for information, but who better than the head of the Muslims. At least, up until a month ago or something like that. That substantially is the second reason. We used this, this other thing, it came at a very good time as an excuse to push us out here to talk to you. Several of the fellows talked to you several years ago, as I recall.

Malcolm X: I haven't spoken to the FBI since 1956. It was about eight years

ago.

FBI Agent: Yes, about that. How is your suspension status?

Malcolm X: No one knows but Mr. Muhammad, you'd have to ask him.

FBI Agent: You are still on suspension now? You are not working or teaching now?

Malcolm X: I am still under the suspension.

FBI Agent: That is a temporary thing as far as you know?

Malcolm X: He is the only one who can give out any information. I couldn't say nothing behind what he would say.

FBI Agent: I think he said it was a temporary suspension. How soon you resume your duties, we would be—as you sure know—interested in having you help us out.

Malcolm X: Help you out doing what? We are always helping out the government. We have been cleaning up crime.

FBI Agent: Fine, fine, fine.

Malcolm X: We help it out more than it helps itself. We are at least able to reform the people who have been made criminals by this society; by the corruption of this society. And, anyway, to help it out other than that, I wouldn't even know how to begin.

FBI Agent: What we are interested in, basically, are the people who belong. The names of the members.

Malcolm X: From what I understand, you have all of that.

FBI Agent: No comment. The teachings, plans, programs.

Malcolm X: No teaching is more public than ours and I don't think you will find anybody more blunt in stating it publicly than we do. I don't think you can go anywhere on this earth and find anybody who expresses their views

on matters more candidly than we do.

FBI Agent: I can only agree with you. You are right. The main thing is there is a certain area of responsibility this is getting into our angle of it. What we really want are the names of all those who belong, who they are, identification.

Malcolm X: I don't even know them.

FBI Agent: You keep no records?

Malcolm X: That is not my job. I am just a preacher.

FBI Agent: But somebody up there keeps the records.

Malcolm X: I don't know who. I don't have any knowledge of those kinds of things. With all the responsibilities that I have had, it is difficult for me to worry about names, plus you would insult my intelligence asking me for them. In fact, you would insult your own because it would mean that your own intelligence isn't heavy enough to weigh me and know in advance what I am going to say when you ask that question.

FBI Agent: Well, without getting into an argument on semantics, you don't know until you ask.

Malcolm X: There is no semantics. That again goes into psychology.

FBI Agent: We have had people that, not this group in particular, who have been just as vociferous against whatever we are investigating. The Communists make a good case of it. The Communists for twenty years, you know, they hate everything. We've been told to investigate. I am going to tell you something—you never know until you ask. That has happened so many times. Sometimes you are convinced, but sometimes...money brings out the information. I don't intend to insult you here.

Malcolm X: According to the Secretary of the Treasury, this government's money is in trouble. According to government economists, the dollar itself is in so much trouble a person would be a fool to sell his soul for one of these decreasing dollars.

FBI Agent: I couldn't agree with you more. You would be a fool to sell your soul even if the dollar were increasing. This has nothing to do with selling your soul. If you're gonna look at it that way, okay.

Malcolm X: Depends on how you look at it. I frankly believe that what Mr. Muhammad teaches is 100 per cent true. Secondly, I believe that everything he has said will come to pass. I believe it. I believe it more strongly today than I did ten years ago because I have seen too much evidence. But, today, all of your world events that are shaping up, total up to too much evidence toward what he said is coming to pass. World events today would make me stronger in my convictions than they would have made me ten years ago.

FBI Agent: But that is beside the point of what I am trying to get out of you. Fine if that all comes to pass. I have no control of it. All we want to know is the names of the people that are in the organization, and if it is so public and so forth, by your own logic there would seem to be no objection to your saying "I am a Muslim."

Malcolm X: That part of the tree is the root; I mean, the root is always beneath the ground.

FBI Agent: You don't have to explain that but I don't know what you are talking about...Well, would it be fair to say then in answer to a question whether or not you would cooperate with the government in furnishing pertinent information as I have described?

Malcolm X: I say we have always cooperated with them. The Muslims are the most cooperative group in this country with the government in that the Muslims are doing work that the government itself is incapable of doing.

FBI Agent: I say certain information pertinent to our investigation.

Malcolm X: You would have to go to Mr. Muhammad for pertinent information. I don't have access to pertinent information.

FBI Agent: Then it would be fair here again, to say a denial of your desire to furnish information, any information you might.

Malcolm X: I don't know what you mean by that.

FBI Agent: Well, the names of the members.

Malcolm X: That is not my department.

FBI Agent: But still you know a lot of names.

Malcolm X: No, I know probably less names than anybody. People I see, I call them brother and sister. I know no names.

FBI Agent: You have no access?

Malcolm X: I don't ever take on burdens that are not necessary and having names of people that are not necessary to me.

FBI Agent: No, but if you were so disposed to cooperate with us, would you...?

Malcolm X: What do you mean by cooperate?

FBI Agent: You giving us any names that you could get.

Malcolm X: I am not so disposed.

FBI Agent: No, that is my point.

Malcolm X: As I say, we as an organization.

FBI Agent: Well, that is what I am trying to get out of you, whether or not you.

Malcolm X: We as an organization, and I am always an organization, that is why I say we. We cooperate with the government in that we do what they can't toward correcting the morals of people.

FBI Agent: Of course we are with the FBI, we don't have any jurisdiction or social interest in the morals of anybody.

Malcolm X: What I mean collectively, the FBI is supposed to be concerned.

FBI Agent: No, not at all.

Malcolm X: Hoover wrote a book here, not long ago.

FBI Agent: He said the public should be...but we investigate many things. Crimes, anything of interest to the government and anything that is assigned to us by the executive President or the Attorney General...to get information, that is the limit. Now, a citizen, sure, very nice anytime you can keep someone from committing a crime. Very nice. But our interest here in coming to you is not as one citizen to another. I mean we are here as representatives of a government agency, asking specific things. I am not talking to you as a neighbor. I don't know you and you don't know me.

Malcolm X: There is no government agency that can ever expect to get any information out of me that is in any way detrimental to any religious group or black group for that matter in this country. No government agency.

FBI Agent: Fine.

Malcolm X: Because they should use that same energy to go and find who bombed that church down in Alabama and if these government agencies spent as much time and energy...

FBI Agent: You know what somebody in the south is saying today? If you people would go up north and investigate the Muslims with the same energy you are trying to find this bomb here...

Malcolm X: The Muslims don't bomb churches.

FBI Agent: I know. I didn't say that.

Malcolm X: But still, Muslims don't bomb churches. But still, if we broke the law they would have us in jail tomorrow.

FBI Agent: Let us hope so. Let us hope so.

Malcolm X: If we were a lawbreaking group—no group is more thoroughly investigated than we. No group is more infiltrated with—I call them stool pigeons—than we. Now, if we were breaking the law, the government would know about it and they would have us locked up.

FBI Agent: I wish you were telling the truth. You are partially right. I wish you were entirely right. It would make my job so much easier.

Malcolm X: They need to find the bombers of the church.

FBI Agent: Of course, sure, we need to find a lot of things. We need to find that twenty shiploads of corn oil or soybean oil, but it takes time to do.

Malcolm X: No, it doesn't take time if you really want to do it.

FBI Agent: You think anybody can find that out?

Malcolm X: They should find out who murdered those little girls down in Birmingham, Alabama. I believe some Negro could go down and find out.

FBI Agent: Well, let's send them down there. We will be glad to pay them.

Malcolm X: They are waiting for the FBI. But, if they stop relying on the FBI, then they would do it themselves.

FBI Agent: I don't want to take up too much of your time. What I am interested in is if you want to help us. And, I put it to you bluntly, and I feel that I got a candid, blunt answer.

Malcolm X: That's the best way to put something like that to me, blunt.

FBI Agent: I don't want to sneak around the bush and try to trap you into saying anything. There is no point to it, because I have in mind a long-range cooperation between you and me or somebody else.

Malcolm X: Well, see, my religion teaches me that you don't have any long-range anything because time is running out.

FBI Agent: Well, that is fine. That is all right if you believe it.

Malcolm X: I say that with all due respect.

FBI Agent: I know almost everything you have said at the meetings over the years, I am very familiar with it.

Malcolm X: I think the mistake that white people make when they listen to what we say is they think we are just saying it. We believe it. At least I believe it.

FBI Agent: Some just go for kicks.

Malcolm X: You can put someone on me twenty-four hours a day and they will come back and tell you what I am there for.

FBI Agent: Frankly, one of the reasons we picked this particular time to contact you is because of the suspension.

Malcolm X: The suspension was brought about by my own doing.

FBI Agent: Exactly, but who knows what was in your mind when you did receive the suspension. In other words, bitterness could have entered into it. It would not be illogical for someone to have spent so many years doing something, then being suspended.

Malcolm X: No, it should make one stronger. It should make him realize that law applies to the law enforcer as well as those who are under the enforcement of the enforcer.

FBI Agent: You've taken an attitude toward the thing that's almost unhuman really. You have taken the attitude that Mr. Muhammad wants everyone to take if he chastises them, which is fine. More power to you. But you can see it from our viewpoint, that there is at least a chance and this has happened with other members of the organization suspended for some reason or other that we talked to them.

Malcolm X: Well, I can't get bitter when I know that what I was reprimanded for was something that I actually did. What kind of person would I be to get bitter?

FBI Agent: Well, that is what we came to find out.

Malcolm X: I know.

FBI Agent: I have no way of knowing unless I ask. Well, that's all. I don't

have any other specific questions. Do you have anything you wish to say?

Malcolm X: No, only what I said. I am still concerned about that church down there in Birmingham.

FBI Agent: We are too. A lot of men are down there working on it.

Malcolm X: There must be a lot of them down there working on it.

FBI Agent: Offhand, a bombing is one of the hardest types of things to conduct an investigation on. The bomb is left at the church, you don't know when the bomb was left, you don't know when it was thrown. When the bomb goes off, the evidence is gone. With the Medgar Evers killing, it was a different situation. The rifle was found, you had some evidence, you have a bullet in the man, the bullet itself. We could take the bullet from Medgar Evers and put it in the rifle that was found on the scene.

Malcolm X: I bet if they bombed one of these cathedrals with some little white children in it you would have them the next day.

FBI Agent: They bombed about a year ago a bomb went off in St. Patrick's.

Malcolm X: St. Patrick's here in New York.

FBI Agent: As a matter of fact, not too far from Cardinal Spellman's quarters. They never found it.

Malcolm X: Didn't hurt anybody.

FBI Agent: Broke a window or two. A bomb is a bomb. It is immaterial to us whether a bomb breaks a window or knocks a house down. We have the same responsibility. The next time you may be standing or we may be standing there.

Malcolm X: I can understand that because now I see why so many of these underworld bombings take place and you never hear anything about it.

FBI Agent: A man out there recently in Chicago stepped on the starter of his car. A bomb is a very difficult thing to handle unless someone comes forward and gives us some information, like somebody who knew

something about it, either one of the perpetrators or somebody who overheard them. I was mentioning there like on the Evers case. The bullet itself you could put in the rifle after it was found. Actually, we could put the Beckwith fingerprints on the rifle itself, we can trace the scope of that rifle, we have things to work with. Just like your wife walks down the street, somebody grabs her purse and runs. Now, by the time you call the policeman and the police get there, it is a very difficult thing to try to work with because there is nothing left in the way of evidence. Your best evidence is to find the purse wherever it is thrown. As you may know, that means somebody takes the valuables out and throws the bag over the fence and that is gone. Somebody breaks into your house, there is a great deal of evidence. You can trace fingerprints. If they spring the lock on your door you can take fingerprints from the door, footprints. After a bombing there is nothing there. The Church is down, you can't even pick the bomb up and trace it.

Malcolm X: It would be dangerous for you to ever say that publicly because your bombings would increase.

FBI Agent: It has been said before, anybody who knows how to make a bomb knows that. Anybody who has been in the service and gone to their bombing school, of course, there it is used for a different thing. It is one of the reasons why gangland wars have a lot of bombings. Nobody gets killed with a machine gun anymore. You can trace a machine gun. Thirty years ago that was the thing. One thing, machine guns are under regular control now. You can't sell a machine gun and not report it, any guns, machine guns in particular. Then, of course, you don't have complete citizen cooperation. You get a lot of resistance. I'm just glad I don't have to try to find them myself. I am always glad when someone else gets the case.

Malcolm X: When Negroes in the South realize the inability of the law down there to protect them, they are going to start doing something to protect themselves.

FBI Agent: It is perfectly possible.

Malcolm X: You believe it. They are going to start doing something to protect themselves, not because I say so, it is plain common sense.

FBI Agent: They are going to do something to protect themselves. Suppose

they get some men from their own church group to start a vigilante...stand guard outside their church to make sure no one throws a bomb. That is one thing, but are they going to go down...because their church was bombed and bomb some other church? That is a different thing. I cannot blame any Negro church, Baptist church in Montgomery or anywhere else, if they have some of their men stand guard at the church to make sure that no one plants a bomb. It is a chance that they have to do it.

Malcolm X: You would do that with your own family and home.

FBI Agent: If somebody was blowing up homes and you read that yours was next, you would stand guard and have some of the brothers here stand guard, but if you would go out because your house was blown up and blow the man's house across the street up.

Malcolm X: When one society realizes that what happens to another society will happen to it, then that society will take the measures necessary within itself to see that those criminal elements within it don't go out there and do those things.

FBI Agent: Unfortunately, most people realize that. If it were not true, of course we would have an anarchy and continued violence. You might have a small portion luckily, by small I mean infinitesimal in numbers. Most of the people even in the South realize that. I don't think you would have gone to Birmingham the Sunday of the bombing and found any white people who were jumping for joy because those four Negro children were killed. Undoubtedly, there would have been some of the perpetrators themselves. Maybe some people who are fanatically inclined with the white citizens and the KKK. But the general run of persons—even those same persons who do not want a Negro to sit beside them on the bus, don't want a Negro to sit beside them at a lunch counter, or don't want a Negro to live in the same neighborhood with them—I don't think even though they felt that way, I don't think you would find many who would jump for joy because those four young girls died in a bombing or that any church itself sustained bombing.

Malcolm X: Perhaps you are right, but I think that when white society realizes that the same thing can happen to it that happens to other societies because of it, then white society will take measures to see that these other things don't happen.

FBI Agent: Nobody denies there are injustices in the South and in the North.

Malcolm X: That is my contention. I grew up in white society. I think that they underestimated the feelings of Negroes because Negroes have always shown this long-suffering-type attitude.

FBI Agent: Until recently, I don't think they so much underestimated as ignored their feelings. I don't think many white people thirty years ago even thought about Negroes. They say, what do you think about Negroes. I don't know, I never thought about it.

Malcolm X: The reason they never thought about them is because they underestimated them. In their subconscious minds, they don't even give the Negro credit for being independent enough to have feelings about certain things.

FBI Agent: I think that is changing.

Malcolm X: But it is not changing fast enough.

FBI Agent: Of course, that is a matter of degree, people will always disagree on that.

Malcolm X: I am not saying the condition is not changing fast enough, the awareness on the part of whites isn't changing fast enough.

FBI Agent: That is probably the root of the problem. Legislation, laws, etc. make you like white people, make white people like Negroes. There is nothing, really, except education.

Malcolm X: But they are not trying to educate, they are trying to legislate.

FBI Agent: Exactly.

Malcolm X: They are not even going about it in sincerity. The only reason they are trying to legislate is for political reasons. If they were really aware of the degree of dissatisfaction among Negroes and the ability of Negroes sooner or later to do something about it themselves, then you

wouldn't see the politicians playing around, you would see them making a sincere enough effort to educate, hut the only man that you will find doing something along educational lines is Mr. Muhammad. He changes the attitude of the Negro and the average person who has become a Muslim. Although he may appear dogmatic in some of his views on race, you won't find him going out and getting in trouble with whites. The only time there is any trouble is when somebody initiates some kind of trouble with him. The reason I say this is because in my experience, Negroes who become Muslims are more capable of dealing with white society on their intelligence plane, I even might say on a reciprocal plane, than the Negro who hasn't been exposed to Mr. Muhammad's teaching, because the Negro who has been exposed to Mr. Muhammad's teaching faces facts and the facts are this is a white man and this is a black man. This is a fact, there is nothing derogatory, and when you have to deny that you are a white man, you are in trouble. When you have to deal with a man on the basis of a complete denial of what you are and pretend you are denying what he is, you can't even talk on that basis, and this is the impasse that the Negro civil rights movements are jockeying for in this white society. They had a boycott yesterday. What did they accomplish? Let me give you an example: I blame the white man for making these Negroes think they are really leaders and they think they have some kind of program. No, they are jockeying him into such a position that you will be so embarrassed in the sight of the world, and after it is all over, you still haven't solved the problem.

FBI Agent: No, you don't solve things that way, whether by demonstrations or by laws.

Malcolm X: You notice that we don't demonstrate.

FBI Agent: My mention of education was on the part of the white people.

Malcolm X: Susskind had a good program last night on Channel 2, about this same thing. But it showed in there that you had some Negroes who moved into a white neighborhood and the repercussions, mental reaction. Many whites tried to band together and act intelligent and they found that they couldn't do it. It isn't prejudice, it is their intelligence that won't enable them to do it. They are not going to let someone live and move into their neighborhood who doesn't know how to keep the neighborhood up.

FBI Agent: I think that is the big problem rather than the color.

Malcolm X: What programs do you know of going on in the Negro communities now that are showing the Negroes the importance of property and property values? This is not speaking against our people, but you can't come out of slavery overnight and know what to do with your property. There is no program going on among Negroes today that will show Negroes how to act in a higher society or how to act when given access toward the higher things in a higher society, and now no white person can say it without being called a bigot. This is what I mean. The so-called Negro civil rights leader has the white man in a position where he can't even show his intelligence without being called a bigot. But in dealing with a Muslim you can at least say what you think, you wouldn't be called a bigot. If what you say is intelligent, good. If what you say is not intelligent, then it's not. Then until the two can sit down and approach the problem you will have a problem of getting worse rather than getting better. It is going to be worse in I964 than in 1963, as long as you got these freaks like Rustin who is nothing but a homo who can be projected by the press as a leader of black people, then you are going to have trouble on your hands.

FBI Agent: That is true, and I wish you were right.

Malcolm X: I know I'm right. All they are going to do is come up with what they call programs to give vent to the frustrations of the Negro and you can't do that but soften. Sooner or later, that Negro is going to be looking for the real thing and then you won't be able to control him and nothing you say will save him, or please him, or even stop him.

FBI Agent: I agree with you. Not to prolong our talk here, but me ask you this. On occasion, things come up like this of you being in Rochester.

Malcolm X: That is once in a lifetime.

FBI Agent: But frequently we get problems. The United Nations about three years ago, you people were accused of going in the line, but I know you weren't because I was down there. But, we get inquiries not only from Washington to determine to what extent, if any, the Muslims were active in the picketing of the United Nations. It is important for some people to identify the groups that participate most. Do you have any objection if we contact you on things like that and ask you point- blank are the Muslims

involved in this.

Malcolm X: No objection. My telephone number is OL 1- 6320.

FBI Agent: How about that. OL 1-6320.

Malcolm X: That's like telling you the sun shines from the east.

FBI Agent: I assume we have it, but I will take it down in case we don't. As you know, we haven't called you, so I'm not sure. I will limit this. This will not be once a week or once a month, maybe once a year will be the extent of it. But it will save time and trouble at least.

Malcolm X: We don't picket. If we do picket they know it is us. It is that much difference between us and the others.

FBI Agent: As I say, we were down there. Here again, we are trying to prove a negative. It is not easy. A man sitting in Washington at a desk, when he calls down he...

Malcolm X: I think Washington is a past master, as I said previously, it's making positives out of negatives and negatives out of positives.

FBI Agent: I will report on my contact with you, for two reasons: one, not to bother you, and two, we clearly indicated that you just wouldn't give us any information.

Malcolm X: Certainly. You can tell them they insult my intelligence, not only, they insult me, period, if they think I will tell them anything.

FBI Agent: You have the privilege. That is very good. You are not alone. We talk to people every day who hate the government or hate the FBI. That is why they pay money, you know.

Malcolm X: That is not hate, it is incorrect to clarify that as hate. It doesn't take hate to make a man firm in his convictions. There are many areas to which you wouldn't give information and it wouldn't be because of hate. It would be your intelligence and ideals.

FBI Agent: I don't know of any, but that is all right.

Malcolm X: It has nothing to do with hate, it is based on my own factual...

FBI Agent: Disinclination to cooperate with the government.

Malcolm X: I don't see where it is disinclination. I don't even think it could be worded like that. I am looking for the government to cooperate with some of these Negroes. I don't see any government cooperation in Birmingham or any of these other places.

FBI Agent: Well, you'll have to see your congressman about that. We don't work in that area. It would be good and I think in many ways might be of some benefit to your organization if we can eliminate people now on the other hand, it might possibly get a rumor that you are going to—I don't want to use the wrong word—you say you don't picket, you say you had a little march in Times Square last...whatever you call it, if we get a rumor on that would you have any objection if I called you?

Malcolm X: No, not at all. I do think you are going to have a lot, in 1964, period, of racial disturbances.

FBI Agent: Of course, I am limiting our relationship to the Muslims, which is the only group you would be able to give an authoritative answer on. The other groups, we will have to get people in the other groups to furnish information.

FBI Agent: (speaking to other agent) Do you have any other questions?

FBI Agent: How was your trip to Florida?

Malcolm X: Fine.

FBI Agent: How do you think Cassius is going to come out? Is he going to win or is he going to lose?

Malcolm X: He can win.

FBI Agent: I've seen him fight and I think he is a pretty good fighter, but I think he is going to get it knocked off here, come February.

Malcolm X: He lives a clean life, all those things count.

FBI Agent: Liston does too.

Malcolm X: He might. I don't know as much about him.

FBI Agent: I don't know either. He's sort of a monster to run into.

Malcolm X: Even a monster, Father Time catches up with them.

FBI Agent: Right. It got to be that anybody could beat Joe Louis, but if they had fought him six or seven years earlier, they wouldn't have had a chance. You going down to the fight?

Malcolm X: I don't know.

FBI Agent: I was just wondering.

Malcolm X: Florida is an easy place to go to.

FBI Agent: Yes, nobody would have to twist your arm to get you to go. Thank you very much for your time.

Malcolm X: You are welcome.

FBI Agent: (speaking to other agent) You got your folder?

FBI Agent: We can leave that.

Malcolm X: Oh, that's all right, it would be safe here.

FBI Agent: All right, thank you very much. Thank you again.

Malcolm X: You are welcome.

# A Declaration of Independence (March 12, 1964)

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for human rights, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle—especially in regard to politics and nonviolence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened, I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence of action, I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field—but I am sincere, and my sincerity is my credential.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque Incorporated. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be black nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be black nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be black nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque Incorporated, will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces—more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date—but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sellout again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque Incorporated, will remain wide open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us.

There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning nonviolence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham; Plaquemine, Louisiana; Cambridge, Maryland; and Danville, Virginia. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law-abiding—but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

# Malcolm X at Harvard University (March 18, 1964)

Nineteen hundred sixty-four will probably be the most explosive year that America has yet witnessed on the racial front; primarily because the black people of this country during 1963 saw nothing but failure behind every effort they made to get what the country was supposedly on record for. Today the black people in this country have become frustrated, disenchanted, disillusioned and probably more set for action now than ever before-not the kind of action that has been set out for them in the past by some of their supposedly liberal white friends, but the kind of action that will get some kind of immediate results. As the moderator has pointed out, the time that we're living in now and that we are facing now is not an era where one who is oppressed is looking toward the oppressor to give him some system or form of logic or reason. What is logical to the oppressor isn't logical to the oppressed. And what is reason to the oppressor isn't reason to the oppressed. The black people in this country are beginning to realize that what sounds reasonable to those who exploit us doesn't sound reasonable to us. There just has to be a new system of reason and logic devised by us who are at the bottom, if we want to get some results in this struggle that is called "the Negro revolution."

Not only is it going to be an explosive year on the racial front; it is going to be an explosive year on the political front. This year it will be impossible to separate one from the other. The politicking of the politicians in 1964 will probably do more to bring about racial explosion than any other factor, because this country has been under the rule of the politicians. When they want to get elected to office they come into the so-called Negro community and make a lot of promises that they don't intend to keep. This feeds the hopes of the people in our community, and after the politicians have gotten what they are looking for, they turn their back on the people of our community. This has happened time and time again. The only difference between then and now is that there is a different element in the community; whereas in the past the people of our community were patient and polite, long-suffering and willing to listen to what you call reason, 1964 has produced an element of people who are no longer willing to listen to what you call reason. As I said, what's reasonable to you has long since ceased to be reasonable to us. And it will be these false promises made by

the politicians that will bring about the BOOM.

During the few moments that I have I hope that we can chat in an informal way, because I find that when you are discussing things that are very "touchy," sometimes it's best to be informal. And where white people are concerned, it has been my experience that they are extremely intelligent on most subjects until it comes to race. When you get to the racial issue in this country, the whites lose all their intelligence. They become very subjective, and they want to tell us how it should be solved. It's like Jesse James going to tell the Marshal how he should come after him for the crime that Jesse committed.

I am not a politician. I'm not even a student of politics. I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican. I don't even consider myself an American. If I could consider myself an American, we wouldn't even have any problem. It would be solved. Many of you get indignant when you hear a black man stand up and say, "No, I'm not an American." I see whites who have the audacity, I should say the nerve, to think that a black man is radical and extremist, subversive and seditious if he says, "No, I'm not an American." But at the same time, these same whites have to admit that this man has a problem.

I don't come here tonight to speak to you as a Democrat or a Republican or an American or anything that you want me to be. I'm speaking as what I am: one of twenty-two million black people in this country who are victims of your democratic system. They're the victims of the Democratic politicians, the victims of the Republican politicians. They're actually the victims of what you call democracy. So I stand here tonight speaking as a victim of what you call democracy. And you can understand what I'm saying if you realize it's being said through the mouth of a victim; the mouth of one of the oppressed, not through the mouth and eyes of the oppressor. But if you think we're sitting in the same chair or standing on the same platform, then you won't understand what I'm talking about. You'd expect me to stand up here and say what you would· say if you were standing up here. And I'd have to be out of my mind.

Whenever one is viewing this political system through the eyes of a victim, he sees something different. But today these twenty-two million black people who are the victims of American democracy, whether you realize it or not, are viewing your democracy with new eyes. Yesterday our

people used to look upon the American system as an American dream. But the black people today are beginning to realize that it is an American nightmare. What is a dream to you is a nightmare to us. What is hope to you has long since become hopeless to our people. And as this attitude develops, not so much on Sugar Hill—although it's there too—but in the ghetto, in the alley where the masses of our people live...there you have a new situation on your hands. There's a new political consciousness developing among our people in this country. In the past, we weren't conscious of the political maneuvering that goes on in this country, which exploits our people politically. We knew something was wrong, but we weren't conscious of what it was. Today there's a tendency on the part of this new generation of black people (who have been born and are growing up in this country) to look at the thing not as they wish it were, but as it actually is. And their ability to look at the situation as it is, is what is primarily responsible for the ever-increasing sense of frustration and hopelessness that exists in the so-called Negro community today.

Besides becoming politically conscious, you'll find that our people are also becoming more aware of the strategic position that they occupy politically. In the past, they weren't. Just the right to vote was considered something. But today the so-called Negroes are beginning to realize that they occupy a very strategic position. They realize what the new trends are and all of the new political tendencies.

During recent years at election time, when the Governor was running for office, there was call for a recount of votes here in Massachusetts. In Rhode Island it was the same way-in Minnesota, the same thing. Within American politics there is now such a similarity between the two parties that in elections the race is usually close enough to permit almost any single block to swing it one way or the other. Not only is this true in city, county, and state elections, but it's also true in the national elections, as witness the close race between President Kennedy and Nixon a few years back. And everyone admits that it was the strategic vote of the so-called Negro in this country that put the Kennedy administration in Washington. The position in the political structure of the so-called Negro has become so strategic that whenever any kind of election rolls around now, the politicians are out there trying to win the Negro vote. In trying to win the Negro vote, they make a whole lot of promises and build up his hopes. But they always build him up for a letdown. By being constantly built up for a letdown, the Negro is now becoming very angry at the white man. And in

his anger the Muslims come along and talk to him. Yet instead of the white man blaming himself for the anger of the Negro, he again has the audacity to blame us. When we warn you how angry the Negro is becoming, you, instead of thanking us for giving you a little warning, try to accuse us of stirring up the Negro. Don't you know that if your house is on fire and I come to warn you that your house is burning, you shouldn't accuse me of setting the fire! Thank me rather for letting you know what's happening, or what's going to happen, before it's too late.

When these new trends develop in the so-called Negro in America, making the so-called Negro aware of his strategic position politically, he becomes aware too of what he's not getting in return. He realizes that his vote puts the governor in office, or the mayor in office, or the president in office. But he's beginning to see also that although his vote is the vital factor that determines who will sit in these seats, the last one those politicians try to help is the so-called Negro.

Proof of which: Everyone admits that it was the Negro vote that put Kennedy in the White House. Yet four years have passed and the present administration is just now getting around to civil rights legislation. In its fourth year of office it finally passes some kind of civil rights legislation, designed supposedly to solve the problem of the so-called Negro. Yet that voting element offered decisive support in the national election. I only cite this to show the hypocrisy on the part of the white man in America, whether he be down South or whether he be up here in the North.

Democrats, now after they've been in the White House awhile, use an alibi for not having kept their promise to the Negroes who voted for them. They say, "Well, we can't get this passed or we can't get that passed." The present make-up of the Congress is 257 Democrats and only 177 Republicans. Now how can a party of Democrats that received practically the full support of the so-called Negroes of this country and control nearly two-thirds of the seats in Congress give the Negro an excuse for not getting some kind of legislation passed to solve the Negro problem? Where the senators are concerned, there are 67 Democrats and only 33 Republicans; yet these Democrats are going to try to pass the buck to the Republicans after the Negro has put the Democrats in office. Now I'm not siding with either Democrats or Republicans. I'm just pointing out the deceit on the part of both when it comes to dealing with the Negro. Although the Negro vote put the Democratic Party where it is, the Democratic Party gives the Negro

nothing; and the Democrats offer as an excuse that the fault lies with the Dixie-crats. What do you call them Dixie-crats or Dixo-crats or Demo-Dixo-crats!

Look at the shrewd deceptive manner in which they deal with the Negro. A Dixo-crat is a Democrat. You can call them by whatever name you wish, but you have never seen a situation where the Dixie-crats kick the Democrats out of the party. Rather the Democrats kick the Dixiecrats out of their party if there is ever any cleavage. You oftentimes find the Dixie-crats "cussing out" the Democrats, but you never find the Democrats disassociating themselves from the Dixie-crats. They are together and they use this shrewd maneuvering to trick the Negro. Now there are some young Negroes appearing on the scene, and it is time for those who call themselves Democrats to realize that when the Negro looks at a Democrat, he sees a Democrat. Whether you call him a Dixo-Democrat or a Demo-Dixie-crat, he's the same thing.

One of the reasons that these Dixie-crats occupy such a powerful position in Washington, D.C., is that they have seniority. By reason of their seniority and primarily because they have denied the local Negro his right to vote, they hold sway over key committees in Washington. You call it a system based on democracy, yet you can't deny that the most powerful men in this government are from the South. The only reason they're in positions of power is because the Negroes in their area are deprived of their constitutional right to vote. But the Constitution says that when at any time the people of a given area are denied their right to vote, the representatives of that area are supposed to be expelled from their seat. You don't need any new legislation; it's right in front of you already. The only reason the politicians want new legislation is to use it to further trick the Negro. All they have to do is to go by that thing they call the Constitution. It needs no more bills, it needs no more amendments, it needs no more anything. All it needs is a little sincere application.

As with the South, the North knows its own bypass for the Constitution, which goes by the name of "gerrymandering." Some fellows gain control in the so-called Negro community and then change voting lines every time the Negro begins to get too powerful numerically. The technique is different from that in Mississippi. There is no denying the Negro the right to vote outright, as in Mississippi. The Northern way is more shrewd and subtle; but whether victim of the Northern way or the Southern method,

the Negro ends up with no political power whatsoever. Now, I may not be putting this in language which you're used to, but I'm quite sure that you get the point. Whenever you give the Negro in the South the right to vote, his Constitutional right to vote, it will mean an automatic change in the entire representation from the South. Were he able to exercise his right, some of the most powerful and influential figures in Washington, D.C., would not now be in the Capitol. A large Negro vote would change the foreign policy as well as the domestic policy of this government. Therefore the only valid approach toward revolutionizing American policy is to give to the Negro his right to vote. Once that is done, the entire future course of things must change.

I might say this is how we look at it—how the victims look at it, a very crude and what you might call pessimistic view. But I should rather prefer it as a realistic view. Now what is our approach towards solving this? Many of you have probably just recently read that I am no longer an active member in the Nation of Islam, although I am myself still a Muslim. My religion is still Islam, and I still credit the Honorable Elijah Muhammad with being responsible for everything I know and everything that I am. In New York we have recently founded the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, which has as its base the religion of Islam, the religion of Islam because we have found that this religion creates more unity among our people than any other type of philosophy can do. At the same time, the religion of Islam is more successful in eliminating the vices that exist in the so-called Negro community, which destroy the moral fiber of the so-called Negro community.

So with this religious base, the difference between the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and the Nation of Islam is probably this: We have as our political philosophy, Black Nationalism; as our economic philosophy, Black Nationalism; and as our social philosophy, Black Nationalism. We believe that the religion of Islam combined with Black Nationalism is all that is needed to solve the problem that exists in the so-called Negro community. Why?

The only real solution to our problem, just as the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has taught us, is to go back to our homeland and to live among our own people and develop it so we'll have an independent nation of our own. I still believe this. But that is a long- range program. And while our people are getting set to go back home, we have to live here

in the meantime. So in the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's long-range program, there's also a short-range program: the political philosophy which teaches us that the black man should control the politics of his own community. When the black man controls the politics and the politicians in his own community, he can then make them produce what is good for the community. For when a politician in the so-called Negro community is controlled by a political machine outside, seldom will that politician ever do what is necessary to bring up the standard of living or to solve the problems that exist in that community. So our political philosophy is designed to bring together the so- called Negroes and to re-educate them to the importance of politics in concrete betterment, so that they may know what they should be getting from their politicians in addition to a promise. Once the political control of the so-called Negro community is in the hands of the so- called Negro, then it is possible for us to do something towards correcting the evils and the ills that exist there.

Our economic philosophy of Black Nationalism means that instead of our spending the rest of our lives begging the white man for a job, our people should be re-educated to the science of economics and the part that it plays in our community. We should. be taught just the basic fundamentals: that whenever you take money out of the neighborhood and spend it in another neighborhood, the neighborhood in which you spend it gets richer and richer, and the neighborhood from which you take it gets poorer and poorer. This creates a ghetto, as now exists in every so-called Negro community in this country. If the Negro isn't spending his money downtown with what we call "the man," "the man" is himself right in the Negro community. All the stores are run by the white man, who takes the money out of the community as soon as the sun sets. We have to teach our people the importance of where to spend their dollars and the importance of establishing and owning businesses. Thereby we can create employment for ourselves, instead of having to wait to boycott your stores and businesses to demand that you give us a job. whenever the majority of our people begin to think along such lines, you'll find that we ourselves can best solve our problems. Instead of having to wait for someone to come out of your neighborhood into our neighborhood to tackle these problems for us, we ourselves may solve them.

The social philosophy of Black Nationalism says that we must eliminate the vices and evils that exist in our society, and that we must stress the cultural roots of our forefathers, that will lend dignity and make the black man

cease to be ashamed of himself. We have to teach our people something about our cultural roots. We have to teach them something of their glorious civilizations before they were kidnapped by your grandfathers and brought over to this country. Once our people are taught about the glorious civilization that existed on the African continent, they won't any longer be ashamed of who they are. We will reach back and link ourselves to those roots, and this will make the feeling of dignity come into us; we will feel that as we lived in times gone by, we can in like manner today. If we had civilizations, cultures, societies, and nations hundreds of years ago, before you came and kidnapped us and brought us here, so we can have the same today. The restoration of our cultural roots and history will restore dignity to the black people in this country. Then we shall be satisfied in our own social circles; then we won't be trying to force ourselves into your social circles. So the social philosophy of Black Nationalism doesn't in any way involve any anti- anything. However, it does restore to the man who is being taunted his own self-respect. And the day that we are successful in making the black man respect himself as much as he now admires you, he will no longer be breathing down your neck every time you go buy a house somewhere to get away from him.

That is the political, social, and economic philosophy of Black Nationalism, and in order to bring it about, the program that we have in the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, places an accent on youth. We are issuing a call for students across the country, from coast to coast, to launch a new study of the problem-not a study that is in any way guided or influenced by adults, but a study of their own. Thus we can get a new analysis of the problem, a more realistic analysis. After this new study and more realistic analysis, we are going to ask those same students (by students I mean young people, who having less of a stake to lose, are more flexible and can be more objective) for a new approach to the problem.

Already we have begun to get responses from so- called Negro students from coast to coast, who aren't actually religiously inclined, but who are nonetheless strongly sympathetic to the approach used by Black Nationalism, whether it be social, economic, or political. And with this new approach and with these new ideas we think that we may open up a new era here in this country. As that era begins to spread, people in this country-instead of sticking under your nose or crying for civil rights-will begin to expand their civil rights plea to a plea for human rights. And once the so-called Negro in this country forgets the whole civil rights issue and

begins to realize that human rights are far more important and broad than civil rights, he won't be going to Washington, D.C., anymore, to beg Uncle Sam for civil rights. He will take his plea for human rights to the United Nations. There won't be a violation of civil rights anymore. It will be a violation of human rights. Now at this moment, the governments that are in the United Nations can't step in, can't involve themselves with America's domestic policy. But the day the black man turns from civil rights to human rights, he will take his case into the halls of the United Nations in the same manner as the people in Angola, whose human rights have been violated by the Portuguese in South Africa.

You'll find that you are entering an era now where the black man in this country has ceased to think domestically, or within the bounds of the United States, and he's beginning to see that this is a world-wide issue and that he needs help from outside. We need help from our brothers in Africa who have won their independence. And when we begin to show them our thinking has expanded to an international scale, they will step in and help us, and you'll find that Uncle Sam will be in a most embarrassing position. So the only way Uncle Sam can stop us is to get some civil rights passed-right now! For if he can't take care of his domestic dirt, it's going to be put before the eyes of the world. Then you'll find that you'll have nobody on your side, whatsoever, other than, perhaps, a few of those Uncle Toms-and they've already out-lived their time.

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Moderator: I suggest we follow this format: We will have reactions and responses to what Malcolm X has said from the members of the panel, then give Malcolm X a chance to discuss their views. The first member of the panel to address us will be Professor James Q. Wilson, who has written an important book about Negro politics in Chicago. At present, Professor Wilson is Associate Professor of Government at Harvard and also Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. The second speaker this evening will be Dr. Martin L. Kilson. Dr. Kilson is Lecturer on Government at Harvard, and will soon publish his book, Political Change in a West African Slate.

[Panel members responnd.]

Moderator: Mr. X, I wonder if you'd like to reply to either Professor Wilson or Dr. Kilson.

Malcolm X: As I said in my opening statement, I'm not a student of politics nor a politician, but I did learn a lot listening to the speakers. Mr. Wilson pointed out very decisively that politics won't solve the problem...this is what I got out of what he said...the politicians can't do it. In fact I can see now why the Honorable Elijah Muhammad said that complete separation is the only answer. For what I got from what he was saying is that Uncle Sam sees no hope within his political system of solving this problem that has become so complex that you can hardly even describe it. And this is why I said that we are issuing a call to youth, primarily, to get some new ideas and a new direction. The adults are more confused than the problem itself. It will take a whole generation of new people to approach this problem.

I would not like to leave the impression that I have ever, in any way, proposed a Negro party. Whoever entertains that thought is very much misinformed. We have never at any time advocated any kind of Negro party. The idea that I have been trying to convey is that Black Nationalism is our political philosophy. I didn't mention "party." By Black Nationalism I meant a political philosophy that makes the black man more conscious of the importance of his doing something to control his own destiny. The political philosophy maintained now by most black people in this country seems to me to leave their destiny in the hands of someone who doesn't even look like them. So, you see, the political philosophy of Black Nationalism has nothing to do with party. It is designed to make the black man develop some kind of consciousness or awareness of the importance of his shaping his own future, instead of leaving it to some segregationists in Washington, D.C., who come from the North as well as from the South. In pointing out that we are putting an accent on youth, we wish to let you know that our minds are wide open. We don't think we have the answer, but we are open-minded enough to try to seek the answer not from these old hicks, whom I think have gone astray, but from the youth. For the young may approach the problem from a new slant and perhaps come up with something that nobody else has thought of yet.

In reply to Dr. Kilson, who pointed out how Marcus Garvey failed: Marcus Garvey failed only because his movement was infiltrated by Uncle Toms, sent in by the government as well as by other bodies to maneuver him into a position wherein the government might have him sent to Atlanta, Georgia, put in a penitentiary, then deported, and his movement destroyed. But Marcus Garvey never failed. Marcus Garvey was the one who gave a

sense of dignity to the black people in this country. He organized one of the largest mass movements that ever existed in this country; and his entire philosophy of organizing and attracting Negroes was based on going-back-to-Africa, which proves that the only mass movement which ever caught on in this country was designed to appeal to what the masses really felt. More of them then preferred to go back home than to stay here in this country and continue to beg the power structure for something they knew they would never get. Garvey did not fail. Indeed, it was Marcus Garvey's philosophy that inspired the Nkrumah fight for the independence of Ghana from the colonialism that was imposed on it by England. It is also the same Black Nationalism that has been spreading throughout Africa and that has brought about the emergence of the present independent African states. Garvey never failed. Garvey planted the seed which has popped up in Africa-everywhere you look, and although they're still trying to stamp it out in Angola, in South Africa, and in other places, you will soon be able to see for yourselves whether or not Garvey failed. He may have failed in America, but he didn't fail in Africa; and when Africa succeeds, you'll find that you have a new situation on your hands here in America.

I can't abide anyone referring to Black Nationalism as any kind of racism. Whenever white people get together they don't call it racism. The European Common Market is for Europeans; it excludes everyone else. In that case you don't call it racism; all the numerous blocks and groups and syndicates and cliques that the Western nations have formed are never referred to as racist. But when we dark people want to form some kind of united effort to solve our problem, either you or somebody you have brainwashed comes up with "racism." We don't call it racism; we call it brotherhood. To note just one more small point: it is true that a large middle-class group of so-called Negroes has developed in this country, and you may think that these Negroes are satisfied or that they want to stay here because they have a "stake." This is the popular misconception. The middle-class Negro in this country is almost more frustrated, disillusioned, and disenchanted than the Negro in the alley. Why? The Negro in the alley does not even think about integrating with you because he knows that he hasn't enough money to go where you are in control. So it doesn't enter his mind; he's less frustrated when he knows it's impossible. But this middle-class Negro, sharp as a tack with his Harvard accent and with his pocket full of your money, thinks he should be able to go everywhere. Indeed, he should be able to go everywhere, so he will try.

Moderator: I will take questions from the floor.

Question: I have a question for Mr. Malcolm X. "What is your view of the Freedom Now Party, which is certainly a third party movement? How do you feel about this alternative way of solving the Negro problem?

Malcolm X: I have met Negroes of the Freedom Now Party, all of whom seem to be very militant. They are young and militant and less likely to compromise. For these reasons it offers more hope than other alternatives being dangled in front of the so-called Negro. I couldn't say I would endorse the Freedom Now Party, but my mind is wide open to anything that will help gain progress. In addition, members of the Freedom Now Party seem to be more flexible than members of the Democratic and Republican parties. I don't think anything can be worse than the Democrats and Republicans.

Question: Mr. Malcolm X, do you support a bloody revolution and, if not, what kind do you have in mind, especially when the Negro is at a numerical disadvantage?

Malcolm X: Don't tell me about a six-to-one disadvantage. I agree it is a six-to-one disadvantage when you think in terms of America. But in the world the nonwhite people have you at an eleven-to-one disadvantage. We black people consider ourselves a part of that vast body of dark people who outnumber the whites, and we don't regard ourselves as a minority.

Question: Mr. Malcolm X, you said the type of civil rights agitation we see now has not altered the morality of white people. Could you comment on that?

Malcolm X: When exposed to the methods of civil rights groups, whites remain complacent. You couldn't appeal to their ethical sense or their sense of legality. But, on the, other hand, when they hear the analysis of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, whites become more sharply attuned to the problem. They become more conscious of the problem. You can appeal to what intelligence whites have. Let the black man speak his mind so that the white man really knows how he feels. At the same time, let the white man speak his mind. Let everyone put his facts on the table. Once you put the facts on the table, it's possible to arrive at a solution.

The civil rights movement has put the white man in a position where he has to take a stand contrary to his intelligence. Many whites who do not support integration are afraid to say so when face to face with a Negro for fear the Negro will call him a bigot or a racist. So that even though a white in his intelligence can see that this forced integration will never work, he's afraid to say this to a black man; whereas if the white could speak his mind to the black man, he might wake that man up.

My contention is that the approach used by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is more realistic. A white man can speak his mind to a Muslim, and a Muslim is going to speak his mind to a white man. Once you establish this honest, sincere, realistic communication, you'll get a solution to the problem. But don't you give me that you love me and make me do the same thinking when there's nothing in our backgrounds nor anything around us which in any way gives either of us reason to love each other.

Let's be real!

# A. B. Spellman Interviews Malcolm X (March 19, 1964)

Spellman: Please answer these charges that are often raised against you: That you are as racist as Hitler and the Klan, etc. That you are anti-Semitic. That you advocate mob violence.

Malcolm X: No, we're not racists at all. Our brotherhood is based on the fact that we are all black, brown, red, or yellow. We don't call this racism, any more than you could refer to the European Common Market which consists of Europeans, which means that it consists of white-skin people—is not referred to as a racist coalition. It's referred to as the European Common Market, an economic group—while our desire for unity among black, brown, red, and yellow is for brotherhood—has nothing to do with racism, has nothing to do with Hitler, has nothing to do with the Klan. In fact, the Klan in this country was designed to perpetuate an injustice upon Negroes; whereas the Muslims are designed to eliminate the injustice that has been perpetuated upon the so-called Negro.

We're anti-exploitation and in this country the Jews have been located in the so-called Negro community as merchants and businessmen for so long that they feel guilty when you mention that the exploiters of Negroes are Jews. This doesn't mean that we are anti-Jews or anti-Semitic—we're anti-exploitation. No. We have never been involved in any kind of violence whatsoever. We have never initiated any violence against anyone, but we do believe that when violence is practiced against us we should be able to defend ourselves. We don't believe in turning the other cheek.

Spellman: Why did you find it necessary to split with the Nation of Islam?

Malcolm X: Well, I did encounter opposition within the Nation of Islam. Many obstacles were placed in my path, not by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, but by others who were around him and since I believe that his analysis of the race problem is the best one and his solution is the only one, I felt that I could best circumvent these obstacles and expedite his program better by remaining out of the Nation of Islam and establishing a Muslim group that is an action group designed to eliminate the same ills that the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad have made so

manifest in this country.

Spellman: What is the name of the organization that you have founded?

Malcolm X: The Muslim Mosque Inc., which means we are still Muslims—we still worship in a mosque and we're incorporated as a religious body.

Spellman: Can other Muslims work with the Muslim Mosque Inc. without leaving the Nation of Islam?

Malcolm X: Oh yes. Yes anyone who is in the Nation of Islam who wants to work with us and remain in the Nation of Islam, is welcome. I am a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad—I believe in the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. The only reason I am in the Muslim Mosque Inc. is because I feel I can better expedite his program by being free of the restraint and the other obstacles that I encountered in the Nation.

Spellman: Will you have access to Muhammad Speaks?

Malcolm X: Probably not. No, I very much doubt that the same forces which forced me out would permit me access to the Muhammad Speaks newspaper as an organ although I am the founder of the paper, the originator of the paper. Few people realize it—I was the one who originated Muhammad Speaks. The initial editions were written entirely by me in my basement.

Spellman: Will you start another publication?

Malcolm X: Yes. One of the best ways to propagate any idea is with a publication of some sort and if Allah blesses us with success we will have another publication. We'll probably name it the Flaming Crescent because we want to set the world on fire.

Spellman: How religious is the Muslim Mosque Inc.? Will it be more politically oriented?

Malcolm X: The Muslim Mosque Inc. will have as its religious base the religion of Islam which will be designed to propagate the moral reformation necessary to up the level of the so-called Negro community by eliminating the vices and other evils that destroy the moral fiber of the

community—this is the religious base. But the political philosophy of the Muslim Mosque will be black nationalism, the economic philosophy will be black nationalism, and the social philosophy will be black nationalism. And by political philosophy I mean we still believe in the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's solution as complete separation. The 22,000,000 so-called Negroes should be separated completely from America and should be permitted to go back home to our African homeland which is a long-range program; so the short-range program is that we must eat while we're still here, we must have a place to sleep, we have clothes to wear, we must have better jobs, we must have better education; so that although our long-range political philosophy is to migrate back to our African homeland, our short-range program must involve that which is necessary to enable us to live a better life while we are still here. We must be in complete control of the politics of the so-called Negro community; we must gain complete control over the politicians in the so-called Negro community, so that no outsider will have any voice in the so-called Negro community. We'll do it ourselves.

Spellman: Whom do you hope to draw from in organizing this political movement—what kind of people?

Malcolm X: All—we're flexible—a variety. But our accent will be upon youth. We've already issued a call for the students in the colleges and universities across the country to launch their own independent studies of the race problem in he country and then bring their analyses and their suggestions for a new approach back to us so that we can devise an action program geared to their thinking. The accent is on youth because the youth have less at stake in this corrupt system and therefore can look at it more objectively, whereas the adults usually have a stake in this corrupt system and they lose their ability to look at it objectively because of their stake in it.

Spellman: Do you expect to draw from the Garveyite groups?

Malcolm X: All groups—Nationalist, Christians, Muslims, Agnostics, Atheists, anything. Everybody who is interested in solving the problem is given an invitation to become actively involved with either suggestions or ideas or something.

Spellman: Will the organization be national?

Malcolm X: National? I have gotten already an amazing number of letters from student groups at college campuses across the country expressing a desire to become involved in a united front in this new idea that we have.

Spellman: What kind of coalition do you plan to make? Can whites join the Muslim Mosque Inc.?

Malcolm X: Whites can't join us. Everything that whites join that Negroes have they end up out-joining the Negroes. The whites control all Negro organizations that they can join—they end up in control of those organizations. If whites want to help us financially we will accept their financial help, but we will never let them join us.

Spellman: Then black leadership is necessary?

Malcolm X: Absolutely black leadership.

Spellman: Will you work with the so-called "established" civil rights organizations?

Malcolm X: Well, we will work with them in any area and on any objective that doesn't conflict with our own political, economic, and social philosophy which is black nationalism. I might add that I was invited to attend a civil rights group meeting where all of the various civil rights organizations were present and I was invited to address them in Chester, Pennsylvania. Gloria Richardson was there; Landrey, the head of the Chicago School Boycott, was there; Dick Gregory was there; many others were there; the Rochedale movement was there. Now my address to them was designed to show them that if they would expand their civil rights movement to a human rights movement it would internationalize it. Now, as a civil rights movement, it remains within the confines of American domestic policy and no African independent nations can open up their mouths on American domestic affairs, whereas if they expanded the civil rights movement to a human rights movement then they would be eligible to take the case of the Negro to the United Nations the same as the case of the Angolans is in the UN and the case of the South Africans is in the UN. Once the civil rights movement is expanded to a human rights movement our African brothers and our Asian brothers and Latin American brothers can place it on the agenda at the General Assembly that is coming up this year and Uncle Sam has no more say-so in it then. And we have friends

outside the UN—700,000,000 Chinese who are ready to die for human rights.

Spellman: Do you intend to collaborate with such other groups as labor unions or socialist groups or any other groups?

Malcolm X: We will work with anybody who is sincerely interested in eliminating injustices that Negroes suffer at the hands of Uncle Sam.

Spellman: What is your evaluation of the civil rights movement at this point?

Malcolm X: It has run its—it's at the end of its leash.

Spellman: What groups do you consider most promising?

Malcolm X: I know of no group that is promising unless it's radical. If it's not radical it is in no way involved effectively in the present struggle.

Spellman: Some local civil rights leaders have said they'd welcome your support, some national leaders have said they want nothing to do with you, what is your reaction?

Malcolm X: Well, the local civil rights leaders are usually involved right in the midst of the situation. They see it as it is and they realize that it takes a combination of groups to attack the problem most effectively and, also, most local civil rights leaders have more independence of action and usually they are more in tune and in touch with the people. But the national leaders of the civil rights movement are out of touch with the problem and usually they are paid leaders. The local leaders usually have a job and they lean against the local situation on the side, but the nationally known leaders are paid. They are full-time leaders, they are professional leaders and whoever pays their salary has a great say-so in what they do and what they don't do, so naturally the ones who pay the salaries of these nationally known Negro leaders are the white liberals and white liberals are shocked and frightened whenever you mention anything about some X's.

Spellman: What is your attitude toward Christian-Gandhian groups?

Malcolm X: Christian? Gandhian? I don't go for anything that's non-violent

and turn-the-other-cheekish. I don't see how any revolution—I've never heard of a non-violent revolution or a revolution that was brought about by turning the other cheek, and so I believe that it is a crime for anyone to teach a person who is being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality without doing something to defend himself. If this is what the Christian-Gandhian philosophy teaches then it is criminal—a criminal philosophy.

Spellman: Does the Muslim Mosque Inc. oppose integration and intermarriage?

Malcolm X: We don't have to oppose integration because the white integrationists themselves oppose it. Proof of which, it doesn't exist anywhere where white people say they are for it. There's just no such thing as integration anywhere, but we do oppose intermarriage. We are as much against intermarriage as we are against all of the other injustices that our people have encountered.

Spellman: What is the program for achieving your goals of separation?

Malcolm X: A better word to use than separation is independence. This word separation is misused. The 13 colonies separated from England but they called it the Declaration of Independence; they don't call it the Declaration of Separation, They call it the Declaration of Independence. When you're independent of someone you can separate from them. If you can't separate from them it means you're not independent of them. So, your question was what?

Spellman: What is your program for achieving your goals of independence?

Malcolm X: When the black man in this country awakens, becomes intellectually mature and able to think for himself, you will then see that the only way he will become independent and recognized as a human being on the basis of equality with all other human beings, he has to have what they have and he has to be doing for himself what others are doing for themselves so the first step is to awaken him to this and that is where the religion of Islam makes him morally more able to rise above the evils and the vices of an immoral society and the political, economic, and social philosophy of black nationalism instills within him the racial dignity and the incentive and the confidence that he needs to stand on his own feet and take a stand for himself.

Spellman: Do you plan to employ any kind of mass action?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes.

Spellman: What kinds?

Malcolm X: We'd rather not say at this time, but we definitely plan to employ mass action.

Spellman: How about the vote—will the Muslim Mosque Inc. run its own candidates or support other candidates?

Malcolm X: Since the political structure is what has been used to exploit the so-called Negroes, we intend to gather together all of the brilliant minds of students, not the adult politicians who are part of the corruption but the students of political science, we intend to gather all of them together and get their findings, get their analyses, get their suggestions, and, out of these suggestions we will devise an approach that will enable us to attack the politicians and the political structure where it hurts the most, in order to get a change.

Spellman: If the Muslim Mosque Inc. joined in a demonstration sponsored by a non-violent organization, and whites countered with violence, how would your organization react?

Malcolm X: We are non-violent only with non-violent people—I'm non-violent as long as somebody else is non-violent—as soon as they get violent they nullify my non-violence.

Spellman: A lot of leaders of other organizations have said they would welcome your help but they qualify that by saying "if you follow our philosophy." Would you work with them under these circumstances?

Malcolm X: We can work with all groups in anything but at no time will we give up our right to defend ourselves. We'll never become involved in any kind of action that deprives us of our right to defend ourselves if we are attacked.

Spellman: How would the Muslim Mosque Inc. handle a Birmingham,

Danville, or Cambridge—what do you think should have been done?

Malcolm X: In Birmingham, since the government has proven itself either unable or unwilling to step in and find those who are guilty and bring them to justice, it becomes necessary for the so-called Negro who was the victim to do this himself, and he would be upholding his constitutional rights by so doing, and Article 2 of the Constitution—it says concerning the right to bear arms in the Bill of Rights: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Negroes don't realize this, that they are within their constitutional rights to own a rifle, to own a shotgun, and when the bigoted white supremacists realize that they are dealing with Negroes who are ready to give their lives in defense of life and property, then these bigoted whites will change their whole strategy and their whole attitude.

Spellman: You've said this will be the most violent year in the history of race relations in America. Elaborate.

Malcolm X: Yes. Because the Negro has already given up on non-violence. This new-thinking Negro is beginning to realize that when he demonstrates for what the government says are his rights then the law should be on his side. Anyone standing in front of him reclaiming his rights is breaking the law. Now, you're not going to have a law-breaking element inflicting violence upon Negroes who are trying to implement the law, so that when they begin to see this, like this, they are going to strike back. In 1964 you'll find Negroes will strike back, there never will be non-violence anymore, that has run out.

Spellman: What is your evaluation of Monroe?

Malcolm X: I'm not too up on the situation in Monroe, N.C. I do know that Robert Williams became an exile from this country simply because he was trying to get our people to defend themselves against the Klu Klux Klan and other white supremacist elements, and also May Mallory was given 20 years or something like that because she was also trying to fight the place of our people down there; so this gives you an idea of what happens in a democracy—in a so-called democracy—when people try to implement that democracy.

Spellman: You often use the word revolution, is there a revolution

underway in America now?

Malcolm X: There hasn't been. Revolution is like a forest fire. It burns everything in its path. The people who are involved in a revolution don't become a part of the system—they destroy the system, they change the system. The genuine word for a revolution is Umwälzung which means a complete overturning and a complete change and the Negro Revolution is no revolution because it condemns the system and then asks the system that it has condemned to accept them into their system. That's not a revolution—a revolution changes the system, it destroys the system and replaces it with a better one. It's like a forest fire like I said—it burns everything in its path and the only way to stop a forest fire from burning down your house is to ignite a fire that you control and use it against the fire that is burning out of control. What the white man in America has done, he realizes that there is a Black Revolution all over the world—a non-white revolution all over the world—and he sees it sweeping down upon America and in order to hold it back he ignited an artificial fire which he has named the Negro Revolt and he is using the Negro Revolt against the real Black Revolution that is going on all over this earth.

Spellman: Can the race problem in America be solved under the existing political-economic system?

Malcolm X: No.

Spellman: Well then, what is the answer?

Malcolm X: It answers itself.

Spellman: Can there be any revolutionary change in America while the hostility between black and white working classes exists? Can Negroes do it alone?

Malcolm X: Yes. They'll never do it with working-class whites. The history of America is that working-class whites have been just as much against not only working-class Negroes, but all Negroes, period, because all Negroes are working class within the caste system. The richest Negro is treated like a working-class Negro. There never has been any good relationship between the working-class Negro and the working-class whites. I just don't go along with—there can be no worker solidarity until there's first some

black solidarity. There can be no white/black solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. We have got to get our problems solved first and then if there's anything left to work on the white man's problems, good, but I think one of the mistakes Negroes make is this worker solidarity thing. There's no such thing—it didn't even work in Russia. Right now it was supposedly solved in Russia but as soon as they got their problems solved they fell out with China.

Spellman: Will the Muslim Mosque Inc. identify with non-white revolutionary movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America?

Malcolm X: We are all brothers of oppression and today brothers of oppression are identified with each other all over the world.

Spellman: Is there anything else you want to say?

Malcolm X: No. I've said enough—maybe I've said too much.

# The Ballot or the Bullet
# (April 3, 1964)

Mr. Moderator, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends...and enemies. I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend, and I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet. Before we try and explain what is meant by the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify something concerning myself.

I'm still a Muslim; my religion is still Islam. That's my personal belief. Just as Adam Clayton Powell is a Christian minister who heads the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York, but at the same time takes part in the political struggles to try and bring about rights to the black people in this country; and Dr. Martin Luther King is a Christian minister down in Atlanta, Georgia, who heads another organization fighting for the civil rights of black people in this country; and Reverend Galamison, I guess you've heard of him, is another Christian minister in New York who has been deeply involved in the school boycotts to eliminate segregated education; well, I myself am a minister, not a Christian minister, but a Muslim minister; and I believe in action on all fronts by whatever means necessary.

Although I'm still a Muslim, I'm not here tonight to discuss my religion. I'm not here to try and change your religion. I'm not here to argue or discuss anything that we differ about, because it's time for us to submerge our differences and realize that it is best for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem, a problem that will make you catch hell whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist.

Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. If we have differences, let us differ in the closet; when we come out in front, let us not have anything to argue about until we get finished arguing with the man. If the late President Kennedy could get together with Khrushchev and exchange some wheat, we certainly have more in common with each other than Kennedy and Khrushchev had with each other.

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out—time has run out!

1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today—I'm sorry, Brother Lomax—who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer.

Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here. These odds aren't as great as those odds. And if you fight here, you will at least know what you're fighting for.

I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Those Honkies that just got off the boat, they're already Americans; Polacks are already Americans; the Italian refugees are already Americans. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing,

is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet.

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation; you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution; you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast. As they see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time there's an election the races are so close that they have to have a recount. They had to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rhode Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon when they ran for president. It was so close they had to count all over again. Well, what does this mean? It means that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house.

lt was the black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that. And your and my leaders have the audacity to

run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent. And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker—that's all he is—and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners. What kind of logic is that? Let Eastland be president, he's from the South too. He should be better able to deal with them than Johnson.

In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the Senate, there are 67 senators who are of the Democratic Party. Only 33 of them are Republicans. Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it? Four years in office, and just now getting around to some civil-rights legislation. Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're going to sit down now and play with you all summer long—the same old giant con game that they call filibuster. All those are in cahoots together. Don't you ever think they're not in cahoots together, for the man that is heading the civil-rights filibuster is a man from Georgia named Richard Russell. When Johnson became president, the first man he asked for when he got back to Washington, D.C., was "Dicky"—that's how tight they are. That's his boy, that's his pal, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe he's for you, and he's got it fixed where the other one is so tight against you, he never has to keep his promise.

So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kind of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know your eyes are something else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country; you should get back in the cotton patch; you should get back in the alley. They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big

jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans. We'll get to them in a minute. But it is true; you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last.

Look at it the way it is. What alibis do they use, since they control Congress and the Senate? What alibi do they use when you and I ask, "Well, when are you going to keep your promise?" They blame the Dixiecrats. What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. The titular head of the Democrats is also the head of the Dixiecrats, because the Dixiecrats are a part of the Democratic Party. The Democrats have never kicked the Dixiecrats out of the party. The Dixiecrats bolted themselves once, but the Democrats didn't put them out. Imagine, these lowdown Southern segregationists put the Northern Democrats down. But the Northern Democrats have never put the Dixiecrats down. No, look at that thing the way it is. They have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle. It's time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is.

The Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., control the key committees that run the government. The only reason the Dixiecrats control these committees is because they have seniority. The only reason they have seniority is because they come from states where Negroes can't vote. This is not even a government that's based on democracy. lt is not a government that is made up of representatives of the people. Half of the people in the South can't even vote. Eastland is not even supposed to be in Washington. Half of the senators and congressmen who occupy these key positions in Washington, D.C., are there illegally, are there unconstitutionally.

I was in Washington, D.C., a week ago Thursday, when they were debating whether or not they should let the bill come onto the floor. And in the back of the room where the Senate meets, there's a huge map of the United States, and on that map it shows the location of Negroes throughout the country. And it shows that the Southern section of the country, the states that are most heavily concentrated with Negroes, are the ones that have senators and congressmen standing up filibustering and doing all other kinds of trickery to keep the Negro from being able to vote. This is pitiful. But it's not pitiful for us any longer; it's actually pitiful for the white man,

because soon now, as the Negro awakens a little more and sees the vise that he's in, sees the bag that he's in, sees the real game that he's in, then the Negro's going to develop a new tactic.

These senators and congressmen actually violate the constitutional amendments that guarantee the people of that particular state or county the right to vote. And the Constitution itself has within it the machinery to expel any representative from a state where the voting rights of the people are violated. You don't even need new legislation. Any person in Congress right now, who is there from a state or a district where the voting rights of the people are violated, that particular person should be expelled from Congress. And when you expel him, you've removed one of the obstacles in the path of any real meaningful legislation in this country. In fact, when you expel them, you don't need new legislation, because they will be replaced by black representatives from counties and districts where the black man is in the majority, not in the minority.

If the black man in these Southern states had his full voting rights, the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D. C., which means the key Democrats in Washington, D.C., would lose their seats. The Democratic Party itself would lose its power. It would cease to be powerful as a party. When you see the amount of power that would be lost by the Democratic Party if it were to lose the Dixiecrat wing, or branch, or element, you can see where it's against the interests of the Democrats to give voting rights to Negroes in states where the Democrats have been in complete power and authority ever since the Civil War. You just can't belong to that Party without analyzing it.

I say again, I'm not anti-Democrat, I'm not anti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep. When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that my good Brother Lomax will deny that. A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. That's why, in 1964, it's time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situation where we're going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet.

In the North, they do it a different way. They have a system that's known as

gerrymandering, whatever that means. It means when Negroes become too heavily concentrated in a certain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and changes the district lines. You may say, "Why do you keep saying white man?" Because it's the white man who does it. I haven't ever seen any Negro changing any lines. They don't let him get near the line. It's the white man who does this. And usually, it's the white man who grins at you the most, and pats you on the back, and is supposed to be your friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend.

So, what I'm trying to impress upon you, in essence, is this: You and I in America are faced not with a segregationist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy. Everyone who's filibustering is a senator—that's the government. Everyone who's finagling in Washington, D.C., is a congressman—that's the government. You don't have anybody putting blocks in your path but people who are a part of the government. The same government that you go abroad to fight for and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education. You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of black people in this country. And you should drop it in their lap. This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely failed the Negro.

So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need to look at this civil-rights thing from another angle—from the inside as well as from the outside. To those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation excluded us. It kept us out. So, we're giving a new interpretation to the civil-rights struggle, an interpretation that will enable us to come into it, take part in it. And these handkerchief-heads who have been dillydallying and pussy footing and compromising—we don't intend to let them pussyfoot and dillydally and compromise any longer.

How can you thank a man for giving you what's already yours? How then can you thank him for giving you only part of what's already yours? You haven't even made progress, if what's being given to you, you should have

had already. That's not progress. And I love my Brother Lomax, the way he pointed out we're right back where we were in 1954. We're not even as far up as we were in 1954. We're behind where we were in 1954. There's more segregation now than there was in 1954. There's more racial animosity, more racial hatred, more racial violence today in 1964, than there was in 1954. Where is the progress?

And now you're facing a situation where the young Negro's coming up. They don't want to hear that "turn the-other-cheek" stuff, no. In Jacksonville, those were teenagers, they were throwing Molotov cocktails. Negroes have never done that before. But it shows you there's a new deal coming in.
There's new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death. The only difference about this kind of death—it'll be reciprocal. You know what is meant by "reciprocal"? That's one of Brother Lomax's words. I stole it from him. I don't usually deal with those big words because I don't usually deal with big people. I deal with small people. I find you can get a whole lot of small people and whip hell out of a whole lot of big people. They haven't got anything to lose, and they've got every thing to gain. And they'll let you know in a minute: "It takes two to tango; when I go, you go."

The black nationalists, those whose philosophy is black nationalism, in bringing about this new interpretation of the entire meaning of civil rights, look upon it as meaning, as Brother Lomax has pointed out, equality of opportunity. Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return—I mean without a dime in return. You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich.

You take the people who are in this audience right now. They're poor. We're all poor as individuals. Our weekly salary individually amounts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here collectively, it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's a lot of wealth. If you can collect the wages of just these people right here for a year, you'll be rich—richer than rich. When you look at it like that, think how rich Uncle Sam had to become,

not with this handful, but millions of black people. Your and my mother and father, who didn't work an eight-hour shift, but worked from "can't see" in the morning until "can't see" at night, and worked for nothing, making the white man rich, making Uncle Sam rich. This is our investment. This is our contribution, our blood.

Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."

I might stop right here to point out one thing. Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you, anyone who's depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it. And anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal. And this was pointed out by the Supreme Court decision. It outlawed segregation.

Which means segregation is against the law. Which means a segregationist is breaking the law. A segregationist is a criminal. You can't label him as anything other than that. And when you demonstrate against segregation, the law is on your side. The Supreme Court is on your side.

Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law; they are not representatives of the law. Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill that dog. Then you'll put a stop to it. Now, if these white people in here don't want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police department to pull the dogs in. That's all you have to do. If you don't do it, someone else will.

If you don't take this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and think "shame." If you don't take an uncompromising stand, I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do. And that's the way every Negro should get. Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

When we begin to get in this area, we need new friends, we need new allies. We need to expand the civil-rights struggle to a higher level—to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil-rights struggle, whether you know it or not, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. No one from the outside world can speak out in your behalf as long as your struggle is a civil-rights struggle. Civil rights comes within the domestic affairs of this country. All of our African brothers and our Asian brothers and our Latin-American brothers cannot open their mouths and interfere in the domestic affairs of the United States. And as long as it's civil rights, this comes under the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam.

But the United Nations has what's known as the charter of human rights; it has a committee that deals in human rights. You may wonder why all of the atrocities that have been committed in Africa and in Hungary and in Asia, and in Latin America are brought before the UN, and the Negro problem is never brought before the UN. This is part of the conspiracy. This old, tricky blue eyed liberal who is supposed to be your and my friend, supposed to be in our corner, supposed to be subsidizing our struggle, and supposed to be acting in the capacity of an adviser, never tells you anything about human rights. They keep you wrapped up in civil rights. And you spend so much time barking up the civil-rights tree, you don't even know there's a human-rights tree on the same floor.

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court. But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civil rights keeps you under his restrictions, under

his jurisdiction. Civil rights keeps you in his pocket. Civil rights means you're asking Uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were born with. Human rights are your God-given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. And any time any one violates your human rights, you can take them to the world court.

Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. He has the audacity—yes, he has—imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world! And you over here singing "We Shall Overcome." Expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights. Take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin-American brothers can throw their weight on our side, and where 800 million Chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on our side.

Let the world know how bloody his hands are. Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the bullet.

When you take your case to Washington, D.C., you're taking it to the criminal who's responsible; it's like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in cahoots together. They all work political chicanery and make you look like a chump before the eyes of the world. Here you are walking around in America, getting ready to be drafted and sent abroad, like a tin soldier, and when you get over there, people ask you what are you fighting for, and you have to stick your tongue in your cheek. No, take Uncle Sam to court, take him before the world.

By ballot I only mean freedom. Don't you know—I disagree with Lomax on this issue—that the ballot is more important than the dollar? Can I prove it? Yes. Look in the UN. There are poor nations in the UN; yet those poor nations can get together with their voting power and keep the rich nations from making a move. They have one nation—one vote, everyone has an equal vote. And when those brothers from Asia, and Africa and the darker parts of this earth get together, their voting power is sufficient to hold Sam in check. Or Russia in check. Or some other section of the earth in check. So, the ballot is most important.

Right now, in this country, if you and I, 22 million African-Americans—that's what we are—Africans who are in America. You're nothing but Africans. Nothing but Africans. In fact, you'd get farther calling yourself African instead of Negro. Africans don't catch hell. You're the only one catching hell. They don't have to pass civil- rights bills for Africans. An African can go anywhere he wants right now. All you've got to do is tie your head up. That's right, go anywhere you want. Just stop being a Negro. Change your name to Hoogagagooba. That'll show you how silly the white man is. You're dealing with a silly man. A friend of mine who's very dark put a turban on his head and went into a restaurant in Atlanta before they called themselves desegregated. He went into a white restaurant, he sat down, they served him, and he said, "What would happen if a Negro came in here? And there he's sitting, black as night, but because he had his head wrapped up the waitress looked back at him and says, "Why, there wouldn't no nigger dare come in here."

So, you're dealing with a man whose bias and prejudice are making him lose his mind, his intelligence, every day. He's frightened. He looks around and sees what's taking place on this earth, and he sees that the pendulum of time is swinging in your direction. The dark people are waking up. They're losing their fear of the white man. No place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting someone your and my complexion. And they're beating him. He can't win any more. He's won his last battle. He failed to win the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had to sign a truce. That's a loss.

Any time Uncle Sam, with all his machinery for warfare, is held to a draw by some rice eaters, he's lost the battle. He had to sign a truce. America's not supposed to sign a truce. She's supposed to be bad. But she's not bad any more. She's bad as long as she can use her hydrogen bomb, but she can't use hers for fear Russia might use hers. Russia can't use hers, for fear that Sam might use his. So, both of them are weapon-less. They can't use the weapon because each's weapon nullifies the other's. So the only place where action can take place is on the ground. And the white man can't win another war fighting on the ground. Those days are over The black man knows it, the brown man knows it, the red man knows it, and the yellow man knows it. So they engage him in guerrilla warfare. That's not his style. You've got to have heart to be a guerrilla warrior, and he hasn't got any heart. I'm telling you now.

I just want to give you a little briefing on guerrilla warfare because, before you know it, before you know it... It takes heart to be a guerrilla warrior because you're on your own. In conventional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to back you up—planes over your head and all that kind of stuff. But a guerrilla is on his own. All you have is a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of rice, and that's all you need—and a lot of heart. The Japanese on some of those islands in the Pacific, when the American soldiers landed, one Japanese sometimes could hold the whole army off. He'd just wait until the sun went down, and when the sun went down they were all equal. He would take his little blade and slip from bush to bush, and from American to American. The white soldiers couldn't cope with that. Whenever you see a white soldier that fought in the Pacific, he has the shakes, he has a nervous condition, because they scared him to death.

The same thing happened to the French up in French Indochina. People who just a few years previously were rice farmers got together and ran the heavily-mechanized French army out of Indochina. You don't need it—modern warfare today won't work. This is the day of the guerrilla. They did the same thing in Algeria. Algerians, who were nothing but Bedouins, took a rifle and sneaked off to the hills, and de Gaulle and all of his highfalutin' war machinery couldn't defeat those guerrillas. Nowhere on this earth does the white man win in a guerrilla warfare. It's not his speed. Just as guerrilla warfare is prevailing in Asia and in parts of Africa and in parts of Latin America, you've got to be mighty naive, or you've got to play the black man cheap, if you don't think some day he's going to wake up and find that it's got to be the ballot or the bullet.

I would like to say, in closing, a few things concerning the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, which we established recently in New York City. It's true we're Muslims and our religion is Islam, but we don't mix our religion with our politics and our economics and our social and civil activities—not any more We keep our religion in our mosque. After our religious services are over, then as Muslims we become involved in political action, economic action and social and civic action. We become involved with anybody, any where, any time and in any manner that's designed to eliminate the evils, the political, economic and social evils that are afflicting the people of our community.

The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man

should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket.

The political philosophy of black nationalism is being taught in the Christian church. It's being taught in the NAACP. It's being taught in CORE meetings. It's being taught in SNCC Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee meetings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists and agnostics come together. It's being taught everywhere. Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

The economic philosophy of black nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks of our community? Why should the economy of our community be in the hands of the white man? Why? If a black man can't move his store into a white community, you tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community. The philosophy of black nationalism involves a re-education program in the black community in regards to economics. Our people have to be made to see that any time you take your dollar out of your community and spend it in a community where you don't live, the community where you live will get poorer and poorer, and the community where you spend your money will get richer and richer.

Then you wonder why where you live is always a ghetto or a slum area. And where you and I are concerned, not only do we lose it when we spend it out of the community, but the white man has got all our stores in the community tied up; so that though we spend it in the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across town somewhere. He's got us in a vise.

So the economic philosophy of black nationalism means in every church, in every civic organization, in every fraternal order, it's time now for our

people to become conscious of the importance of controlling the economy of our community. If we own the stores, if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg some cracker downtown for a job in his business.

The social philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community. We our selves have to lift the level of our community, the standard of our community to a higher level, make our own society beautiful so that we will be satisfied in our own social circles and won't be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where we're not wanted. So I say, in spreading a gospel such as black nationalism, it is not designed to make the black man re-evaluate the white man—you know him already—but to make the black man re-evaluate himself.

Don't change the white man's mind—you can't change his mind, and that whole thing about appealing to the moral conscience of America—America's conscience is bankrupt. She lost all conscience a long time ago. Uncle Sam has no conscience.

They don't know what morals are. They don't try and eliminate an evil because it's evil, or because it's illegal, or because it's immoral; they eliminate it only when it threatens their existence. So you're wasting your time appealing to the moral conscience of a bankrupt man like Uncle Sam. If he had a conscience, he'd straighten this thing out with no more pressure being put upon him. So it is not necessary to change the white man's mind. We have to change our own mind. You can't change his mind about us. We've got to change our own minds about each other. We have to see each other with new eyes. We have to see each other as brothers and sisters. We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves. How can we do this? How can we avoid jealousy? How can we avoid the suspicion and the divisions that exist in the community? I'll tell you how.

I have watched how Billy Graham comes into a city, spreading what he calls the gospel of Christ, which is only white nationalism. That's what he is.

Billy Graham is a white nationalist; I'm a black nationalist. But since it's the natural tendency for leaders to be jealous and look upon a powerful figure like Graham with suspicion and envy, how is it possible for him to come into a city and get all the cooperation of the church leaders? Don't think because they're church leaders that they don't have weaknesses that make them envious and jealous—no, everybody's got it. It's not an accident that when they want to choose a cardinal, as Pope I over there in Rome, they get in a closet so you can't hear them cussing and fighting and carrying on.

Billy Graham comes in preaching the gospel of Christ. He evangelizes the gospel. He stirs everybody up, but he never tries to start a church. If he came in trying to start a church, all the churches would be against him. So, he just comes in talking about Christ and tells everybody who gets Christ to go to any church where Christ is; and in this way the church cooperates with him. So we're going to take a page from his book.

Our gospel is black nationalism. We're not trying to threaten the existence of any organization, but we're spreading the gospel of black nationalism. Anywhere there's a church that is also preaching and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join that church. If the NAACP is preaching and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join the NAACP. If CORE is spreading and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join CORE. Join any organization that has a gospel that's for the uplift of the black man. And when you get into it and see them pussyfooting or compromising, pull out of it because that's not black nationalism. We'll find another one.

And in this manner, the organizations will increase in number and in quantity and in quality, and by August, it is then our intention to have a black nationalist convention which will consist of delegates from all over the country who are interested in the political, economic and social philosophy of black nationalism. After these delegates convene, we will hold a seminar; we will hold discussions; we will listen to everyone. We want to hear new ideas and new solutions and new answers. And at that time, if we see fit then to form a black nationalist party, we'll form a black nationalist party. If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death.

It's time for you and me to stop sitting in this country, letting some cracker senators, Northern crackers and Southern crackers, sit there in

Washington, D.C., and come to a conclusion in their mind that you and I are supposed to have civil rights. There's no white man going to tell me anything about my rights. Brothers and sisters, always remember, if it doesn't take senators and congressmen and presidential proclamations to give freedom to the white man, it is not necessary for legislation or proclamation or Supreme Court decisions to give freedom to the black man. You let that white man know, if this is a country of freedom, let it be a country of freedom; and if it's not a country of freedom, change it.

We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, non-violently as long as the enemy is non-violent, but violent when the enemy gets violent. We'll work with you on the voter-registration drive, we'll work with you on rent strikes, we'll work with you on school boycotts; I don't believe in any kind of integration; I'm not even worried about it, because I know you're not going to get it anyway; you're not going to get it because you're afraid to die; you've got to be ready to die if you try and force yourself on the white man, because he'll get just as violent as those crackers in Mississippi, right here in Cleveland. But we will still work with you on the school boycotts because we're against a segregated school system. A segregated school system produces children who, when they graduate, graduate with crippled minds. But this does not mean that a school is segregated because it's all black. A segregated school means a school that is controlled by people who have no real interest in it whatsoever.

Let me explain what I mean. A segregated district or community is a community in which people live, but outsiders control the politics and the economy of that community. They never refer to the white section as a segregated community. It's the all-Negro section that's a segregated community. Why? The white man controls his own school, his own bank, his own economy, his own politics, his own everything, his own community; but he also controls yours. When you're under someone else's control, you're segregated. They'll always give you the lowest or the worst that there is to offer, but it doesn't mean you're segregated just because you have your own. You've got to control your own. Just like the white man has control of his, you need to control yours.

You know the best way to get rid of segregation? The white man is more afraid of separation than he is of integration. Segregation means that he puts you away from him, but not far enough for you to be out of his

jurisdiction; separation means you're gone. And the white man will integrate faster than he'll let you separate. So we will work with you against the segregated school system because it's criminal, because it is absolutely destructive, in every way imaginable, to the minds of the children who have to be exposed to that type of crippling education.

Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. The only thing that I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the lives and the property of Negroes, it's time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number two of the constitutional amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle. This doesn't mean you're going to get a rifle and form battalions and go out looking for white folks, although you'd be within your rights—I mean, you'd be justified; but that would be illegal and we don't do anything illegal. If the white man doesn't want the black man buying rifles and shotguns, then let the government do its job. That's all. And don't let the white man come to you and ask you what you think about what Malcolm says—why, you old Uncle Tom. He would never ask you if he thought you were going to say, "Amen!" No, he is making a Tom out of you. So, this doesn't mean forming rifle clubs and going out looking for people, but it is time, in 1964, if you are a man, to let that man know.

If he's not going to do his job in running the government and providing you and me with the protection that our taxes are supposed to be for, since he spends all those billions for his defense budget, he certainly can't begrudge you and me spending $12 or $15 for a single-shot, or double-action. I hope you understand. Don't go out shooting people, but any time—brothers and sisters, and especially the men in this audience; some of you wearing Congressional Medals of Honor, with shoulders this wide, chests this big, muscles that big—any time you and I sit around and read where they bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grownups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same God the white man taught them to pray to, and you and I see the government go down and can't find who did it.

Why, this man—he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American soldiers, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send

troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections—this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country.

No, if you never see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the ballot or the bullet.

If a Negro in 1964 has to sit around and wait for some cracker senator to filibuster when it comes to the rights of black people, why, you and I should hang our heads in shame. You talk about a march on Washington in 1963, you haven't seen anything. There's some more going down in '64.

And this time they're not going like they went last year. They're not going singing "We Shall Overcome." They're not going with white friends. They're not going with placards already painted for them. They're not going with round-trip tickets. They're going with one way tickets. And if they don't want that non-nonviolent army going down there, tell them to bring the filibuster to a halt.

The black nationalists aren't going to wait. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Democratic Party. If he's for civil rights, let him go into the Senate next week and declare himself. Let him go in there right now and declare himself. Let him go in there and denounce the Southern branch of his party. Let him go in there right now and take a moral stand—right now, not later. Tell him don't wait until election time. If he waits too long, brothers and sisters, he will be responsible for letting a condition develop in this country which will create a climate that will bring seeds up out of the ground with vegetation on the end of them looking like something these people never dreamed of. In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet. Thank you.

# The Black Revolution
# (April 8, 1964)

Mr. Moderator, ladies and gentlemen, friends and enemies. Tonight I hope that we can have a little fireside chat with as few sparks as possible being tossed around. Especially because of the very explosive condition that the world is in today. Sometimes, when a person's house is on fire and someone comes in yelling fire, instead of the person who is awakened by the yell being thankful, he makes the mistake of charging the one who awakened him with having set the fire. I hope that this little conversation tonight about the black revolution won't cause many of you to accuse us of igniting it when you find it at your doorstep.

I am still a Muslim. That is, my religion is still Islam. I still believe that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah. That just happens to be my personal religion, but in the capacity that I'm functioning in today, I have no intention to mix my religion, with the problems of 22 million black people in this country. just as it's possible for a great man, whom I greatly respect, Ben Bella, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and another one whom I greatly respect, Gamal Nasser, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and Sukharno, of Indonesia, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, it was nationalism that enabled them to gain freedom for their people.

I'm still a Muslim but I'm also a nationalist, meaning that my political philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black nationalism, my social philosophy is black nationalism, and when I say that this philosophy of black nationalism...to me, this means, that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, black people, to gain complete control over the politics and politicians of our own community. Our economic philosophy is that we should gain control over the economy of our community, the businesses and other things that create employment so that we can provide jobs for our own people instead of having to picket and boycott and beg someone else for a job. And in short our social philosophy only means that we feel it is time to get together among our own kind and eliminate the evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our society like drug addiction, drunkenness, welfare problems. We believe that we should lift the level or the standard

of our own society to a higher level wherein we will be satisfied and then not inclined towards pushing ourselves into other societies where we're not wanted. All of that aside, tonight we're dealing with the black revolution.

During recent years there has been much talk about a population explosion. Whenever they are speaking of the population explosion, in my opinion, they are referring to the people primarily in Asia or in Africa— the black, brown, red, and yellow people. It is seen by people of the West that, as soon as the standard of living is raised in Africa and Asia, automatically the people begin to reproduce abundantly. And there has been a great deal of fear engendered by this in the minds of the people of the West, who happen to be, on this earth, a very small minority.

In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see that fear in their minds, conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually overrun the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood. And the fear of this can be seen in the minds, and in the actions, of most of the people here in the West in practically everything that they do. It governs their political views, it governs their economic views and it governs most of their attitudes toward the present society.

I was listening to Dirksen, the senator from Illinois, in Washington D.C. filibustering the Civil Rights Bill and one of the things that he kept stressing over and over and over was that if this bill is passed, it will change the social structure of America. Well, I know what he's getting at, and I think that most other people today, and especially our people, know what is meant when these whites, who filibuster these bills, express fears of changes in the social structure. Our people are beginning to realize what they mean.

Just as we can see that all over the world one of the main problems facing the West is race, likewise here in America today, most of your Negro leaders as well as the whites agree that 1964 itself appears to be one of the most explosive years yet in the history of America on the racial front, on the racial scene. Not only is this racial explosion probably to take place in America, but all of the ingredients for this racial explosion in America to blossom into a world-wide racial explosion present themselves right here in front of us. America's racial powder keg, in short, can actually fuse or

ignite a world- wide racial powder keg.

And whites in this country who are still complacent when they see the possibilities of racial strife getting out of hand. You are complacent simply because you think you outnumber the racial minority in this country; what you have to bear in mind is wherein you might outnumber us in this country, you don't outnumber us all over the earth.

Any kind of racial explosion that takes place in this country today, in 1964, is not a racial explosion that can be confined to the shores of America. It is a racial explosion that can ignite the racial powder keg that exists all over the planet that we call Earth. Now, I think that anybody would agree that the dark masses of Africa and Asia and Latin America are already seething with bitterness, animosity, hostility and unrest, and impatience with the racial intolerance that they themselves have experienced at the hands of the white West.

And just as they themselves have the ingredients of hostility toward the West in general, here we also have 22 million African-Americans, black, brown, red, and yellow people, in this country who are also seething with bitterness and impatience and hostility and animosity over the racial intolerance not only of the white West but of white America in particular.

And by the hundreds of thousands today we find that our own people have become impatient, and turning away from your white nationalism, which you call democracy, toward the militant, uncompromising philosophy of black nationalism. And I might point out right here that as soon as we announced we were going to start a black nationalist party in this country, we received mail from coast to coast, especially from young people at the college level, the university level, who expressed complete sympathy and support and a desire to take an active part in any kind of political action based upon black nationalism, designed to correct or eliminate immediately the evils that our people have suffered here for 400 years.

The black nationalists, to many of you, may represent only a minority in the community. And therefore you might have a tendency to classify them as something insignificant. But just as the fuse is the smallest part or the smallest piece in the powder keg, it is yet that little fuse that ignites the entire powder keg. The black nationalists, to you, may represent a small minority in the so-called Negro community. But yet they just happen to be

composed of the type of ingredients necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community.

And this is one thing that whites—whether you call yourselves liberals or conservatives or racists or whatever you might choose to be—one thing that you have to realize is that, where the black community is concerned, although the large majority that you come in contact with may impress you as being moderate and patient and loving and long-suffering and all that kind of stuff, the minority whom you consider to be Muslims or nationalists happen to be made of the type of ingredient that can easily spark the black community. This should be understood. Because to me a powder keg is nothing without a fuse.

1964 will be America's hottest year; her hottest year yet; a year of much racial violence and much racial bloodshed. But it won't be blood that's going to flow only on one side. The new generation of black people that have grown up in this country during recent years are already forming the opinion, and it's a just opinion, that if there is to be bleeding, it should be reciprocal—bleeding on both sides.

It should also be understood that the racial sparks that are ignited here in America today could easily turn into a flaming fire abroad, which only means it could engulf all the people of this earth into a giant race war. You can't confine it to one little neighborhood, or one little community, or one little country. What happens to a black man in America today happens to the black man in Africa. What happens to the black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us. And when this is realized, I think that the whites who are intelligent—even if they aren't moral or aren't just or aren't impressed by legalities—those who are intelligent will realize that when they touch this one, they are touching all of them, and this in itself will have a tendency to be a checking factor.

The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. I was in Cleveland last night, Cleveland, Ohio. In fact I was there Friday, Saturday and yesterday. Last Friday the warning was given that this is a year of bloodshed, that the black man has ceased to turn the other cheek, that he has ceased to be nonviolent, that he has ceased to feel that he must be confined by all these restraints that are put upon him by white society in struggling for what white society says he was supposed to have had a

hundred years ago. So today, when the black man starts reaching out for what America says are his rights, the black man feels that he is within his rights—when he becomes the victim of brutality by those who are depriving him of his rights—to do whatever is necessary to protect himself. An example of this was taking place last night at this same time in Cleveland, where the police were putting water hoses on our people there and also throwing tear gas at them—and they met a hail of stones, a hail of rocks, a hail of bricks. A couple of weeks ago in Jacksonville, Florida, a young teenage Negro was throwing Molotov cocktails.

Now, Negroes didn't do this ten years ago. But what you should learn from this is that they are waking up. It was stones yesterday, Molotov cocktails today, it will be hand grenades tomorrow and whatever else is available the next day. The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. You should not feel that I am inciting someone to violence. I'm only warning of a powder-keg situation. You can take it or leave it. If you take the warning, perhaps you can still save yourself. But if you ignore it or ridicule it, well, death is already at your doorstep. There are 22 million African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any nonviolent fight, or turn-the-other-cheek fight. Those days are gone. Those days are over.

If George Washington didn't get independence for this country nonviolently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a nonviolent statement, and you taught me to look upon them as patriots and heroes, then it's time for you to realize that I have studied your books well. Our people, 22 million African-Americans are fed up with America's hypocritical democracy. And today we care nothing about the odds that are against us. Every time a black man gets ready to defend himself some Uncle Tom starts telling us, how can you win? That's Tom talking, don't listen to him. This is the first thing we hear, the odds are against us. You're dealing with black people who don't care anything about odds. We care nothing about odds. Again, I go right back to the people who founded and who secured the independence of this country from the colonial powers of England. When George Washington and the others got ready to come up with a Declaration of Independence, they didn't care anything about the odds of the British Empire. They were fed up with taxation without representation. And you've got 22 million black people in this country today, 1964, who are fed up with taxation without representation and will do the same thing. Who are ready, willing and justified to do the

same thing today to bring about independence for our people that your forefathers did to bring about independence for your people. And I say your people, because I certainly couldn't include myself among those for whom independence was fought in 1776. How in the world can a negro talk about the Declaration of Independence and he's still singing "We Shall Overcome." Our people increasingly are developing the opinion that we just have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship.

So 1964 will see the Negro revolt evolve and merge into the worldwide black revolution that has been taking place on this earth since 1945. The so-called revolt will become a real black revolution. Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and Latin America; when I say black, I mean non-white—black, brown, red or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia, who were colonized by the Europeans, our brothers and sisters in Africa, who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialists, or the colonizing powers, the Europeans, off their land, out of their country.

This is a real revolution. Revolution is always based on land. Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love-your-enemy and pray-for-those-who-despitefully-use-you. And revolutions are never waged singing "We Shall Overcome." Revolutions are based on bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems. And there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal, than this system that in 1964 still colonizes 22 million African-Americans, still enslaves 22 million Afro-Americans. There is no system more corrupt than a system that represents itself as the example of freedom, the example of democracy, and can go all over this earth telling other people how to straighten out their house, when you have citizens of this country who have to use bullets if they want to cast a ballot.

The greatest weapon the colonial powers have used in the past against our people has always been divide-and-conquer. America is a colonial power.

She has colonized 22 million Afro-Americans by depriving us of first-class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights. She has not only deprived us of the right to be a citizen, she has deprived us of the right to be human beings, the right to be recognized and respected as men and women. And in this country the black can be fifty years old and he is still a "boy."

I grew up with white people. I was integrated before they invented the word and I have never met white people yet—if you are around them long enough—who won't refer to you as a "boy" or a "gal," no matter how old you are no matter what school you came out of, no matter what your intellectual or professional level is. In this society we remain "boys."

So America's strategy is the same strategy as that which was used in the past by the colonial powers: divide and conquer. She plays one Negro leader against the other. She plays one Negro organization against the other. She makes us think that we have different objectives, different goals. As soon as one Negro says something, she runs to this Negro and asks him, "What do you think about what he said?" Why, anybody can see through that today—except some of the Negro leaders.

All of our people have the same goals, the same objective: freedom, justice, equality. All of us want recognition and respect as human beings. We don't want to be integrationists. Nor do we want to be separationists. We want to be human beings. Integration is only a method that is used by some groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality and respect as human beings. Separation is only a method that is used by other groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality or human dignity.

Our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on objectives, we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods or tactics or strategy to reach a common objective.

We have to keep in mind at all times that we aren't fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is, human rights. We are fighting for human rights in 1964. This is a shame. The civil rights struggle has failed to produced concrete results because it has kept us barking up the wrong tree. It has

made us put the cart ahead of the horse. We must have human rights before we can secure civil rights. We must be respected as humans before we can be recognized as citizens.

Among the so-called Negroes in this country. As a rule the civil rights groups, those who believe in civil rights, spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic, confined to the boundaries of America, and they always look upon themselves as a minority. When they look upon themselves on the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So a black man standing on that stage in America automatically is in the minority. He is the underdog, and in his struggle he always uses an approach that's a begging, hat-in-hand, compromising approach.

Whereas the other segment or section in America, known as the black nationalists, are more interested in human rights than they are in civil rights. And they place more stress on human rights than they do on civil rights. The difference between the thinking and the scope of the Negroes who are involved in the human-rights struggle and those who are involved in the civil-rights struggle is that those so-called Negroes involved in the human-rights struggle don't look upon themselves as Americans. They look upon themselves as a part of dark mankind. They see the whole struggle, not within the confines of the American stage, but they look upon the struggle on the world stage. And, in the world context, they see that the dark man outnumbers the white man. On the world stage the white man is just a microscopic minority.

So in this country you find two different types of Afro-Americans—the type who looks upon himself as a minority and you as the majority, because his scope is limited to the American scene; and then you have the type who looks upon himself as part of the majority and you as part of a microscopic minority. And this one uses a different approach in trying to struggle for his rights. He doesn't beg. He doesn't thank you for what you give him, because you are only giving him what he should have had a hundred years ago. He doesn't think you are doing him any favors.

He doesn't see any progress that he has made since the Civil War. He sees not one iota of progress because, number one, if the Civil War had freed him, he wouldn't need civil-rights legislation today. If the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by that great shining liberal called Lincoln, had

freed him, he wouldn't be singing "We Shall Overcome" today. If the amendments to the Constitution had solved his problem, his problem wouldn't still be here today. And if the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954 was genuinely and sincerely designed to solve his problem, the problem wouldn't be with us today.

So this kind of black man is thinking. He can see where every maneuver that America has made, supposedly to solve this problem, has been nothing but political trickery and treachery of the worst order. So today he doesn't have any confidence in these so-called liberals. I know that all that have come in here tonight don't call yourselves liberals. Because that's a nasty name today. It represents hypocrisy. So these two different types of black people exist in the so-called Negro community and they are beginning to wake up and their awakening is producing a very dangerous situation.

So you have whites in the community who express sincerity when they say they want to help. Well, how can they help? How can a white person help the black man solve his problem? Number one, you can't solve it for him. You can help him solve it, but you can't solve it for him today. One of the best ways that you can help him solve it is to let the so-called Negro, who has been involved in the civil-rights struggle, see that the civil-rights struggle must be expanded beyond the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. Once it is expanded beyond the level of civil rights to the level of human rights, it opens the door for all of our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia, who have their independence, to come to our rescue.

Why? When you go to Washington, D.C., expecting those crooks down there—and that's what they are—to pass some kind of civil-rights legislation to correct a very criminal situation, what you are doing is encouraging the black man, who is the victim, to take his case into the court that's controlled by the criminal that made him the victim. It will never be solved in that way. It's like running from the wolf to the fox.

The civil-rights struggle involves the black man taking his case to the white man's court. But when he fights it at the human-rights level, it is a different situation. It opens the door for him to take Uncle Sam to the world court. The black man shouldn't have to go to court to be free. Uncle Sam should be taken to court and made to tell why the black man is not free in a so-called free society. Uncle Sam should be taken into the United Nations and

charged with violating the UN charter of human rights.

You can forget civil rights. How are you going to get civil rights with men like Eastland and men like Dirksen and men like Johnson? It has to be taken out of their hands and taken into the hands of those whose power and authority exceeds theirs. Washington has become too corrupt. Uncle Sam has become bankrupt when it comes to a conscience—it's impossible for Uncle Sam to solve the problem of 22 million black people in this country. It is absolutely impossible to do it in Uncle Sam's courts— whether it's the Supreme Court or any other kind of court that comes under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction.

The only alternative that the black man in America has today is to take it out of Senator Dirksen's and Senator Eastland's and President Johnson's jurisdiction and take it downtown on the East River and place it before that body of men who represent international law, and let them know that the human rights of black people are being violated in a country that professes to be the moral leader of the free world.

Any time you have a filibuster in America, in the Senate, in 1964 over the rights of 22 million black people, over the citizenship of 22 million black people, or that will affect the freedom and justice and the equality of 22 million black people, it's time for that government itself to be taken before a world court. How can you condemn South Africa? There's only 11 million of our people in South Africa, there are 22 million of them here. And we are receiving an injustice which is just as criminal as that which is being done to the black people of South Africa.

So today those whites who profess to be liberals— and as far as I am concerned it's just lip-profession—you understand why our people don't have civil rights. You're white. You can go and hang out with another white liberal and see how hypocritical they are. Why a lot of you sitting right here know that you've seen whites up in a Negro's face with flowery words, and as soon as that Negro walks away you listen to how your white friend talks. We have black people who can pass as white. We know how you talk.

We can see that it is nothing but a governmental conspiracy to continue to deprive the black people in this country of their rights. And the only way we will get those rights restored is by taking it out of Uncle Sam's hands. Take him to court and charge him with genocide, the mass murder

of millions of black people in this country—political murder, economic murder, social murder, mental murder. This is the crime that this government has committed, and if you yourself don't do something about it in time, you are going to open the doors for something to be done about it from outside forces.

I read in the paper yesterday where one of the Supreme Court justices, Goldberg, was crying about the violation of human rights of three million Jews in the Soviet Union. Imagine this. I haven't got anything against the Jews, but that's their problem. How in the world are you going to cry about problems on the other side of the world and you haven't got the problems straightened out here? How can the plight of three million Jews in Russia be qualified to be taken to the United Nations by a man who is a justice in this Supreme Court, and is supposed to be a liberal, supposed to be a friend of black people, and hasn't opened up his mouth one time about taking the plight of black people down there to the United Nations?

Our people are becoming more politically mature. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see the trends in all of the American politics today. They notice that every time there's an election, it's so close among whites that they have to count the votes over again. This happened in Massachusetts when they were running for Governor. It happened in Rhode Island. It happened in Minnesota and many other places and it happened in the election between Kennedy and Nixon. Things are so close that any minority who has a bloc vote can swing it either way. And I think most of the students of political science agree that it was the 80 per cent support that Kennedy got from the black man in this country that enabled him to sit in the White House. He sat down there four years and the Negro is still in the dog house. Same ones that we put in the white house have continued to keep us in the dog house. The Negro can see that he holds the balance of power in this country politically. It is he who puts in office the one who gets in office. Yet when the Negro helps that person get in office the Negro gets nothing in return. All he gets is a few appointments, a few handpicked, Uncle Tom, handkerchief head Negroes are given big jobs in Washington D.C. And then those Negroes come back and try and make us think that administration is going to lead us to the promised land of integration. And the only ones whose problem has been solved have been those hand-picked Negroes. A few big Negroes got jobs who didn't even need the job. They already were working. But the masses of black people are still unemployed.

The present administration, the Democratic administration has been down there for four years, yet no meaningful legislation has been passed by them that's supposed to benefit black people in this country. Despite the fact that in the House they have 257 Democrats and only 177 are Republican, they control two-thirds of the house in the Senate there are 67 Democrats and only 33 Republicans, the Democrats control two-thirds of the government and it's the Negro who put him in position to control the government yet they give the Negro nothing in return but a few handouts in the form of appointments that are only used as window dressing to make it appear that the problem is being solved.

No, something is wrong. And when these black people wake up and find out for real the trickery and the treachery that has been heaped upon us, you're going to have revolution. And when I say a revolution, I don't mean that stuff they were talking about last year, about "We Shall Overcome." That's no revolution. The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, yet the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use, they blame the Dixiecrats. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. You show me a Dixiecrat and I'll show you a Democrat. And chances are, you show me a Democrat and I'll show you a Dixiecrat. Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border. There are sixteen senatorial committees that run this government. Of the sixteen senatorial committees that run the government, ten of them are controlled by chairmen who are from the south. Of the twenty congressional committees that help run the government, twelve of them are controlled by southern segregationists. Think of this. Ten of the senatorial committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats. Twelve of the twenty congressional committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats. These committees control the government. And you gonna tell us that the south lost the Civil War. The south controls the government. And they control it because they have seniority. And they have seniority because in the states that they come from, they deny Negroes the right to vote.

If Negroes could vote south of the—yes, if Negroes could vote south of the Canadian border—south South, if Negroes could vote in the southern part of the South, Ellender wouldn't be the head of the Agricultural and Forestry Commission, Richard Russell wouldn't be head of the Armed Services Commission, Robertson of Virginia wouldn't be the head of the Banking and Currency Committee. Imagine that, all of the banking and

currency of the government is in the hands of a cracker.

In fact, when you see how many of these committee men who control the government are from the South, you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D.C. And their head is a cracker president. I said a cracker president. Texas is just as much a cracker state as Mississippi. Even more so. In Texas, they lynch you with a Texas accent, in Mississippi, they lynch you with a Mississippi accent.

The first thing this man did when he came in office was invite all the big Negroes down for coffee. James Farmer was one of the first ones, the head of CORE. I have nothing against him. He's all right—Farmer, that is. But could that same president have invited James Farmer to Texas for coffee? And if James Farmer went to Texas, could he have taken his white wife with him to have coffee with the president? Any time you have a man who can't straighten out Texas, how can he straighten out the country? No, you're barking up the wrong tree.

If Negroes in the South could vote, the Dixiecrats would lose power. When the Dixiecrats lost power, the Democrats would lose power. A Dixiecrat lost is a Democrat lost. Therefore the two of them have to conspire with each other to stay in power. The Northern Dixiecrat puts all the blame on the Southern Dixiecrat. It's a con game, a giant political con game. The job of the Northern Democrat is to make the Negro think that he is our friend. He is always smiling and wagging his tail and telling us how much he can do for us if we vote for him. But at the same time that he's out in front telling us what he's going to do, behind the door he's in cahoots with the Southern Democrat setting up the machinery to make sure he'll never have to keep his promise.

This is the conspiracy that our people have faced in this country for the past one hundred years. And today you have a new generation of black people who have come on the scene, who have become disenchanted with the entire system, who have become disillusioned over the system, and who are ready now and willing to do something about it.

So, in my conclusion, in speaking about the black revolution, America today is at a time or in a day or at an hour where she is the first country on this earth who can actually have a bloodless revolution. In the past, revolutions have been bloody. Historically you just don't have a peaceful

revolution. Revolutions are bloody, revolutions are violent, revolutions cause bloodshed and death follows in their paths. America is the only country in history in a position to bring about a revolution without violence and bloodshed. But America is not morally equipped to do so.

Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power, and if the Negro in this country were given what the Constitution says he is supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all of the racists and the segregationists out of office. It would change the entire political structure of the country. It would wipe out the Southern segregationism that now controls America's foreign policy, as well as America's domestic policy.

And the only way without bloodshed that this can be brought about is that the black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the fifty states. But if the black man doesn't get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet.

Revolutions are fought to get control of land, to remove the absentee landlord and gain control of the land and the institutions that flow from that land. The black man has been in a very low condition because he has had no control whatsoever over any land. He has been a beggar economically, a beggar politically, a beggar socially, a beggar even when it comes to trying to get some education. In the past type of mentality, that was developed in this colonial system among our people, that today is being overcome. And as the young ones come up, they know what they want. And as they listen to your beautiful preaching about democracy and all those other flowery words, they know what they're supposed to have.

So you got a people today who not only know what they want, but also know what they are supposed to have. And they themselves are creating another generation that is coming up that not only will know what it wants and know what it should have, but also will be ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately. Thank you.

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[Question about the accuracy of The Militant]

Malcolm X: I've never found any misquote in The Militant of us, and I think any white newspaper, and I guess that's what it is, that can quote a black man correctly is certainly a militant newspaper.

[Question about school integration and the Freedom Now Party]

Malcolm X: If I understood you correctly you asked two questions: Number one—am I in favor of integration in the public schools? And number two—am I in favor of the Freedom Now Party? Insofar as integration in the public schools is concerned, I don't know anywhere in America where they have an integrated school system, North or South. If they don't have it in New York City, they definitely never will have it in Mississippi. And anything that won't work I'm not in favor of. Anything that's not practical I'm not in favor of.

This doesn't mean I'm for a segregated school system. We are well aware of the crippled minds that are produced by a segregated school system, and when Rev. Galamison was involved in a boycott against this segregated school system, we supported it. This doesn't make me an integrationist, nor does it make me believe that integration is going to work; but Galamison and I agree that a segregated school system is detrimental to the academic diet, so-called diet, of the children who go to that school. But a segregated school system isn't necessarily the same situation that exists in an all-white neighborhood. A school system in an all-white neighborhood is not a segregated school system. The only time it's segregated is when it is in a community that is other than white, but at the same time is controlled by the whites.

So my understanding of a segregated school system, or a segregated community, or a segregated school, is a school that's controlled by people other than those that go there. But in an all-white neighborhood, where you have an all-white school, that's not a segregated school. Usually they have a high-caliber education. Anytime someone else can put on you what they want, naturally you're going to have something that's inferior. So the schools in Harlem are not controlled by the people in Harlem, they're controlled by the man downtown. And the man downtown takes all of the tax dollars and spends them elsewhere, but he keeps the schools, the school facilities, the schoolteachers, and the schoolbooks, material, in Harlem at the very lowest level. So this produces a segregated education, which

doesn't do our people any good. On the other hand, if we can get an all-black school, that we can control, staff it ourselves with the type of teachers that have our good at heart, with the type of books that have in them many of the missing ingredients that have produced this inferiority complex in our people, then we don't feel that an all-black school is necessarily a segregated school. It's only segregated when it's controlled by someone from outside.

I hope I'm making my point. I just can't see where if white people can go to a white classroom and there are no Negroes present and it doesn't affect the academic diet they're receiving, then I don't see where an all-black classroom can be affected by the absence of white children. If the absence of black children doesn't affect white students, I don't see how the absence of whites is going to affect the blacks. So, what the integrationists, in my opinion, are saying, when they say that whites and blacks must go to school together, is that the whites are so much superior that just their presence in a black classroom balances it out. I can't go along with that. Yes, ma'am?

[Question again about the Freedom Now Party]

Malcolm X: The Freedom Now Party—I don't know too much about it, but what I know about it, I like.

[Question about whites too being hurt by Congressional filibusters]

Malcolm X: If I understood you correctly, you were saying that those white senators and congressmen there that are filibustering and other things have done whites as much harm as they've done blacks. I just can't quite go along with that. You see, it's the black man who sits on the hot stove. You might stand near it but you don't sit on it.

[Questions in writing—about white radicals and African misleaders]

Malcolm X: A question sent up: "Can black people achieve their freedom without the help of white radicals, who have more experience at fighting?" And the second question is—this is from a real white liberal, "Some black leaders, even in Africa, are misleading their people," and he says, "I mean Nasser too." I know this is from a liberal. I can even tell what geographic area he's from. In regard to the first question—Can black people achieve their freedom without the help of white radicals, who have more

experience at fighting?—all of the freedom that white people have gotten in this country and elsewhere: they haven't gotten it just fighting themselves. You've always had someone else to do your fighting for you. You perhaps haven't realized it. England became powerful because she had others to fight for her. She used the African against the Asian and the Asian against the African. France used the Senegalese. All these white powers have had some little lackeys to do their fighting for them, and America has had 22 million African-Americans to do your fighting for you. It is we who have fought your battles for you, and have picked your cotton for you. We built this house that you're living in. It was our labor that built this house. You sat beneath the old cotton tree telling us how long to work or how hard to work, but it was our labor, our sweat and our blood that made this country what it is, and we're the only ones who haven't benefited from it. All we're saying today is, it's payday—retroactive.

And where this gentleman said some black leaders in Africa also mislead their people, I guess you're talking about black leaders like Tshombe, but not—One of the greatest black leaders was Lumumba. Lumumba was the rightful ruler of the Congo. He was deposed with American aid. It was America, the State Department of this country, that brought Kasavubu to this country, interceded for him at the UN, used its power to make certain that Kasavubu would be seated as the rightful or recognized ruler of the Congo. And as soon as Kasavubu, with American support, became the ruler of the Congo, he went back to the Congo, and his first act upon returning home was to turn Lumumba over to Tshombe. So you can easily see whose hand it was behind the murder of Lumumba. And chickens come home to roost.

And then you mention Nasser. Well, I think that's a subjective, subconscious reaction on your part, the fact that you included Nasser's name—I know who you are. Before the Egyptian revolution, Farouk was a monarch in Egypt who had exploited the people with the aid of the West. Naguib and Nasser brought about a revolution, and those who have visited the African continent today will tell you, if they are objective in their observations, that Egypt is one of the most highly industrialized nations on the African continent—the only other nation is a white nation and that's South Africa. But under Nasser the Egyptians have become a highly industrialized nation; they're trying to elevate the standard of living of their people.

You'll find that there's a tendency in the West to have the attitude toward any African leader who has the mass support of his people—usually the West classifies him as a dictator. And I can name them. Nkrumah is called a dictator because he has his people with him; Nasser is called a dictator, Ben Bella is a dictator, Sekou Toure is called a dictator—all of these people who are called dictators by the West usually are classified by the West as anti-West, because the West can't tell them what to do. Yes, ma'am?

[Question about going to the United Nations]

Malcolm X: And this is one of the reasons why— the lady asked do we have any feasible plan of bringing this fight to the UN. The very fact that there has been a civil rights struggle, since 1954 actually, and at no time have any of the Negro civil rights leaders made any effort to take it before the United Nations—that right there should give you a hint that there's a conspiracy involved. When every other underdog on this earth—I mean some of the underdogs way out in the South Pacific— have had their plight taken to the UN; people who don't even know where the UN is—still the UN is arguing about their situation. And here we have 22 million black people surrounding the UN, and nothing concerning their plight is taken to the UN. Don't tell me that it's not an atrocity. Any time a church is bombed—there's no more outright example of the violation of human rights than when you are sitting in church and have it bombed, and four little black babies are murdered. And [when] that still doesn't reach the UN, then I say there's a conspiracy.

So our contention is that the white liberals, so-called liberals, infiltrated the civil rights movement, and got the black people barking up the wrong tree. Because white people are intelligent enough to know that the problem will never be solved in Washington, D.C. There are crooks there, but you can take the crooks who are in Washington, D.C., downtown before the world court. If they know that you can take them to court, they'll start acting right. That's the only time they'll act right. And then they won't be acting right because they believe in legality or morality or anything like that—they have none of that in them. They'll only be acting right because they don't want you to take them to court.

So, yes, there's a machinery being set up right now. And many of our brothers and sisters from Africa and Asia and in other parts of this earth, whose nations have emerged and become independent, are capable and

well qualified to lend all of the support at their disposal to the problem of the black people in this country, once it gets into the UN. But they cannot become involved in it as long as it's called a civil rights struggle—because protocol keeps them from becoming involved in any of America's domestic affairs. Civil rights is domestic. Human rights is international.

Now, if you consider yourself a true liberal—and me, I haven't found one. When I say that, I'm bearing in mind I haven't met all white people, but among those that I've met I haven't met one yet that would pass the test; I might meet somebody else tomorrow—

[James Wechsler, New York Post editor, takes floor and begins to speak before being called on.]

Malcolm X: Sir, why didn't you put up your hand and wait until I called on you? No, why didn't you find out? Why didn't you put up your hand till I called on you? You're being rude. You're proving my point. [Calls on someone else.] Yes, sir?

[Question about Karl Marx]

Malcolm X: Number one, I don't know too much about Karl Marx. That's number one—I just don't know too much about Karl Marx. However, it is true that when a nation loses its markets, no matter how capitalistic or highly industrialized it is or how much goods it can produce, when it loses those markets, it's in trouble. And this is one of the basic factors behind America's problem. She has lost her world markets. It's not just automation that's putting her out, giving her a headache. She has no markets. There was a time when the whole world was her market. But today she's hated. Not only is she losing her markets because she's hated, but the European nations are industrialized—they can produce goods cheaper than America can. Japan produces goods cheaper than she and undersells her. And the nations of Africa and Asia would rather buy their manufactured or finished products from other than America.

So it is not so much that automation is causing the unemployment situation—which affects the Negro first and foremost because he's the last hired and has to be the first fired. But it's just the fact that America has run out of markets. And it is impossible for her to find new markets anywhere, unless there's some customers on the moon or on some other planet. And

as long as this situation exists, America's economy is going to continue to go down, her dollar will continue to lose its value, and when her dollar loses its value she's lost all her friends. Because the only friends she has are those whom she has bought.

And one further comment is this: as I said, I don't know too much about Karl Marx, but there was this man who wrote The Decline of the West, Spengler—he had another book that's a little lesser known, called The Hour of Decision. In fact, someone gave me the book out in front of this place one night, a couple of years ago, because I had never heard of it either. I imagine it might be someone who's in this audience or who had that type of thinking. It was at a meeting like this.

And in Spengler's Hour of Decision, it's about world revolution, and his thesis is that the initial stages of the world revolution would make people be forced to line up along class lines. But then after a while the class lines would run out and it would be a lineup based upon race. Well, I think he wrote this in the early thirties. And it has actually taken place. Even when the United Nations was put together, the blocs were divided up along class or some kind of economic philosophy. But today the blocs that exist in the UN are based on race, along color lines. You have your Arab-Afro-Asian bloc—they are all black, brown, red, or yellow. You have your other blocs and your other blocs, but when you find those blocs you usually find everybody in them has something in common and the most that they have in common usually is the color of their skin, or the absence of color from their skin. Yes, sir?

[Question about the role of whites]

Malcolm X: Well, if you noticed when I was speaking I said the whites can help, if they're progressive-minded. But my observation and analysis of the kind of help they've been giving makes me very cautious about the help that they offer. And I say that because of this: as I said, I grew up with whites. Most of them are intelligent. At least they used to be. No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped me and you to fight for our freedom. No, none of them would. When it comes to black freedom, then the white man freedom-rides and sits in, he's nonviolent, he sings "We Shall Overcome" and all that stuff. But when the property of the white man himself is threatened, or the freedom of the white man is threatened, he's not nonviolent. He's only nonviolent

when he's on your side. But when he's on his side he loses all that patience and nonviolence.

So, if the whites are sincere in this struggle they will show the black man how to employ or use better tactics, tactics that will get results—and not results a hundred years from now. Our people aren't going to wait ten years. If this house is a house of freedom and justice and equality for all, if that's what it is, then let's have it. And if we can't all have it, none of us will have it.

[Question in writing—about the ballot]

Malcolm X: Question: "Do you really think the Negro can win with the ballot? If not, why not?" The Negro in this country, before he can win with the ballot, has to be made more politically mature. Now many Negroes don't like to be criticized—they don't like for it to be said that we're not ready. They say that that's a stereotype. We have assets—we have liabilities as well as assets. And until our people are able to go in a closet, put you out, and analyze ourselves and discover our own liabilities as well as our assets, we never will be able to win any struggle that we become involved in. As long as the black community and the leaders of the black community are afraid of criticism and want to classify all criticism, collective criticism, as a stereotype, no one will ever be able to pull our coat. So, first we have to go in the closet and find out where we are lacking, and what we need to replace that which we are lacking, [or] we never will be able to be successful. We can win with the ballot only when we make our people become politically mature.

Those whose philosophy is black nationalism are involved right now, and will become involved, with any group—green, blue, yellow, pink—that is set up with an organizational apparatus designed to get more of our people involved as registered voters. We're involved in that; we will cooperate with that. But at the same time we won't tell them to register as a Democrat or a Republican. Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people.

Registering is all right. That only means "load your gun." Just because you load it doesn't mean you have to shoot it. You wait until you get a target and make certain that you're in a position to put that thing up next to the target, and then you pull the trigger. And just as you don't waste bullets at a

target that's out of reach, you don't throw ballots just to be throwing ballots. Our people need to get registered, need to pile up political power, but they need to hold it in abeyance and throw it when they know that throwing it is going to get results. Don't just throw it because you've got it.

[Question in writing—about concrete political plans]

Malcolm X: This question: "Do you have any immediate concrete plans to take over politics and politicians in black communities?" Yes, and when you've got concrete plans, the best way to keep them concrete is to keep them to yourself.

[Question in writing—about SNCC and the UN]

Malcolm X: The other question written—"Excuse me, but the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee appealed to the United Nations following the Birmingham murders and picketed the UN demanding action for several days."

That's not how you get it—you don't get it picketing the UN. In fact I have never seen anybody get anything yet picketing. I haven't seen anything that was gotten picketing. You get what you're going to get either one way or the other. I might add to that. You don't get anything on the agenda of the UN through picketing.

Plus, when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was picketing the UN based upon the murders in Binningham, it was still civil rights. They didn't have enough sense to realize—excuse me for saying they didn't have enough sense, but evidently they didn't—to realize that as long as they took it from a civil rights level the UN can't accept it. It must be human rights. So the best thing for you to do, who are liberals, is to go to the UN and get all of the books on human rights.

Do you know that the United States has never signed the Covenant on Human Rights? It signed the Declaration of Human Rights, but it couldn't sign the Covenant because in order to sign the Covenant, they'd have to have it ratified by the Congress and the Senate. And how're they going to get 'a covenant ratified by the Congress and the Senate on human rights when they can't even get one through on civil rights? No! And Eleanor Roosevelt, supposedly a liberal, was chairman of the Commission on

Human Rights. She knew all of this. Why didn't ultra-liberal Eleanor tell these Negroes about the UN section on human rights that would enable us to get our problem before the world? No, that's why I say I haven't met a white liberal. This gentleman over here who thinks I'm going to discriminate [against] him— [Recognizes James Wechsler]

[Question about Rev. Bruce Klunder, who was killed by a bulldozer while demonstrating against school segregation in Cleveland]

Malcolm X: I was in Cleveland last night, yesterday, in fact, when this thing took place—[Wechsler speaks again] Sir? I didn't put him under the bulldozer either. Uncle Sam put him under the bulldozer. The Supreme Court put him under the bulldozer. [Wechsler again.] His death still didn't desegregate the school system.

We're not going to stand up and applaud any contribution made by some individual white person when 22 million black people are dying every day. What he did—good, good, great. What he did- good. Hooray, hooray, hooray. Now Lumumba was murdered, Medgar Evers was murdered, Mack Parker was murdered, Emmett Till was murdered, my own father was murdered. You tell that stuff to somebody else. It's time that some white people started dying in this thing. If you'll forgive me, forgive me for saying so, but many more beside he are going when the wagon comes. Yes, sir?

[Question about the religion of Islam and the partition of India]

Malcolm X: If I understand you correctly, number one—you wanted to know why do we, black people, turn to Islam. The religion that many of our forefathers practiced before we were kidnapped and brought into this country by the American white man was the religion of Islam. This has been destroyed in textbooks of the American educational system to try and make it appear that we were nothing but animals or savages before we were brought here, to hide the criminal acts that they had to perpetuate upon us in order to bring us down to the level of animals that we're on today. But when you go back, you'll find that there were large Muslim empires that stretched all the way down into equatorial Africa, the Mali Empire, Guinea. All these places—their religion was Islam.

So here in America today when you find many of us who are accepting Islam as our religion we are only going back to the religion of our

forefathers. Plus, we believe that this is the religion that will do more to reform us of our weaknesses that we've become addicted to here in Western society than any other religion. Secondly, we can see where Christianity has failed us 100 percent. They teach us to turn the other cheek, but they don't turn it.

And concerning the partition of India and Pakistan—I think that's what you meant—I'm not too familiar with it other than the fact that I do know that for many years the subcontinent of India was ruled by the British, by the colonial powers from Europe. The strategy of the colonial powers has always been to divide and conquer. As a rule you'll find that people in the East, in the Orient, can pretty well live together. And I believe when you find them fighting each other, you [should] look for that man that's turning them one against the other—divide and conquer. In fact, if Pakistan and India had not been at each other's throats, so to speak, for the past ten or so years, they probably could have developed much faster and made more progress than they have, and could do something more concrete toward helping us solve most of our problems. So these divisions are dangerous.

[Question about racial divisions in American society]

Malcolm X: Well, we have. And you don't have to demand it. It's already divided on racial lines. Go to Harlem. All we're saying now is since we're already divided, the least the government can do is let us control the areas where we live. Let the white people control theirs, let us control ours—that's all we're saying. If the white man can control his, and actually what he's using to control it is white nationalism, let us control ours with black nationalism. You find white nationalism in the white communities whether they are Catholic, whether they are Jews, whether they are Protestant—they still practice white nationalism. So all we're saying to our people is to forget our religious differences. Forget all the differences that have been artificially created by the whites who have been over us, and try and work together in unity and harmony with the philosophy of black nationalism, which only means that we should control our own economy, our own politics, and our own society. Nothing is wrong with that.

And then, after we control our society, we'll work with any segment of the white community towards building a better civilization. But we think that they should control theirs and we should control ours. Don't let us try and mix with each other because every time that mixture takes place we always

find the black man low man on the totem pole—low man on the totem pole. If he's not low man, he's no man at all. Yes, ma'am?

[Question about the possibilities of support from Africa]

Malcolm X: You'll find that here today in 1964 there are enough independent nations in the UN from Africa and Asia who have become politically mature and also have enough independence to do what is necessary to see that some results are gotten from any plea, bona fide plea, that's made on the part of our people. It was the control that the United States had in the UN that enabled them to get Lumumba murdered and have his murder covered up. But here's a thing our people are beginning to see: as soon as the United States gets through with a stooge, she drops him. She dropped Tshombe; when she couldn't use Tshombe anymore, she dropped him. When she couldn't use the two brothers over in Saigon—what's their names?—Diem and Nhu, she dropped them. When she couldn't use Syngman Rhee anymore, she dropped him. When she couldn't use Menderes anymore, she dropped him. Well, you see, this pattern is being studied by these other Uncle Toms. And they're beginning to see that if they keep on going, they're going to get dropped too. Yes, ma'am?

[Question about the common interest of old age pensioners and black people]

Malcolm X: I don't see how you can compare their situation with the plight of 22 million African- Americans. Our people were outright slaves—outright slaves. We pulled plows like horses. We were bought and sold from one plantation to another like you sell chickens or like you sell a bag of potatoes. I read in one book where George Washington exchanged a black man for a keg of molasses. Why, that black man could have been my grandfather. You know what I think of old George Washington. You can't compare someone on old age assistance with the plight of black people in this country. No comparison whatsoever. And what they can do is not comparable to what we can do—not those old folks. Yes, sir—way in the back

[Question about why the audience should stand in honor of Rev. Klunder]

Malcolm X: Let's rise in the honor of Lumumba, let's rise in the honor of Medgar Evers, let's rise in the honor—No, look; good, what the man did

is good. But the day is out when you'll find black people who are going to stand up and applaud the contribution of whites at this late date.

One hundred million Africans were uprooted from the African continent—where are they today? One hundred million Africans were uprooted, 100 million Africans, according to the book Anti-Slavery, by Professor Dwight Lowell Dumond—excuse me for raising my voice—were uprooted from the continent of Africa. At the end of slavery you didn't have 25 million Africans in the Western Hemisphere. What happened to those 75 million? Their bodies are at the bottom of the ocean, or their blood and their bones have fertilized the soil of this country. Why, don't you ever think I would use my energy applauding the sacrifice of an individual white man. No, that sacrifice is too late.

[Question in writing—about black nationalism, separatism, integration and assimilation..."A pamphlet, Freedom Now, is on sale in the back and it contains the statement, "All separatists are nationalists, but not all nationalists are separatists."]

Malcolm X: I don't know anything about that.

Question: "What is your view on this? Can one be a black nationalist even though not interested in a separate independent black nation? Similarly, is every integrationist necessarily an assimilationist?"

Malcolm X: Well, as I said earlier, the black people I know don't want to be integrationists, nor do they want to be separationists—they want to be human beings. Some of them choose integration, thinking that this method will bring them respect as a human being, and others choose separation, thinking that that method or tactic will bring them respect as a human being. But they've had so much trouble attaining their objectives that they've gotten their methods mixed up with their objectives, And now, instead of calling themselves human beings, they're calling themselves integrationists and separationists, and they don't have either one—no. So I don't know about the integrationists and the assimilationists and the separationists, but I do know about the segregationists—that's the Americans. Yes, sir?

[Question about Malcolm's attitude to Robert F. Williams]

Malcolm X: Well, Robert Williams was exiled to Cuba for advocating guns for Negroes. He made some mistakes in carrying out his program, which left the door open that allowed the FBI to make him appear to be the criminal that he actually is not. When someone in front of you makes a mistake, you should learn and benefit from those mistakes.

The black man in this country is within his constitutional rights to have a rifle. The white man is, too. The Constitution gives you the right to have a rifle or a shotgun. You shouldn't go out shooting people with it; you shouldn't become involved in acts of aggression that you initiate. But, in this country where we have a government, a law enforcement agency at the federal, local, and state level- in areas where those agencies show that they are unable or unwilling to defend Negroes, Negroes should defend themselves. That's all: should defend themselves. And he's within his lawful right. This doesn't mean that he should use arms to initiate acts of aggression. But if it costs me my life in the morning I will tell you tonight that the time has come for the black man to die fighting. If he's going to die, die fighting. I have a rifle; I've shown my wife how to work it. And if anybody puts his foot on my step, he's dead. Whether I'm home or not, he's dead.

This doesn't mean that we want to live in a society like this. But when you're living in a society of criminals and the law fails to do its duty what must one do? Continue to turn the other cheek? Medgar Evers turned his. Those four little girls, who were bombed in a church, turned theirs. Negroes have done nothing but seen each other turn the other cheek. This generation won't do it, won't do it any longer. May I just say this, sir? America is faced with a situation where in every Negro community in this country, the racial animosity that is developing and the disillusionment in the minds of Negroes toward white society is such that these communities, these ghettos, these slums that we live in, will eventually develop into the same type of Casbah situation that you have in Algeria and these other countries—where you won't be able to set your foot in that neighborhood, unless you've got a guide to show you the way. This is true.

And what else should we do? How can we continue to live in a community that's turned into a police state? Where the police are not there to protect us but are there only to protect the property of the merchant who doesn't even live in our community, who has his store there and his house somewhere else. They're there to protect his property. And as Negroes over

the years see this, we also see that they don't protect us: in fact, sometimes we need protection against them.

This doesn't mean that the police are always wrong—I'm saying this too. In New York, where Negroes are concerned, so-called Negroes, it has been my experience in traveling from coast to coast to notice that in Harlem the police officer, at least in the past three years up to a short while ago, exercised more care in dealing with incidents that could explode into a racial situation than is used by police officers in most of the large cities of the North. In 1960, '61, '62, along in there, the police department here did use more caution in incidents that were outright involving race. But the recent statement by the police commissioner, this man, this Irishman Murphy, is very dangerous, because those commissioners who preceded him exercised more intelligence in statements that they made, and they were very careful never to make a statement that would inflame the white officer against the black community. But Murphy is making statements that seem deliberately designed to make the average cop on the beat think that he can bust any Negro upside his head and not be reprimanded for it. This is dangerous because today when you put a club in the direction of a Negro's head, he's going to do his best to get that club, whether you've got a uniform or not.

[Question, a general attack on Malcolm, followed by a complaint that the speaker wants to make a statement rather than ask a question.]

Malcolm X: You can comment right here, this is a meeting.

[After the speaker denounces Malcolm further, some members of the audience begin to protest.]

Malcolm X: Let him have his say—go ahead, doctor.

[The speaker goes ahead.]

Malcolm X: I'll take just two minutes to comment on what you've said. You notice you kept using the expression "talk back" or "have their say." Now you know how our people have felt for 400 years. And your attitude right now is the type of attitude that makes Uncle Sam a hated country. You reflect the collective attitudes of the American whites.

There are some—he [pointing to the chairman] doesn't reflect the collective attitude. He reflects the unique attitude—he's quiet, he's listening, he's taking it all in, he's analyzing it. And when he stands up to speak, he's going to speak in a much more intelligent manner than you and will win more friends than you. Now I might say this right here—in saying this about him, I'm not saying this to jive him or pat him on the back. You know me, I think you know me, better than that. If I say positive things about him, I mean it. He will probably get some of you saved, but you will get most of you killed.

I just want to say one more comment on his remark about me being bloodthirsty. I'm not bloodthirsty. I'm one of 22 million black people in this country who's tired of being the victim of hypocrisy by a country that supposedly practices democracy. Any black man—you had your say, please be quiet—any black man who will stand up and tell you exactly how he feels is doing you a favor because most of them don't tell you how they feel.

I want to thank the Militant Labor Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening. I think, as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best that I've read. We always encourage those who live in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or wherever else we may see it. It's a very good paper. I hope they continue to have success, make progress. They can probably straighten out a lot of white people. Let us straighten out the black people. That's all I'm saying.

# The Ballot or the Bullet
# (April 12, 1964)

Mr. Moderator, Reverend Cleage, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends...and I see some enemies. In fact, I think we'd be fooling ourselves if we had an audience this large and didn't realize that there were some enemies present.

This afternoon we want to talk about the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet explains itself. But before we get into it, since this is the year of the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally concerning my own personal position.

I'm still a Muslim. That is, my religion is still Islam. My religion is still Islam. I still credit Mr. Muhammad for what I know and what I am. He's the one who opened my eyes. At present, I'm the Minister of the newly founded Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, which has its offices in the Theresa Hotel, right in the heart of Harlem that's the black belt in New York city. And when we realize that Adam Clayton Powell is a Christian minister, he's the...he heads Abyssinian Baptist Church, but at the same time, he's more famous for his political struggle. And Dr. King is a Christian Minister, in Atlanta, Georgia, but he's become more famous for being involved in the civil rights struggle. There's another in New York, Reverend Galamison I don't know if you've heard of him out here, he's a Christian Minister from Brooklyn, but has become famous for his fight against a segregated school system in Brooklyn. Reverend Cleage, right here, is a Christian Minister, here in Detroit. He's the head of the "Freedom Now Party". All of these are Christian Ministers, but they don't come to us as Christian Ministers. They come to us as fighters in some other category. I'm a Muslim minister the same as they are Christian Ministers, I'm a Muslim minister. And I don't believe in fighting today in any one front, but on all fronts. In fact, I'm a Black Nationalist Freedom Fighter.

Islam is my religion, but I believe my religion is my personal business. It governs my personal life, my personal morals. And my religious philosophy is personal between me and the God in whom I believe; just as the religious philosophy of these others is between them and the God in whom they believe. And this is best this way. Were we to come

out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the outstart and we could never get together. So today, though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic, and social philosophy is Black Nationalism. You and I, as I say, if we bring up religion we'll have differences, we'll have arguments; and we'll never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God, but when we come out here, we have a fight that's common to all of us against an enemy who is common to all of us.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community. The time when white people can come in our community and get us to vote for them so that they can be our political leaders and tell us what to do and what not to do is long gone. By the same token, the time when that same white man, knowing that your eyes are too far open, can send another negro into the community and get you and me to support him so he can use him to lead us astray, those days are long gone too. The political philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that if you and I are going to live in a Black community and that's where we're going to live, cause as soon as you move into one of their soon...as you move out of the Black community into their community, it's mixed for a period of time, but they're gone and you're right there all by yourself again.

We must understand the politics of our community and we must know what politics is supposed to produce. We must know what part politics play in our lives. And until we become politically mature we will always be mislead, lead astray, or deceived or maneuvered into supporting someone politically who doesn't have the good of our community at heart. So the political philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that we will have to carry on a program, a political program, of re-education to open our peoples eyes, make us become more politically conscious, politically mature, and then whenever we get ready to cast our ballot, that ballot will be cast for a man of the community who has the good of the community of heart. The economic philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that we should own and operate and control the economy of our community. You would never find...you can't open up a black store in a white community. White man won't even patronize you. And he's not wrong. He's got sense enough to look out for himself. You the one who don't have sense enough to look out for yourself.

The white man is too intelligent to let someone else come and gain control of the economy of his community. But you will let anybody come in and control of the economy of your community, control the housing, control the education, control the jobs, control the businesses, under the pretext that you want to integrate. No, you outta your mind. The political...the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that we have to become involved in a program of re-education to educate our people into the importance of knowing that when you spend your dollar out of the community in which you live, the community in which you spend your money becomes richer and richer; the community out which you take your money becomes poorer and poorer. And because these Negroes, who have been mislead, misguided, are breaking their necks to take their money and spend it with The Man, The Man is becoming richer and richer, and you're becoming poorer and poorer. And then what happens? The community in which you live becomes a slum. It becomes a ghetto. The conditions become run down. And then you have the audacity to complain about poor housing in a run-down community. Why you run it down yourself when you take your dollar out.

And you and I are in a double trap, because not only do we lose by taking our money someplace else and spending it, when we try and spend it in our own community we're trapped because we haven't had sense enough to set up stores and control the businesses of our own community. The man who's controlling the stores in our community is a man who doesn't look like we do. He's a man who doesn't even live in the community. So you and I, even when we try and spend our money in the block where we live or the area where we live, we're spending it with a man who, when the sun goes down, takes that basket full of money in another part of the town.

So we're trapped, trapped, double trapped, triple trapped. Anywhere we go we find that we're trapped. And every kind of solution that someone comes up with is just another trap. But the political and economic philosophy of Black Nationalism...the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism shows our people the importance of setting up these little stores and developing them and expanding them into larger operations.

Woolworth didn't start out big like they are today. They started out with a dime store and expanded and expanded and then expanded until today, they're are all over the country and all over the world, and they gettin' some

of everybody's money. Now this...what you and I...General Motors is same way. They didn't start out like they it is. It started out just a little rat race type operation. And it expanded and it expanded until today it's where it is right now. And you and I have to make a start, and the best place to start is right in the community where we live. So our people not only have to be re-educated to the importance of supporting black business, but the black man himself has to be made aware of the importance of going into business. And once you and I go into business, we own and operate at least the businesses in our community. What we will be doing is developing a situation wherein we will actually be able to create employment for the people in the community. And once you can create some employment in the community where you live, it will eliminate the necessity of you and me having to act ignorantly and disgracefully, boycotting and picketing some cracker someplace else trying to beg him for a job. Anytime you have to rely upon your enemy for a job you're in bad shape. When you have...he is your enemy. Let me tell you, you wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't kidnapped you and brought you here. On the other hand, some of you think you came here on the Mayflower.

So as you can see brothers and sisters, today, this afternoon, it is not our intention to discuss religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion, we'll be in an argument, and the best way to keep away from arguments and differences as I said earlier put your religion at home in the closet. Keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway.

Whether you are a Christian, or a Muslim, or a Nationalist, we all have the same problem. They don't hang you because you're a Baptist, they hang you 'cause you're black. They don't attack me because I'm a Muslim, they attack me 'cause I'm black. They attack all of us for the same reason; all of us catch hell from the same enemy. We're all in the same bag, in the same boat. We suffer political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation, all of them from the same enemy. The government has failed us, you can't deny that. Anytime you live in the twentieth century, 1964, and you walkin' around here singing "We Shall Overcome," the government has failed us. This is part of what's wrong with you. You do too much singing. Today it's time to stop singing and start swinging. You can't sing up on freedom, but you can swing up on some freedom. Cassius Clay can sing, but singing didn't help him to become the heavyweight champion of the world—swinging helped him become the heavyweight champion.

This government has failed us; the government itself has failed us, and the white liberals who have been posing as our friends have failed us. And once we see that all these other sources to which we've turned have failed, we stop turning to them and turn to ourselves. We need a self-help program, a do-it-yourself philosophy, a do-it-right-now philosophy, a it's-already-too-late philosophy. This is what you and I need to get with, and the only way we are going to solve our problem is with a self-help program. Before we can get a self-help program started we have to have a self-help philosophy.

Black nationalism is a self-help philosophy. What's is so good about it? You can stay right in the church where you are and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can stay in any kind of civic organization that you belong to and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can be an atheist and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. This is a philosophy that eliminates the necessity for division and argument. 'Cause if you are black you should be thinking black, and if you are black and you're not thinking black at this late date, well I'm sorry for you.

Once you change your philosophy, you change your thought pattern. Once you change your thought pattern, you change your attitude. Once you change your attitude, it changes your behaviour pattern and then you go on into some action. As long as you got a sit-down philosophy, you'll have a sit-down thought pattern, and as long as you think that old sit-down thought you'll be in some kind of sit-down action. They'll have you sitting in everywhere. It's not so good to refer to what you're going to do as a sit-in. That right there castrates you. Right there it brings you down. What goes with it? Think of the image of someone sitting. An old woman can sit. An old man can sit. A chump can sit. A coward can sit. Anything can sit. Well you and I been sitting long enough, and it's time today for us to start doing some standing, and some fighting to back that up.

When we look like at other parts of this earth upon which we live, we find that black, brown, red, yellow people in Africa and Asia are getting their independence. They're not getting it by singing "We Shall Overcome." No, they're getting it through nationalism. It is nationalism that brought about the independence of the people in Asia. Every nation in Asia gained its independence through the philosophy of nationalism. Every nation on the African continent that has gotten its independence brought it about

through the philosophy of nationalism. And it will take Black Nationalism to bring about the freedom of 22 million Afro-Americans here in this country where we have suffered colonialism for the past 400 years.

America is just as much a colonial power as England ever was. America is just as much a colonial power as France ever was. In fact, America is more so a colonial power than they because she's a hypocritical colonial power behind it. What do you call second-class citizenship? Why, that's colonization. Second-class citizenship is nothing but 20th century slavery. How you gonna tell me you're a second class-citizen. They don't have second-class citizenship in any other government on this earth. They just have slaves and people who are free. Well, this country is a hypocrite. They try and make you think they set you free by calling you a second-class citizen. No, you're nothing but a 20th century slave. Just as it took nationalism to remove colonialism from Asia and Africa, it'll take Black Nationalism today to remove colonialism from the backs and the minds of 22 million Afro-Americans here in this country. And 1964 looks like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet.

Why does it look like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet? Because Negroes have listened to the trickery, and the lies, and the false promises of the white man now for too long. And they're fed up. They've become disenchanted. They've become disillusioned. They've become dissatisfied, and all of this has built up frustrations in the black community that makes the black community throughout America today more explosive than all of the atomic bombs the Russians can ever invent. Whenever you got a racial powder keg sitting in your lap, you're in more trouble than if you had an atomic powder keg sitting in your lap. When a racial powder keg goes off, it doesn't care who it knocks out the way. Understand this, it's dangerous. And in 1964 this seems to be the year, because what can the white man use now to fool us after he put down that march on Washington? And you see all through that now. He tricked you, had you marching down to Washington. Yes, had you marching back and forth between the feet of a dead man named Lincoln and another dead man named George Washington singing "We Shall Overcome". He made a chump out of you. He made a fool out of you. He made you think you were going somewhere and you end up going nowhere but between Lincoln and Washington.

So today, our people are disillusioned. They've become disenchanted.

They've become dissatisfied, and in their frustrations they want action. And in 1964 you'll see this young black man, this new generation asking for the ballot or the bullet. That old Uncle Tom action is outdated. The young generation don't want to hear anything about the odds are against us. What do we care about odds? When this country here was first being founded there were 13 colonies. The whites were colonized. They were fed up with this taxation without representation, so some of them stood up and said "liberty or death." Though I went to a white school over here in Mason, Michigan, the white man made the mistake of letting me read his history books. He made the mistake of teaching me that Patrick Henry was a patriot, and George Washington, wasn't nothing non-violent about old Pat or George Washington. Liberty or death was what brought about the freedom of whites in this country from the English. They didn't care about the odds. Why they faced the wrath of the entire British Empire. And in those days they used to say that the British Empire was so vast and so powerful when the sun...the sun would never set on them. This is how big it was, yet these 13 little, scrawny states, tired of taxation without representation, tired of being exploited and oppressed and degraded, told that big British Empire "liberty or death". And here you have 22 million Afro-American black people today catching more hell than Patrick Henry ever saw. And I'm here to tell you in case you don't know it that you got a new generation of black people in this country who don't care anything whatsoever about odds. They don't want to hear you old Uncle Tom handkerchief heads talking about the odds. No. This is a new generation. If they're gonna draft these young black men and send them over to Korea or South Vietnam to face 800 million Chinese...if you're not afraid of those odds, you shouldn't be afraid of these odds.

Why is America...why does this loom to be such an explosive political year? Because this is the year of politics. This is the year when all of the white politicians are going to come into the Negro community. You never see them until election time. You can't find them until election time. They're going to come in with false promises, and as they make these false promises they're gonna feed our frustrations and this will only serve to make matters worse. I'm no politician. I'm not even a student of politics. I'm not a Republican, nor a Democrat, nor an American, and got sense enough to know it. I'm one of the 22 million black victims of the Democrats, one of the 22 million black victims of the Republicans, and one of the 22 million black victims of Americanism. And when I speak, I don't speak as a Democrat, or a Republican. I speak as a victim of America's

so-called democracy. You and I have never seen democracy; all we've seen is hypocrisy. When we open our eyes today and look around America, we see America not through the eyes of someone who has enjoyed the fruits of Americanism, we see America through the eyes of someone who has been the victim of Americanism. We don't see any American dream; we've experienced only the American nightmare. We haven't benefited from America's democracy; we've only suffered from America's hypocrisy. And the generation that's coming up now can see it and are not afraid to say it. If you go to jail, so what? If you black, you were born in jail. If you black, you were born in jail, in the North as well as the South. Stop talking about the South. Long as you south of the Canadian border, you're south. Don't call Governor Wallace a Dixie governor; Romney is a Dixie governor.

Twenty-two million black victims of Americanism are waking up and they're gaining a new political consciousness, becoming politically mature. And as they develop this political maturity, they're able to see the recent trends in these political elections. They see that the whites are so evenly divided that every time they vote the race is so close they have to go back and count the votes all over again. And that means that any block, any minority that has a block of votes that stick together is in a strategic position. Either way you go, that's who gets it. You're in a position to determine who'll go to the White House, and who'll stay in the doghouse. You' re the one who has that power. You can keep Johnson in Washington DC, or you can send him back to his Texas cotton patch.

You're the one who sent Kennedy to Washington. You're the one who put the present Democratic Administration in Washington DC. The whites were evenly divided. It was the fact that you threw 80% of your votes behind the Democrats that put the Democrats in the White House. When you see this, you can see that the Negro vote is the key factor. And despite the fact that you are in a position to be the determining factor, what do you get out of it? The Democrats have been in Washington DC only because of the Negro vote. They've been down there four years, and all other legislation they wanted to bring up they brought it up and gotten it out of the way, and now they bring up you. And now, they bring up you. You put them first, and they put you last, 'cause you're a chump; a political chump.

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In Washington DC, in the House of Representatives there are 257 who are Democrats; only 177 are Republican. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats; only 33 are Republicans. The Party that you backed controls two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and still they can't keep their promise to you, 'cause you're a chump.

Anytime you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that Party can't keep the promise that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that Party, you're not only a chump, but you're a traitor to your race.

And what kind of alibi do they come up with? They try and pass the buck to the Dixiecrats. Now back during the days when you were blind, deaf, and dumb, ignorant, politically immature, naturally you went along with that. But today as your eyes come open, and you develop political maturity, you're able to see and think for yourself, and you can see that a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat, in disguise.

You look at the structure of the government that controls this country; it's controlled by 16 Senatorial committees and 20 Congressional committees. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that run the government, 10 of them are in the hands of Southern segregationists. Of the 20 Congressional committees that run the government, 12 of them are in the hands of Southern segregationists. And they gonna to tell you and me that the South lost the war!

You, today, are in the hands of a government of segregationists, racists, white supremacists who belong to the Democratic party, but disguise themselves as Dixiecrats. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat. Whoever runs the Democrats is also the father of the Dixiecrats, and the father

of all of them is sitting in the White House. I say and I say it again: You got a President who's nothing but a Southern segregationist, from the state of Texas. They'll lynch you in Texas as quick as they'll lynch you in Mississippi. Only in Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent, in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent. And the first thing the cracker does when he comes in power, he takes all the Negro leaders and invites them for coffee, to show that he's alright. And those Uncle Toms can't pass up the coffee. They come away from the coffee table telling you and me that this man is alright 'cause he's from the South, and since he's from the South he can deal with the South. Look at the logic that they're using. What about Eastland? He's from the South. Make him the President. If Johnson is a good man 'cause he's from Texas, and being from Texas will enable him to deal with the South, Eastland can deal with the South better than Johnson. Oh, I say you've been misled. You been had. You been took.

I was in Washington a couple weeks ago while the Senators were filibustering, and I noticed in the back of the Senate a huge map, and on this map it showed the distribution of Negroes in America, and surprisingly the same Senators that were involved in the filibuster were from the states where there were the most Negroes. Why were they filibustering the civil rights legislation? Because the civil rights legislation is supposed to guarantee voting rights to Negroes in those states, and those senators from those states know that if the Negroes in those states can vote, those senators are down the drain. The Representatives of those states go down the drain. And in the Constitution of this country it has a stipulation wherein, whenever the rights, the voting rights, of people in a certain district are violated, then the Representative who's from that particular district, according to the Constitution, is supposed to be expelled from the Congress. Now, if this particular aspect of the Constitution was enforced, why you wouldn't have a cracker in Washington DC. But what would happen when you expel the Dixiecrat, you're expelling the Democrat. When you destroy the power of the Dixiecrat, you're destroying the power of the Democratic Party. So how in the world can the Democratic Party in the South actually side with you, in sincerity, when all of its power is based in the South?

These Northern Democrats are in cahoots with the Southern Democrats. They're playing a giant con game, a political con game. You know how it goes. One of them comes to you and makes believe he's for you, and he's in cahoots with the other one that's not for you. Why? Because neither one of

them is for you, but they got to make you go with one of them or the other. So this is a con game. And this is what they've been doing with you and me all these years. First thing Johnson got off the plane when he become President, he asked "Where's Dicky?" You know who "Dicky" is? Dicky is old Southern cracker Richard Russell. Yes! Lyndon Johnson's best friend is the one who is the head, who's heading the forces that are filibustering civil rights legislation. You tell me how in the hell is he going to be Johnson's best friend? How can Johnson be his friend, and your friend too? No, that man is too tricky. Especially if his friend is still old Dicky! Whenever the Negroes keep the Democrats in power, they're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. Is this true? A vote for a Democrat is nothing but a vote for a Dixiecrat. I know you don't like me saying that, but I...I'm not the kind of person who come here to say what you like. I'm going to tell you the truth, whether you like it or not.

Up here, in the North you have the same thing. The Democratic party don't do it...they don't do it that way. They got a thing that they call gerrymandering. They maneuver you out of power. Even though you vote, they fix it so you're voting for nobody; they've got you going and coming. In the South, they're outright political wolves. In the North, they're political foxes. A fox and a wolf are both canine, both belong to the dog family. Now you take your choice. You going to choose a Northern dog or a Southern dog? Because either dog you choose I guarantee you you'll still be in the dog house. This is why I say it's the ballot or the bullet. It's liberty or it's death. It's freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody.

America today finds herself in a unique situation. Historically, revolutions are bloody. Oh, yes, they are. They haven't never had a blood-less revolution, or a non-violent revolution. That don't happen even in Hollywood. You don't have a revolution in which you love your enemy, and you don't have a revolution in which you are begging the system of exploitation to integrate you into it. Revolutions overturn systems. Revolutions destroy systems. A revolution is bloody, but America is in a unique position. She's the only country in history in a position actually to become involved in a blood-less revolution. The Russian revolution was bloody, Chinese revolution was bloody, French revolution was bloody, Cuban revolution was bloody, and there was nothing more bloody then the American Revolution. But today this country can become involved in a revolution that won't take bloodshed. All she's got to do is give the black man in this country everything that's due him. Everything.

I hope that the white man can see this, 'cause if you don't see it you're finished. If you don't see it you're going to become involved in some action in which you don't have a chance. And we don't care anything about your atomic bomb; it's useless because other countries have atomic bombs. When two or three different countries have atomic bombs, nobody can use them, so it means that the white man today is without a weapon. If you want some action, you gotta come on down to Earth. And there's more black people on Earth than there are white people on Earth.

I only got a couple more minutes. The white man can never win another war on the ground. His days of war, victory, his days of ground victory are over. Can I prove it? Yes. Take all the action that's going on this earth right now that he's involved in tell me where he's winning. Nowhere. Why some rice farmers, some rice farmers, some rice eaters ran him out of Korea. Yes, they ran him out of Korea. Rice eaters with nothing but gym shoes, and a rifle, and a bowl of rice took him and his tanks and his napalm, and all that other action he's supposed to have and ran him across the Yalu. Why? 'Cause the day that he can win on the ground has passed. Up in French Indo-China those little peasants, rice growers, took on the might of the French army and ran all the Frenchmen...you remember Dien Bien Phu. No.

The same thing happened in Algeria, in Africa, they didn't have anything but a rifle. The French had all these highly mechanized instruments of warfare, but they put some guerrilla action on, and a white man can't fight a guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla action takes heart, takes nerve, and he doesn't have that. He's brave when he's got tanks. He's brave when he's got planes. He's brave when he's got bombs. He's brave when he's got a whole lot of company along with him, but you take that little man from Africa and Asia, turn him loose in the woods with a blade that's all he needs, all he needs is a blade and when the sun goes down and it's dark, it's even-steven.

So it's the ballot or the bullet. Today our people can see that we're faced with a government conspiracy. This government has failed us. The senators who are filibustering concerning your and my rights, that's the government. Don't say it's Southern senators. This is the government; this is a government filibuster. It's not a segregationist filibuster. It's a government filibuster. Any kind of activity that takes place on the floor of the Congress or the Senate, it's the government. Any kind of dilly-dallying,

that's the government. Any kind of pussyfooting, that's the government. Any kind of act that's designed to delay or deprive you and me right now of getting full rights, that's the government that's responsible. And any time you find the government involved in a conspiracy to violate the citizenship or the civil rights of a people, then you are wasting your time going to that government expecting redress. Instead, you have to take that government to the World Court and accuse it of genocide and all of the other crimes that it is guilty of today.

So those of us whose political, and economic, and social philosophy is black nationalism have become involved in the civil rights struggle. We have injected ourselves into the civil rights struggle, and we intend to expand it from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. As long as you're fighting on the level of civil rights, you're under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction. You're going to his court expecting him to correct the problem. He created the problem. He's the criminal. You don't take your case to the criminal; you take your criminal to court. When the government of South Africa began to trample upon the human rights of the people of South Africa, they were taken to the U.N. When the government of Portugal began to trample upon the rights of our brothers and sisters in Angola, it was taken before the U.N. Why even the white man took the Hungarian question to the U.N. And just this week Chief Justice Goldberg was crying over three million Jews in Russia about their human rights, charging Russia with violating the U.N. charter because of its mistreatment of the human rights of Jews in Russia. Now you tell me how can the plight of everybody on this earth reach the halls of the United Nations, and you have 22 million Afro-Americans whose churches are being bombed, whose little girls are being murdered, whose leaders are being shot down in broad daylight. Now you tell me why the leaders of this struggle have never taken it before the United Nations. So our next move is to take the entire civil rights struggle, problem, into the United Nations, and let the world see that Uncle Sam is guilty of violating the human rights of 22 million Afro-Americans.

Uncle Sam still has the audacity or the nerve to stand up and represent himself as the leader of the free world. Not only is he a crook, he's a hypocrite. Here he is standing up in front of other people, Uncle Sam, with the blood of your and mine mothers and fathers on his hands, with the blood dripping down his jaws like a bloody-jawed wolf, and still got the nerve to point his finger at other countries. You can't even get civil rights

legislation. And this man has got the nerve to stand up and talk about South Africa, or talk about Nazi Germany, or talk about Portugal. No, no more days like those.

So, I say in my conclusion the only way we're going to solve it we've got to unite in unity and harmony, and black nationalism is the key. How we gonna overcome the tendency to be at each others throats that always exists in our neighbourhoods, and the reason this tendency exists, the strategy of the white man has always been divide and conquer. He keeps us divided in order to conquer us. He tells you I'm for separation and you for integration to keep us fighting with each other. No, I'm not for separation and you're not for integration. What you and I are for is freedom. Only you think that integration would get you freedom, I think separation would get me freedom. We both got the same objective, we just got different ways of getting at it.

So I studied this man, Billy Graham, who preaches white nationalism, that's what he preaches. I say that's what he preaches. The whole church structure in this country is white nationalism. You go inside a white church that's what they preaching is white nationalism. They got Jesus white, Mary white, God white, everybody white, that's white nationalism. So what he does, the way he circumvents the jealousy and envy that he ordinarily would incur among the heads of the church, wherever you go into an area where the church already is, you going into trouble, 'cause they got that thing...what you call it...syndicated. They got a syndicate, just like the racketeers have. I'm going to say what's on my mind 'cause the churches are, the preachers already proved to you that they got a syndicate. And when you're out in the rackets, whenever you're getting in another man's territory, you know, they gang up on you. And that's the same way with you ran into the same thing. So how Billy Graham gets around that, instead of going into somebody else's territory, like he going to start up a new church, he doesn't try to start a church. He just goes in preaching Christ. And he says everybody who believes in Him, wherever you go wherever you find him. So this helps all the churches and since it helps all the churches they don't mind fight him.

Well, we gonna do the same thing, only our gospel is black nationalism; his gospel is white nationalism; our gospel is black nationalism. And the gospel of black nationalism, as I told you, means you should control you own, the politics of your community, the economy of your community,

and all of the society in which you live should be under your control. And once you feel that this philosophy will solve your problem, go join any church where that's preached. Don't join a church where white nationalism is preached. Now you can go to a Negro church and be exposed to white nationalism 'cause you are, when you walk in a Negro church and there's a white Mary and some white angels, that Negro church is preaching white nationalism. But when you go to a church and you see the pastor of that church with a philosophy and a program that's designed to bring black people together and elevate black people, join that church. Join that church. If you see where the NAACP is preaching and practicing that which is designed to make black nationalism materialize, join the NAACP. Join any kind of organization, civic, religious, fraternal, political, or otherwise that's based on lifting the black man up and making him master of his own community.

It'll be the ballot or it'll be the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death. And if you're not ready to pay that price don't use the word freedom in your vocabulary.

One more thing: I was on a program in Illinois recently with Senator Paul Douglas, a so-called liberal, so-called Democrat, so-called white man, at which time he told me that our African brothers were not interested in us in Africa. He said the Africans are not interested in the American Negro. I knew he was lying, but during the next two or three weeks it's my intention and plan to make a tour of our African homeland. And I hope that when I come back, I'll be able to come back and let you know how our African brothers and sisters feel toward us. And I know before I go there that they love us. We're one; we're the same; the same man who has colonized them all these years, colonized you and me too, all these years. And all we have to do now is wake up and work in unity and harmony and the battle will be over.

I want to thank the Freedom Now Party and the GOAL. I want to thank Milton and Richard Henley for inviting me here this afternoon, and also Reverend Cleage. And I want them to know that anything that I can ever do, at any time, to work with anybody in any kind of program that is sincerely designed to eliminate the political, the economic and the social evils that confront all of our people, in Detroit and elsewhere, all they got to do is give me a telephone call and I'll be on the next jet right on into the city.

# Milton Henry interviews Malcolm X (April 12, 1964)

Milton Henry: Once again the GOAL Show microphones have with us our brother, Malcolm X. This time we are on the other side of the world. We're at Cairo, Egypt, where the independent African states have met in serious confrontation for the last week. One of the significant additions to the confrontation here was the presence of Malcolm X as a black American delegate to the conference of black peoples here in Africa. Malcolm, would you tell us something about the conference? First of all, we'd like to know about your appearance how did it happen that you as an American were permitted to appear at this conference of African people?

Malcolm X: First, I want to point out that we are sitting here along the banks of the Nile, and the last time I spoke to you we were in Harlem. Here along the banks of the Nile it's not much different from Harlem same people, same feeling, same pulse.

About my appearing here at the conference: At first it did create a great deal of controversy, and, as you probably know, apprehension on the part of the powers that be in America, because they realize that if any direct contact, communication and understanding and working agreement are ever developed between the 22 million or 30 million Afro-Americans and the Africans here on the continent, there's nothing we couldn't accomplish. When I arrived here, there was a great deal of publicity in all of the press over here concerning my coming. It was historic in a sense because no American Negroes had ever made any effort in the past to try and get their problems placed in the same category as the African problems, nor had they tried to internationalize it. So this was something new, it was unique, and everyone wondered what the reaction of the Africans would be.

It is true that at first there were stumbling blocks placed in my path in regards to being accepted into the conference, or into the meetings. But I'd rather not say what happened in specific details. Thanks to Allah, I was admitted as an observer and I was able to submit a memorandum to each one of the heads of state, which was read and thoroughly analyzed by them. It pointed out the conditions of our people in America and the necessity of something being done and said at this conference toward letting the world

know, at least letting the United States know, that our African brothers over here identified themselves with our problems in the States.

Milton Henry: Now, Malcolm, I have read the speech which was presented. Basically, as you say, it did deal with the abuses that the American Negroes have suffered in America and it asked the consideration of the African states of this problem. Now, will you tell us, was this actually passed upon, and did any action come out of the Cairo conference with reference to the American Negro?

Malcolm X: Yes, a resolution came out, acknowledging the fact that America has passed a civil-rights bill, but at the same time pointing out that, despite the passage of the civil-rights bill, continued abuses of the human rights of the black people in America still existed. And it called upon I forget the wording; when I read the resolution it was 2:30 in the morning, under very adverse conditions; but I was so happy to read it. In essence, I remember that it outright condemned the racism that existed in America and the continued abuses that our people suffered despite the passage of the civil-rights bill. It was a very good resolution.

Milton Henry: In other words, this type of resolution coming out of a conference of thirty-four African states should certainly make the United States take a new look at the American Negro?

Malcolm X: Well, I have to say this, that the United States has been looking at the American Negro. When I arrived here I did a great deal of lobbying. I had to do a great deal of lobbying between the lobby of the Hotel Hilton, the lobby of the Shepherd and even the lobby of the " Isis," the ship where the African liberation movement was housed. Lobbying was necessary because the various agencies that the United States has abroad had success fully convinced most Africans that the American Negro in no way identified with Africa, and that the African would be foolish to involve himself in the problems of the American Negroes. And some African leaders were saying this.

So in the memorandum I submitted to them at the conference I pointed out to them that as independent heads of states we looked upon them as the shepherds not only of the African people on the continent, but all people of African descent abroad; and that a good shepherd is more concerned with the sheep that have gone astray and fallen into the hands

of the imperialist wolf than the sheep that are still at home. That the 22 million or 30 million, whatever the case may be, Afro-Americans in the United States were still Africans, and that we felt that the African heads of state were as much responsible for us as they were responsible for the people right here on the continent. This was a sort of a challenge to them and I think that most of them realize it today, more so than they did prior to the conference.

Milton Henry: Malcolm, I think you are to be greatly applauded because actually you were the only American recognized as a participant of the conference, and of course you had the badge which permitted you access to all of the rooms and so forth. The Americans here, including myself, did not have that privilege, but you had the privilege of actually being with the other black brothers. I had the feeling that there will be a great change in emphasis because you have been here, and because you presented our position the position of the black man in America so well, in a way that no one but an American could.

Malcolm X: One thing that made most Africans see the necessity of their intervening on our behalf was the historic steps since 1939 in the so-called rise of the black American. It was the world pressure, brought about by Hitler, that enabled the Negro to rise above where he was. After Hitler was destroyed, there was the threat of Stalin, but it was always the world pressure that was upon America that enabled black people to go forward. It was not the initiative internally that the Negro put forth in America, nor was it a change of moral heart on the part of Uncle Sam it was world pressure.

Once this is realized as a basic fact, then the present American Negro leaders will be more aware that any gain, even in token form, that they get, isn't coming from any goodness out of Washington, D.C., or from their own initiative it is coming because of the international situation. And when they see it like this, in cold facts, then they will see the necessity of placing their problem at the world level, internationalizing the Negro struggle and calling upon our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia and Latin America, and even in some of the European countries, to bring pressure upon the United States government in order to get our problems solved. And this was only the first of a series of steps that the OAAU has in mind to internationalize the black man's problem, and make it not a Negro problem or an American problem, but a world problem, a problem for humanity.

Milton Henry: I think of another real benefit from this conference, Malcolm. You are living in a very advantageous spot, because it so happens, as you intimated just a minute ago, that you are living with all of the freedom fighters from all of the liberated and unliberated parts of the world down there on the "Isis" is that the name of the boat?

Malcolm X: Well, I don't know if I should say this, but it is true. The "Isis," a beautiful yacht that floats on the Nile River, was set aside for all the liberation movements that exist on the African continent. The leaders of these movements from places like Angola, the Angola freedom fighters; freedom fighters from Mozambique; freedom fighters from Zambia, known as Northern Rhodesia, which is just on its way toward independence; freedom fighters from Zimbabwe, known in America as Southern Rhodesia; freedom fighters from Southwest Africa; from Swaziland; Basutoland; and South Africa itself all of the representatives of these different groups of freedom fighters were housed on this yacht called the "Isis."

I was very honored to be permitted to be housed right along with them. Spending so much time with them gave me a real feeling of the pulse of a true revolutionary, and it gave me an opportunity also to listen to them tell of the real brutal atmosphere in which they live in these colonized areas. It also gave me somewhat of a better idea of our problem in America, and what is going to be necessary to bring an end to the brutality and the suffering that we undergo every day.

Milton Henry: I think that this is one of the advantages of a conference like the one we have just experienced. The fact is that it is important for people to get together to exchange ideas. Even apart from the speeches and the organizational activities which go on with the formal organization, it would seem that, as you indicated, the opportunity for the leaders of each of these parts of the world to get together becomes an invaluable asset to the total freedom struggle. Because without this, leaders very often feel they work by themselves; and with it, they can see the whole picture.

Malcolm X: Yes, this is one thing that I have learned since being out of the Black Muslim movement. It's difficult to look at a thing through the narrow scope of an organizational eye ofttimes and see it in its proper perspective. If the various groups in America had been less selfish and had permitted

different representatives from the groups to travel into foreign countries, and broaden their own scope, and come back and educate the movements they represented, not only would this have made the groups to which they belonged more enlightened and more worldly in the international sense, but it also would have given the independent African states abroad a better understanding of the groups in the United States, and what they stand for, what they represent.

In my opinion, a very narrow, backward, almost childish approach has been made by the groups in the United States, and especially the religious groups; very narrow minded. Whenever you belong to a group that just can't work with another group, then that group itself is selfish. Any group, any group that can't work with all other groups, if they are genuinely interested in solving the problems of the Negro collectively why, I don't think that that group is really sincerely motivated toward reaching a solution. This Organization of African Unity, this summit conference, is the best example of what can be accomplished when people come together and their motives aren't selfish.

Milton Henry: Yes, it doesn't seem that it should be so difficult for Negroes, if they are sincere, to get together.

Malcolm X: If they are sincere, it is easy for them to get together.

Milton Henry: Perhaps those leaders will be passed by now, in the events as they move forward. I am enthused about the OAAU, and I expect that there will be some very concrete things happening with respect to that organization that will make the so-called civil-rights movement just a thing of the past almost.

Malcolm X: Well, one of the main objectives of the OAAU is to join the civil-rights struggle and lift it above civil rights to the level of human rights. As long as our people wage a struggle for freedom and label it civil rights, it means that we are under the domestic jurisdiction of Uncle Sam continually, and no outside nation can make any effort whatsoever to help us. As soon as we lift it above civil rights to the level of human rights, the problem becomes internationalized; all of those who belong to the United Nations automatically can take sides with us and help us in condemning, at least charging, Uncle Sam with violation of our human rights.

Milton Henry: Yes, Malcolm, there is one other thing before we leave. What do you think of this city of Cairo?

Malcolm X: Cairo is probably one of the best examples for the American Negro. More so than any other city on the African continent, the people of Cairo look like the American Negroes in the sense that we have all complexions, we range in America from the darkest black to the lightest light, and here in Cairo it is the same thing; throughout Egypt, it is the same thing. All of the complexions are blended together here in a truly harmonious society. You know, if ever there was a people who should know how to practice brotherhood, it is the American Negro and it is the people of Egypt. Negroes just can't judge each other according to color, because we are all colors, all complexions. And as Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois pointed out, the problems today are too vast. Just as on the African continent, you have this wide range of complexions so much so that you can't call it a brown struggle, a red struggle, or a black struggle.

Milton Henry: By the way, Brother Malcolm, before we close, did you receive any promises of assistance or help from any of the African nations?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes, several of them promised officially that, come the next session of the UN, any effort on our part to bring our problem before the UN... I think it is the Commission on Human Rights...will get support and help from them. They will assist us in showing us how to bring it up legally. So I am very, very happy over the whole result of my trip here.

Milton Henry: So this conference has been an unqualified success from all standpoints?

Malcolm X: From all standpoints it has been an unqualified success, and one which should change the whole direction of our struggle in America for human dignity as well as human rights.

Milton Henry: Thank you very much, Brother Malcolm.

# Letter From Mecca
# (April 20, 1964)

Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as practiced by people of all colors and races here in this Ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all other prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week, I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors.

I have been blessed to visit the Holy City of Mecca. I have made my seven circuits around the Ka'ba, led by a young Mutawaf named Muhammad. I drank water from the well of Zem Zem. I ran seven times back and forth between the hills of Mt. Al-Safa and Al-Marwah. I have prayed in the ancient city of Mina, and I have prayed on Mt. Arafat. There were tens of thousands of pilgrims, from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue-eyed blonds to black skin Africans. But we were all participating in the same rituals, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had lead me to believe never could exist between the white and non-white. America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases from its society the race problem.

Throughout my travels in the Muslim world, I have met, talked to, and even eaten with people who in America would have considered 'white'—but the 'white' attitude was removed from their minds by the religion of Islam. I have never before seen sincere and true brotherhood practiced by all colors together, irrespective of their color.

You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen, and experienced, has forced me to re-arrange much of my thought patterns previously held, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions. This was not too difficult for me. Despite my firm convictions, I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and new knowledge unfolds it. I have always kept an open mind, which is necessary to the flexibility that must go hand in hand with every form of intelligent search for truth. During the past eleven days here in the Muslim world, I have eaten from the same plate, drunk from the same glass, and slept in the same bed, (or

on the same rug)—while praying to the same God—with fellow Muslims, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white. And in the same words and in the actions and in the deeds of the 'white' Muslims, I felt the same sincerity that I felt among the black African Muslims of Nigeria, Sudan and Ghana.

We were truly all the same (brothers)—because their belief in one God had removed the 'white' from their minds, the 'white' from their behavior, and the 'white' from their attitude. I could see from this, that perhaps if white Americans could accept the Oneness of God, then perhaps, too, they could accept in reality the Oneness of Man—and cease to measure, and hinder, and harm others in terms of their differences in color. With racism plaguing America like an incurable cancer, the so-called 'Christian' white American heart should be more receptive to a proven solution to such a destructive problem. Perhaps it could be in time to save America from imminent disaster—the same destruction brought upon Germany by racism that eventually destroyed the Germans themselves.

Each hour here in the Holy Land enables me to have greater spiritual insights into what is happening in America between black and white. The American Negro never can be blamed for his racial animosities—he is only reacting to four hundred years of conscious racism of the American whites. But as racism leads America up the suicide path, I do believe, from the experience that I have had with them, that the whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, will see the handwriting on the wall and many of them will turn to the spiritual path of truth—the only way left to America to ward off the disaster that racism inevitably must lead to.

Never have I been so highly honored. Never have I been made to feel more humble and unworthy. Who would believe the blessings that have been heaped upon an American Negro? A few nights ago, a man who would be called in America a 'white' man, a United Nations diplomat, an ambassador, a companion of kings, gave me his hotel suite, his bed. By this man, His Excellency Prince Faisal who rules this Holy Land, was made aware of my presence here in Jedda. The very next morning, Prince Faisal's son, in person, informed me that by the will and decree of his esteemed father, I was to be a State Guest. The deputy Chief of Protocol himself took me before the Hajj Court. His Holiness Sheikh Muhammad Harkon himself okayed my visit to Mecca. His Holiness gave me two books on

Islam, with his personal seal and autograph, and he told me that he prayed that I would be a successful preacher of Islam in America. A car, a driver, and a guide, have been placed at my disposal, making it possible for me to travel about this Holy Land almost at will. The government provides air conditioned quarters and servants in each city that I visit. Never would I have even thought of dreaming that I would ever be a recipient of such honors—honors that in America would be bestowed upon a King—not a Negro. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of all the Worlds.

Sincerely, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X)

# Malcolm X at University of Ghana (May 13, 1964)

I intend for my talk to be very informal, because our position in America is an informal position, and I find that it is very difficult to use formal terms to describe a very informal position. No condition of any people on earth is more deplorable than the condition, or plight, of the twenty-two million Black people in America. And our condition is so deplorable because we are in a country that professes to be a democracy and professes to be striving to give justice and freedom and equality to everyone who is born under its constitution. If we were born in South Africa or in Angola or some part of this earth where they don't profess to be for freedom, that would be another thing; but when we are born in a country that stands up and represents itself as the leader of the Free World, and you still have to beg and crawl just to get a chance to drink a cup of coffee, then the condition is very deplorable indeed.

So tonight, so that you will understand me and why I speak as I do, it should probably be pointed out at the outset that I am not a politician. I don't know anything about politics. I'm from America but I'm not an American. I didn't go there of my own free choice. If I were an American there would be no problem, there'd be no need for legislation or civil rights or anything else. So I just try to face the fact as it actually is and come to this meeting as one of the victims of America, one of the victims of Americanism, one of the victims of democracy, one of the victims of a very hypocritical system that is going all over this earth today representing itself as being qualified to tell other people how to run their country when they can't get the dirty things that are going on in their own country straightened out.

So if someone else from America comes to you to speak, they're probably speaking as Americans, and they speak as people who see America through the eyes of an American. And usually those types of persons refer to America, or that which exists in America, as the American Dream. But for the twenty million of us in America who are of African descent, it is not an American dream; it's an American nightmare.

I don't feel that I am a visitor in Ghana or in any part of Africa. I feel that

I am at home. I've been away for four hundred years, but not of my own volition, not of my own will. Our people didn't go to America on the Queen Mary, we didn't go by Pan American, and we didn't go to America on the Mayflower. We went in slave ships, we went in chains. We weren't immigrants to America, we were cargo for purposes of a system that was bent upon making a profit. So this is the category or level of which I speak. I may not speak it in the language many of you would use, but I think you will understand the meaning of my terms.

When I was in Ibadan at the University of Ibadan last Friday night, the students there gave me a new name, which I go for — meaning I like it. "Omowale," which they say means in Yoruba — if I am pronouncing that correctly, and if I am not pronouncing it correctly it's because I haven't had a chance to pronounce it for four hundred years — which means in that dialect, "The child has returned." It was an honor for me to be referred to as a child who had sense enough to return to the land of his forefathers — to his fatherland and to his motherland. Not sent back here by the State Department, but come back here of my own free will.

I am happy and I imagine, since it is the policy that whenever a Black man leaves America and travels in any part of Africa, or Asia, or Latin America and says things contrary to what the American propaganda machine turns out, usually he finds upon his return home that his passport is lifted. Well, if they had not wanted me to say the things I am saying, they should never have given me a passport in the first place. The policy usually is the lifting of the passport. Now I am not here to condemn America, I am not here to make America look bad, but I am here to tell you the truth about the situation that Black people in America find themselves confronted with. And if truth condemns America, then she stands condemned.

This is the most beautiful continent that I've ever seen; it's the richest continent I've ever seen, and strange as it may seem, I find many white Americans here smiling in the faces of our African brothers like they have been loving them all of the time. The fact is, these same whites who in America spit in our faces, the same whites who in America club us brutally, the same whites who in America sic their dogs upon us, just because we want to be free human beings, the same whites who turn their water hoses upon our women and our babies because we want to integrate with them, are over here in Africa smiling in your face trying to integrate with you.

I had to write a letter back home yesterday and tell some of my friends that if American Negroes want integration, they should come to Africa, because more white people over here — white Americans, that is — look like they are for integration than there is in the entire American country. But actually what it is, they want to integrate with the wealth that they know is here — the untapped natural resources which exceed the wealth of any continent on this earth today.

When I was coming from Lagos to Accra Sunday, I was riding on an airplane with a white man who represented some of the interests, you know, that are interested in Africa. And he admitted — at least it was his impression — that our people in Africa didn't know how to measure wealth, that they worship wealth in terms of gold and silver, not in terms of the natural resources that are in the earth, and that as long as the Americans or other imperialists or twentieth-century colonialists could continue to make the Africans measure wealth in terms of gold and silver, they never would have an opportunity to really measure the value of the wealth that is in the soil, and would continue to think that it is they who need the Western powers instead of thinking that it is the Western powers who need the people and the continent that is known as Africa. The thing is, I hope I don't mess up anybody's politics or anybody's plots or plans or schemes, but then I think that it can be well proved and backed up.

Ghana is one of the most progressive nations on the African continent primarily because it has one of the most progressive leaders and most progressive presidents. The president of this nation has done something that no American, no white American, wants to see done — well, I should say "no American" because all the Americans over there are white Americans.

President Nkrumah is doing something there that the government in America does not like to see done, and that is he's restoring the African image. He is making the African proud of the African image; and whenever the African becomes proud of the African image and this positive image is projected abroad, then the Black man in America, who up to now has had nothing but a negative image of Africa — automatically the image that the Black man in America has of his African brothers changes from negative to positive, and the image that the Black man in America has of himself will also change from negative to positive.

And the American racists know that they can rule the African in America, the African-American in America, only as long as we have a negative image of ourselves. So they keep us with a negative image of Africa. And they also know that the day that the image of Africa is changed from negative to positive, automatically the attitude of twenty-two million Africans in America will also change from negative to positive.

And one of the most important efforts to change the image of the African is being made right here in Ghana. And the Ghanaian personality can be picked right out of any group of Africans anywhere on this planet, because you see nothing in him that reflects any kind of feeling of inferiority or anything of that sort. And as long as you have a president who teaches you that you can do anything that anybody else under the sun can do, you got a good man.

Not only that, we who live in America have learned to measure Black men: the object we use to measure him is the attitude of America toward him. When we find a Black man who's always receiving the praise of the Americans, we become suspicious of him. When we find a Black man who receives honors and all kinds of plaques and beautiful phrases and words from America, we immediately begin to suspect that person. Because it has been our experience that the Americans don't praise any Black man who is really working for the benefit of the Black man, because they realize that when you begin to work in earnest to do things that are good for the people on the African continent, all the good you do for people on the African continent has got to be against someone else, because someone else up to now has benefited from the labor and the wealth of the people on this continent. So our yardstick in measuring these various leaders is to find out what the Americans think about them. And these leaders over here who are receiving the praise and pats on the back from the Americans, you can just flush the toilet and let them go right down the drain.

This president here is disliked. Don't think that it's just the American press, it's the government. In America when you find a concerted effort of the press to always speak in a bad way about an African leader, usually that press is actually reflecting government opinion. But America is a very shrewd government. If it knows that its own governmental position will cause a negative reaction from the people that it wants to continue to exploit, it will pretend to have a free press and at the same time sic that free press on a real African leader and stand on the sideline and say that

this is not government policy. But everything that happens in America is government policy.

Not only is the president of this country disliked, the president of Algeria, Ben Bella, is disliked because he is revolutionary, he's for freedom of everybody. Nasser is disliked because he's for freedom of everybody. All of them are referred to as dictators. As soon as they get the mass of their people behind them, they're a dictator. As soon as they have unity of their people in their country, they're a dictator. If there is no division, fighting, and squabbling going on, the leader of that country is a dictator if he is an African; but as long as it is in America, he's just an American president who has the support of the people.

I am coming to America in a minute, but I just want to comment on our relations I've noticed since being here. I heard that there is a conflict among some of our brothers and sisters over here concerning whether or not it's advisable for the government to play such a prominent role in guiding the education — the curriculum and what not — of the people of the country and in the various universities. Yes, any time you have a people who have been colonized for as long as our people have been colonized, and you tell them now they can vote, they will spend all night arguing and never get anywhere. Everything needs to be controlled until the colonial mentality has been completely destroyed, and when that colonial mentality has been destroyed at least to the point where they know what they are voting for, then you give them a chance to vote on this and vote on that. But we have this trouble in America, as well as other areas where colonialism has existed, the only way they can practice or apply democratic practices is through advice and counsel.

So my own honest, humble opinion is, anytime you want to come out from under a colonial mentality, let the government set up the educational system and educate you in the direction or way they want you to go in; and then after your understanding is up to the level where it should be, you can stand around and argue or philosophize or something of that sort.

There is probably no more enlightened leader on the African continent than President Nkrumah, because he lived in America. He knows what it is like there. He could not live in that land as long as he did and be disillusioned, or confused, or be deceived. Anytime you think that America is the land of the free, you come there and take off your national dress

and be mistaken for an American Negro, and you will find out you're not in the land of the free. America is a colonial power. She is just as much a colonial power in 1964 as France, Britain, Portugal, and all these other European countries were in 1864. She's a twentieth-century colonial power; she's a modern colonial power, and she has colonized twenty-two million African-Americans. While there are only eleven million Africans colonized in South Africa, four or five million colonized in Angola, there are twenty-two million Africans colonized in America right now on May 13, 1964. What is second-class citizenship if nothing but twentieth-century colonialism? They don't want you to know that slavery still exists, so rather than call it slavery they call it second-class citizenship.

Either you are a citizen or you are not a citizen at all. If you are a citizen, you are free; if you are not a citizen, you are a slave. And the American government is afraid to admit that she never gave freedom to the Black man in America and won't even admit that the Black man in America is not free, is not a citizen, and doesn't have his rights. She skillfully camouflages it under these pretty terms of second-class citizenship. It's colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism.

One of our brothers just landed here today from New York. He told me that when he left New York, the police were walking in Harlem six abreast. Why? Because Harlem is about to explode. You know what I mean by "Harlem"? Harlem is the most famous city on this earth; there is no city on the African continent with as many Africans as Harlem. In Harlem they call it little Africa, and when you walk through Harlem, you're in Ibadan, everyone there looks just like you. And today the police were out in force, with their clubs. They don't have police dogs in Harlem, 'cause those kind of people who live in Harlem don't allow police dogs to come in Harlem. That's the point, they don't allow police dogs to come in Harlem.

They are troubled with the existence of little gangs who have been going around killing people, killing white people. Well now, they project it abroad as an anti-white gang. No, it's not an anti-white gang, it's an anti-oppression gang. It's an anti-frustration gang. They don't know what else to do. They've been waiting for the government to solve their problems; they've been waiting for the president to solve their problems; they've been waiting for the Senate and the Congress and the Supreme Court to solve their problems; they've been waiting for Negro leaders to solve their problems; and all they hear are a lot of pretty words. So they become frustrated and

don't know what to do. So they do the only thing they know how: they do the same thing the Americans did when they got frustrated with the British in 1776 — liberty or death.

This is what the Americans did; they didn't turn the other cheek to the British. No, they had an old man named Patrick Henry who said, "Liberty or death!" I never heard them refer to him as an advocate of violence; they say he's one of the Founding Fathers, because he had sense to say, "Liberty or death!"

And there is a growing tendency among Black Americans today, who are able to see that they don't have freedom — they are reaching the point now where they are ready to tell the Man no matter what the odds are against them, no matter what the cost is, it's liberty or death. If this is the land of the free, then give us some freedom. If this is the land of justice, then give us some justice. And if this is the land of equality, give us some equality. This is the growing temper of the Black American, of the African-American, of which there are twenty-two million.

Am I justified in talking like this? Let me see. I was in Cleveland, Ohio, just two months ago when this white clergyman was killed by the bulldozer. I was in Cleveland, I was there. Now you know if a white man in the garb, in the outfit, the costume, or whatever you want to call it, of a priest...if they run over him with a bulldozer, what will they do to a Black man? They run over someone who looks like them who is demonstrating for freedom, what chance does a Black man have? This wasn't in Mississippi, this was in Cleveland in the North. This is the type of experience the Black man in America is faced with every day.

# Robert Penn Warren Interviews Malcolm X (June 2, 1964)

Robert Penn Warren: This is the first tape of a conversation with Mr. Malcolm X, June 2nd. From what I have read, which includes books I could find and a good many articles on the Black Muslim position and on yourself, it seems that the identity of the Negro is the key fact that you deal with, is that true? Is that impression correct?

Malcolm X: Yes. Yes, and not not so much in the sense of the Black Muslim religion.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: Both of them have to be separated.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: The black people in this country are taught that their religion and the best religion is the religion of Islam, and when one accepts the religion of Islam, he's known as a Muslim. He becomes a Muslim. That means he believes that there's no God but Allah and that Mohammed is the apostle of Allah. Now besides teaching him that Islam is the best religion, since the main problem that American...the Afro-Americans have is a lack of cultural identity, it is necessary to teach him that he has some type of identity, culture, civilization before he was brought here. Well, now, teaching him about his historic or cultural past is is not his religion. This is not...it's not religious.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: The two have to be separated.

Warren: Yes. Or what about the matter of personal identity as related to cultural and blood identity?

Malcolm X: I don't quite understand what you mean.

Warren: I mean I'm trying to get at this. That is, a man may know that he belongs to, say, a group—this group or that group—but he feels himself lost within that group, trapped within his own deficiencies and without personal purpose. Lacking personal identity, you see.

Malcolm X: Yes. Well, the religion of Islam actually restores one's human feelings, human rights, human incentives, human...his talent. The religion of Islam brings out of the individual all of his dormant potential. It it gives him the incentive to develop his dormant potential so that when he becomes a part of the brotherhood of Islam, and is identified collectively in the brotherhood of Islam with the brothers in Islam, at the same time this also gives him the...it has a psychological effect of giving him the incentive as an individual to develop all of his dormant potential to its fullest extent.

Warren: A personal regeneration then.
..

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: ...is associated automatically with this?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. Yes.

Warren: Sometimes in talking with Negroes in other organizations and other persuasions, I've found about there's a deep suspicion of any approach which involves the old phrase "self improvement", you see.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: And to state the matter on objective, impersonal matters such as civil rights, integration, or job programs, and not on the question of self improvement or, you might say, the individual responsibility.

Malcolm X: That...

Warren: But you you take a different line.

Malcolm X: Definitely. Most of the, or I should say many of the Negro leaders actually suffer themselves from an inferiority complex even though they say they don't. And because of this they have subconscious defensive

mechanisms which they've erected without even realizing it. So that when you mentioned something about self improvement, the implication is that the Negro is something distinct or different and, therefore, needs to learn how to improve himself. Negro leaders resent this being said, not because they don't know it's true, but they're thinking they're looking at it personally. They think that the implication is directed even at them, and that they...and they duck this responsibility. Whereas the only real solution to the race problem in this country is a solution that involves individual self improvement and collective self improvement in whereas our own... wherein our own people are concerned.

Warren: Could you tell me or would you be willing to, or do you think it's relevant, some detail of your own conversion to Islam?

Malcolm X: Well, I was in prison.

Warren: I know that fact, yes. I'm asking about the interior feeling of the process.

Malcolm X: Yes. Well, I was in prison and I was an atheist. I didn't believe in anything. And I had begun to read books and things and, in fact, one of the persons who started me thinking seriously was an atheist that I... another Negro inmate whom I'd heard in a discussion with white inmates and who was able to hold his own at all levels. And he impressed me with his knowledge, and I began to listen very carefully to some of the things he said. And it was he who switched my reading habits in a direction away from fiction to non-fiction, so that by the time one of my brothers told me about Islam, although I...although I was an atheist, I was open-minded, and I began to read in that direction, in the direction of Islam, and everything that I read about it appealed to me. And one of the main things that I read about it that appealed to me was in Islam a man is regarded as a human being. He's not measured by the color of his skin. At this point I hadn't yet gotten deep into the historic condition that Negroes in this country are confronted with, but at that point in my prison studies I read, I studied Islam as a religion more so than as I later come to know it in its connection with the plight or problem of Negroes in this country.

Warren: This is getting ahead a little bit but it seems to apply here. If Islam teaches the human worth of all men without reference to color, how does that fact relate to the methods of black superiority and the doom of the

white race?

Malcolm X: Well, the white race is doomed not because it's white but because of its deeds, and the people listening very closely to what the Muslims have always declared...

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: ...they'll find that in every declaration there's the fact that the same as as Moses told Pharaoh, "You're doomed if you don't do so and so," or as Daniel told I think it was Balthazar or Nebuchadnezzar, "You are doomed if you don't do so and so." Now, always that "if " was there, which meant that the one who was doomed could avoid the doom if he would change his way of behaving. Well, it's the same here in America. When the Muslims deliver the indictment of the American system, it is not the white man per se that is being doomed.

Warren: It's not blood itself that's being...there's no blood damnation then?

Malcolm X: No. But, see, the...it's almost impossible to separate the actions, or it's also, it's almost impossible to separate the oppression and exploitation, criminal oppression and criminal exploitation of the American Negro, from the color of the skin of the person who is the oppressor or the exploiter. So he thinks he's being condemned because of his color but, actually, he's being condemned because of his deeds, his conscious behavior.

Warren: Let's take the question like this—can a person, an American of white blood, be guiltless?

Malcolm X: Guiltless?

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: Well, you can only answer it this way, by turning it around. Can the Negro, who is the victim of the system, escape the collective stigma that is placed upon all Negroes in this country? And the answer is "No." Because Ralph Bunche, who is an internationally recognized and respected diplomat, can't stay in a hotel in Georgia, which means that no matter what the accomplishment, the intellectual, the academic, or

professional level of a Negro is, collectively he stands condemned. Well, the white race in America is the same way. As individuals it is impossible for them to escape the collective crime committed against the Negroes in this country collectively.

Warren: Let's take an extreme case like this, just the most extreme example I can think of. Let us say a white child of three or four, something like that, who is outside of conscious decisions or valuations, is facing accidental death, you see. Is the reaction to that child the same as the reaction to a a Negro child facing the same situation?

Malcolm X: Well, just take the Negro child. Take the white child. The white child, although it has not committed any of the...as a person has not committed any of the deeds that has produced the plight that the Negro finds himself in, is he guiltless? The only way you can determine that is, take the Negro child who's only four years old. Can he escape though he's only four years old, can he escape the stigma of discrimination and segregation? He's only four years old.

Warren: Let's put him in front of the oncoming truck and put a white man on the pavement who must risk his life to leap for the child. Let's reverse it.

Malcolm X: I don't see where that...

Warren: Some white man would leap. Some wouldn't leap.

Malcolm X: It would not...it still wouldn't alter the fact that after that white man saved that little black child, he couldn't take that little black child in many restaurants, hotels, in places right along with him.

Warren: Umhmm.

Malcolm X: Even after the child, the life of the black child was saved, but that same white man will have to toss him right back into the discriminate-...into discrimination, segregation, and these other things.

Warren: Well, suppose let's take a case, suppose that white man is prepared to go to jail to break segregation?

Malcolm X: His going to jail to break segregation still has...and if he broke

segregation
...

Warren: Just keep it on the individual, this one white man.

Malcolm X: You can't solve it individually.

Warren: But what you're having toward the one white man who goes to jail, say, not once but over and over again, say, in...

Malcolm X: This has been going on for the past ten years.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: White individuals that have been going to jail. Segregation still exists. Discrimination still exists.

Warren: Yes, that's true. But what is the attitude toward the white man who does this, who goes to jail?

Malcolm X: My personal attitude...

Warren: That's what I mean.

Malcolm X: ...is that he has done nothing to solve the problem.

Warren: What's your attitude toward his moral nature?

Malcolm X: Not even interested in his moral nature. Until the problem is solved, we don't we're not interested in anybody's moral nature.

Warren: At all?

Malcolm X: But what I'm boiling down to say is that the a few isolated white people whose individual acts are designed to eliminate this, that or or the next thing but, yet, it is never eliminated, is in no way impressive to me.

Warren: That is, you couldn't call that man a friend?

Malcolm X: If his own rights were being trampled upon as the rights of Negroes are being trampled upon, he would use a different course of action to protect his rights.

Warren: What course of action?

Malcolm X: I have never seen white people who would sit...who would... who would approach a solution to their own problems non-violently or passively. It's only when they are so-called "fighting for the rights of Negroes" that they non-violently, passively and lovingly, you know, approach the situation. But when the whites themselves are attacked, they believe in defending themselves and things of that sort. But those type of whites who are always going to jail with Negroes are the ones who tell Negroes to be loving and be kind and be patient and be non-violent and turn the other cheek.

Warren: But...

Malcolm X: So if I did see a white man who was willing to go to jail or throw himself in front of a car in behalf of the so-called Negro cause, the test that I'd put to him, I'd ask him, "Do you think when Negroes are being attacked they should defend themselves even at the risk of having to kill the one who's attacking them?" If that white man told me, "Yes," I'd shake his hand. I'd trust in him. But I don't trust any white man who teaches Negroes to turn the other cheek or to be non-violent, which means to be defenseless in the face of a very brutal, criminal enemy. No. That's my yardstick for measuring whites.

Warren: Now, the question, what is defenseless at this point?

Malcolm X: Any time you tell a man to turn the other cheek or to be non-violent in the face of a violent enemy, you're making that man defenseless. You're robbing him of his God-given right to defend himself.

Warren: Let's take a concrete case again on the question of defenselessness just to be sure I understand you. If, say, in the case of Dr. Aaron Henry in Mississippi Clarksdale, Mississippi, his house has been bombed and has been shot through and that sort of thing. Well, he is armed. I've been in his house. I know he's armed. His guards are sitting there with arms with the arms that they're in their hands at night. And everybody knows this.

Now, I can't see how anyone would ask him not to defend himself, you see? If defense is literally defense, as it's taken in ordinary legal times, or a mounted aggression for purposes of defense is another thing in society, you see what I'm getting at? A man sitting in his own house...

Malcolm X: I think that a Negro...

Warren: ...is one thing. A man who goes out and performs an act of violence as is some sort of a long-range defense.

Malcolm X: I think that the Negro should reserve the right to execute any measure necessary to defend himself. Any way, any form necessary to defend himself, he should reserve the right to do that just the same as others have the right to do it.

Warren: Well, political assassination, for instance?

Malcolm X: I don't know anything about that. I wouldn't even answer a question like that.

Warren: Umhmm.

Malcolm X: But I say that the Negro, when he is...when, when they cease to look at him as a Negro and realize that he's a human being, then they will realize that he is just as capable and has the right to do anything that any other human being on this earth has a right to do to defend himself.

Warren: Well, there are millions of white people who would say right away that the Negro should have any...Negro should have the same legal rights to defense that a white man has.

Malcolm X: And I think you'll find also that if the Negro ever realizes that he should begin to fight for real for his freedom, there are many whites who will fight on his side with him. It's not a case where people think he'll be the underdog or be outnumbered. But there are many white people in this country who realize that the system itself, as it is constructed, is not so constructed that it can produce freedom and equality for the Negro, and the system has to be changed. It is the system itself that is incapable of producing freedom for the 22 million Afro-Americans. Just like a chicken can't lay a duck egg. A chicken can't lay a duck egg because the system of

the chicken isn't constructed in the way to produce a duck egg. And just as that chicken system can't produce...is not capable of producing a duck egg, the political and economic system of this country is absolutely incapable of producing freedom and justice and equality and human dignity for the 22 million Afro-Americans.

Warren: You don't see in the American system the possibility of self-regeneration then...

Malcolm X: No, nothing there's nothing in...

Warren: ...of change?

Malcolm X: No. There the American system itself is incapable it's it is as incapable of producing freedom for the Afro-American as a as the system of a chicken is of producing a duck egg.

Warren: You don't see any possibility of gains or or better solutions through political...

Malcolm X: No.

Warren: ...Negro political action or economic action?

Malcolm X: Well, any time the Negro becomes involved in mature political action, then the resistance of the politicians who benefit from the exploited political system as it now stands, will come, will be forced to put...exercise more violent action to deprive the Negro of his mature political action.

Warren: Do you think that Adam Clayton Powell's political career has been one of mature political action? He thinks highly of you. He speaks high-... he speaks to me highly of you.

Malcolm X: Adam Clayton Powell's entire political career has to be looked at in the entire context of the American history and the history of and the position of the Afro-American or Negro in American history, and then when they and when you take all of these factors combined you can see where Adam Clayton Powell is a remarkable man and has done a remarkable job in fighting for rights of black people in this country. On the other hand, he probably hasn't done as much as he could or as much

as he should because he is the most independent Negro politician in this country. There's no politician in this country of national stature who is more independent of the political machine as Adam Clayton Powell is.

Warren: Well, Dawson's a pure victim of it, of course, in Chicago, Congressman Dawson.

Malcolm X: Yes. I don't know too much about Dawson, but from what I've heard, he's more, he has no independence of action when it comes to the political machine there in Chicago.

Warren: But is Adam Clayton Powell's line a line of what you'd call "mature political action," or has that been frustrated and...

Malcolm X: In my opinion, mature political action is the type of action that enables the, that involves a program of re-education and information that will enable the black people in the black community to see the fruits that they should be receiving from the politicians who are over them and, thereby, they are then able to determine whether or not the politician is really fulfilling his function. And if he is not fulfilling his function, they then can set up the machinery to remove him from that position by whatever means necessary. To me, political action involves making the politician who represents us know that he either produces or he is out, and he's out one way or another.

Warren: There's only one way to put a politician out ordinarily, is to vote him out.

Malcolm X: Well, I think that the black people in this country have the reached the point where they should reserve the right to do whatever is necessary to see that they exercise complete control over the politicians in the politician, in the politics of their own community by whatever means necessary.

Warren: Let's go back to the matter of your conversion, or some of the details of that. Was it fast or slow, a simple a matter as that?

Malcolm X: It was fast.

Warren: Flash, a flash...

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: ...of intuition?

Malcolm X: No, it was fast. I, strange as it may seem, I turned I think I took an about-turn overnight.

Warren: Really overnight, just like that?

Malcolm X: Yes. And while I was in prison and wasn't a Muslim, I was indulging in all types of vice, right within the prison. And I never was ostracized as much by the penal authorities while I was participating in all of the evils of the prison, as they tried to ostracize me after I became a Muslim.

Warren: Why was that?

Malcolm X: Well, the prison systems in this country actually are exploitive and they are not in any way rehabilitative. They're not designed to rehabilitate the inmate, though the public propaganda is that this is their function. But they, the most people who work in prison earn money through contraband. They earn their, they earn extra money by selling contraband, dope, and things of that sort to the inmates, and so that really it's an exploiter.

Warren: This was a matter of defending their commercial interests.

Malcolm X: Right.

Warren: Their economic interests and not a matter of fear of the Muslim movement, is that it?

Malcolm X: Both.

Warren: Oh, it's both.

Malcolm X: It's both. They have a fear of the Muslim movement and the Muslim religion because it has a tendency to make the people who accept it stick together. And I had one warden tell me since I've been out, and

I visited an inmate in prison right here in New York, Warden Fay up at Green Haven

Warren: Fain?

Malcolm X: Fay. Fay, F-A-Y. In 1959 or '8, along in there, I visited an inmate in prison and he told me that he didn't want anybody in there trying to spread this religion. And I asked him at that time if it didn't make a better inmate out of the Negroes who accepted it and he said, "Yes." So I asked him then what was it about it that he considered to be so dangerous, and he pointed out that it was the cohesiveness that it produced among the inmates. They stuck together. What you did to one, you did to all. So they couldn't have that type of religion being taught in the prison.

Warren: Just a matter of maintaining their own control then?

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: Has there been any change in your religious beliefs since your break out last fall?

Malcolm X: Well, I have gone through the process of re-evaluating, giving a personal re-evaluation to everything that I ever believed and that I did believe while I was a a member and a minister...

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: ...in the Black in what we call the Black Muslim Movement.

Warren: May I ask how you've come out of that evaluation?

Malcolm X: Well, first I might say that when a person...when a man separates from his wife, at the outstart it's a physical separation but it's not a psychological separation. He still thinks of her in probably warm terms. And, but after the physical separation has taken, existed for a period of time, it becomes a psychological separation as well as physical. And he can then look at her more objectively. My split or separation from the Black Muslim Movement at first was only a physical separation, but my heart was still there and it was impossible for me to, for me to look at it objectively. After I made my tour in the Middle, into the Middle-East and Africa

and visited Mecca and other places, I think that the separation became psychological as well as physical, so that I could look at it more objectively and separate that which was good from that which was bad.

Warren: Well, what did you find, if I may ask, good and what's bad in this reevaluation?

Malcolm X: Well, I think now it's possible for me to approach the whole problem with a broader scope, much broader scope. When you look at something through an organizational eye, whether it's a a religious organization, political organization, or a civic organization, if you look at it only through the eye of that organization, you see what the organization wants you to see. But you lose your ability to be objective. But when you aren't affiliated with anything, and then you look at something, you look at it with your eye to your to the best ability

Warren: Well, for example...

Malcolm X: ...and see it as it is.

Warren: ...for example, what specific thing do you now see as is and not through organizational eyes?

Malcolm X: Well, I can I look at the problem of the 22 million Afro-Americans as being a problem that's so broad in scope that it's almost impossible for any organization to see it in its entirety. And because the average Negro organization, especially, can't see the problem in its entirety, they can't even see that the problem is so big that their own organization as such, by itself, can never come to a...can never come up with a solution. The problem is so broad that it's going to take the inner working of all organizations. It's going to take a a united front of all organizations, looking at it with more objectivity, to come up with a solution that will that will stand against the whites.

Warren: Would you work, would you work then with the SCLC, Dr. King's organization?

Malcolm X: Well, even as a Muslim minister in the Muslim movement, I have always said that I would work with any organization. But I can say it even more honestly now. Then when I said it, I would make the reservation

that I would work with any organization as long as it didn't make us compromise our religious principles. Now I think that the problem of the American Negro goes beyond the principle of any organization whether it's a religious, political, or otherwise. The problem of the Negro is so criminal that many individuals and organizations are going to have to sacrifice what they call their organizational principles if someone comes up with a solution that will really solve the problem. If it's a solution they want, they should go, they should, they should accept the solution. But if it's a solution they want as long as it doesn't interfere with their organization, then it means they're more concerned with their organization than they are with getting a solution to the problem.

Warren: Because I'm trying to see how it would be possible to work with the Dr. King's philosophy of non-violence, you see.

Malcolm X: Well, see, now, non-violence with Dr. King is only a method. That's not his objective.

Warren: Yes. No, it's not his objective but.

Malcolm X: Well, his objective, I think, is to gain respect for Negroes as human beings.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: And non-violence is his, is his method. Well, my objective is the same as King's. Now, we may disagree on methods, but we don't have to argue all day on methods. Forget the methods or the differences in methods. As long as we agree that the thing that the Afro-American wants and needs is recognition and respect as a human being.

Warren: Would you change in the evaluation of the Black Muslim Movement in America, have you changed your view about separatism, political separatism, the actual formation of an independent state of some kind?

Malcolm X: Well, I might say this, that the problem of the solution for the Afro-American is two-fold—long- range and short-range. I believe that a psychological, cultural, and philosophical migration back to Africa will solve our problem. Not a physical migration, but a cultural, psychological,

philosophical migration back to Africa, which means restoring our common bond will give us the spiritual strength and the incentive to strengthen our political and social and economic position right here in America, and to fight for the things that are ours by right here on this continent. And at the same time, this will also tend to give incentive to many of our people then to want to also visit and even migrate physically back to Africa. And those who stay here can help those who go back, and those who go back can help those who stay here in the same way that when Jews go to Israel, the Jews in America help those in Israel and the Jews in Israel help those in America.

Warren: Is that...that's the long-range, the second thing is your long-range solution, is that it?

Malcolm X: Sir?

Warren: The second thing is a long-range solution? There are two aspects to the solution. One's a short-range.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: What's the long-range?

Malcolm X: The short-range involves the long-range. Immediate steps have to be taken to re-educate our people...

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: ...into the a more real view of political, economic, and social conditions in this country, and our ability in a self-improvement program to gain control politically over every community in which we predominate, and also over the economy of that same community as here in Harlem. Instead of all the stores in Harlem being owned by white people, they should be owned and operated by black people. The same as in a German neighborhood, the stores are run by Germans, and in a Chinese neighborhood they're run by Chinese. In the Negro neighborhood the businesses should be owned and operated by Negroes and, thereby, they will be employing and they will be creating employment for Negroes.

Warren: Right. You are thinking then of these, you might say, localities as

being then operated by Negroes, not in terms of a separate a political state, a separate nation?

Malcolm X: No. The separating of a section of America for Afro-Americans is similar to expecting a heaven in the sky somewhere after you die.

Warren: It's not practical then?

Malcolm X: To say it is not practical, ha-...one has to also admit that integration is not practical.

Warren: I don't quite follow that.

Malcolm X: In stating that the idea of a separate state is not practical, I'm also stating that the idea of integration, forced integration, as they've been making an effort to do in this country for the past ten years, is also just as impractical.

Warren: That both these poles, these two opposites.

Malcolm X: Both are impractical.

Warren: Simply aren't practical?

Malcolm X: Yes. Both of them are impractical.

Warren: You can envisage Negro sections or Negro communities which are self-determining.

Malcolm X: Yes, I do.

Warren: ...as a better solution?

Malcolm X: A re-education program is devised to bring our people to the intellectual, economic, political, and social level wherein we can control, own, operate our own communities economically, politically, socially, and otherwise. Why, any solution that doesn't involve that is not even a solution. Because if I can't run my neighborhood, you won't want me in your neighborhood.

Warren: You are saying, in other words, you see neighborhoods and communities that are, that are all Afro-American and self-determining, but these are parts of a larger political unity as.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: ...the United States?

Malcolm X: Because once the black man becomes the political master of his own community, it means that the politicians of that community will also be black, which also means that he then will be sending black representation or representatives not only to represent him at the local level and at the state level, but even at the federal level. See, all throughout the South in areas where the black man predominates, he would have black representatives in Washington, D.C. Well, my contention is that the political system of this country is so designing criminally to prevent this, that if the black man even started in that direction, which is a mature step and it's the only way to really solve this problem and to prove that he is the intellectual equal of others, why, the racists and the segregationists would fight that harder than they're fighting the present efforts to integrate.

Warren: They'll fight it, yes. Let me ask you two questions around this. One, there are Negroes now holding a prominent place at the federal level.

Malcolm X: They've been put there

Warren: Like Dr. Weaver and...

Malcolm X: I don't mean...

Warren: Mr. Rowan and people like that.

Malcolm X: I don't mean those kind of Negroes who are placed in big jobs as window dressing. I refer to a Negro politician as a Negro who is selected by Negroes, and who is backed by Negroes. Most of those Negroes have been given those jobs by the white political machine, and they serve no other function other than as window dressing.

Warren: Ralph Bunche, too?

Malcolm X: Any Negro who occupies a position that was given to him by the white man, if you analyze his function, his function never enables him to really take a firm, uncompromising, militant stand on problems that confront our people. He opens up his mouth only to the degree that the political atmosphere at the time will allow him to do so without rocking the boat too much.

Warren: Is your organization supporting the voter registration drive in Mississippi this summer?

Malcolm X: Yes. We're going to work

Warren: Actively?

Malcolm X: Yes, we're going to give active support to voter registration drives, not only in Mississippi, but in New York City. I just can't see where Mississippi is that much different from New York City. Maybe in method or...

Warren: I don't either.

Malcolm X: No, I don't see...I never will let anyone maneuver me into making a distinction between the Mississippi form of discrimination and the New York City form of discrimination. It's both discrimination. It's all discrimination.

Warren: Are you actually putting workers in Mississippi this summer?

Malcolm X: We will. They won't be non-violent workers.

Warren: Non-violent in which sense? Upon attack or...

Malcolm X: We will never send a Negro anywhere and tell him to be non-violent.

Warren: Umhmm. If he is shot at, shoot back?

Malcolm X: If you're shot at, shoot back.

Warren: What about the matter of non-selective reprisals? Say, if a Negro

is shot in Mississippi and like Medgar Evers, for instance, then shooting a white man or trying to shoot a responsible white man?

Malcolm X: Well, I'll tell you. If I go home and someone...and my child has blood running down her leg and someone tells me that a snake bit her, I'm going out and kill the snake. And when I find the snake, I'm not going to look and see if he has blood on his jaws.

Warren: You mean you'll kill any snake you find?

Malcolm X: I grew up in the country on a farm...

Warren: So did I.

Malcolm X: ...and it was whenever someone said even that a snake was eating the chickens or bothering the chickens, we'd kill snakes. We never knew whether that was the snake that did it.

Warren: To read your parallel then, you would advocate non-selective reprisal. Kill any white person around.

Malcolm X: I'm not saying that. I'm just telling you about snakes.

Warren: Yeah, okay. All right. We'll settle for that.

Malcolm X: Well, I mean what I say.

Warren: Umhmm. I know what you say. I know how the parables worked. Let us suppose that we had, just suppose.

Malcolm X: Then, perhaps, you know the other...when the snakes out in that field begin to realize that if one of their members get out of line, it's going to be detrimental to all of them, they'll keep that perhaps they'll then take the necessary steps to keep their fellow snakes away from my chickens or away from my children if the responsibility is placed upon them.

Warren: Suppose we had...this is maybe it's a big supposition, but suppose we had an adequate civil rights legislation and fair employment.

Malcolm X: I might even answer that, if I may.

Warren: Yes, please, go ahead.

Malcolm X: I believe when a Negro church is bombed, that a white church should be bombed.

Warren: Reprisal.

Malcolm X: I believe it, yes. Can I, and I can give you the best example. When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, the United States struck back. She didn't go and bomb...she bombed any part of Japan. She dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. Those people in Hiroshima probably hadn't even some of them most of them hadn't even killed anybody.

Warren: Sure.

Malcolm X: But still she dropped that bomb. I think it killed eighty-some thousand people. Well, this is internationally recognized as a way, as justifiable during war. Any time a Negro community lives under fear that its churches are going to be bombed, then they are to realize they're living in a war zone. And once they recognize it as such, they can adopt the same measures against the community that harbors the criminals who are responsible for this activity.

Warren: Now we have it. Now we have it. It's a question of a Negro, say, in Birmingham, being outside of the community, being no part of the community, so he takes the same kind of reprisal he would take in wartime?

Malcolm X: He should realize that he is living in a war zone, and he is at war with an enemy that is as vicious and criminal and inhuman as any war-making country has ever been.

Warren: Umhmm.

Malcolm X: And once he realizes that, then he can defend himself.

Warren: Now, getting back to what I was about to say a moment ago. Suppose you had an adequate civil rights legislation enforced—suppose you had a fair employment practice code enforced. Suppose we had the

objectives demanded by most civil rights organizations now actually existing, then what?

Malcolm X: Suppose.

Warren: Just suppose. Let's suppose, let's suppose.

Malcolm X: You'd have civil war. You'd have a race war in this country. In order to enforce...see, you can't force people to act right toward each other. You can't force, you cannot legislate heart, conditions and attitudes. And when you have to pass a law to make a man let me have a house, or you have to pass a law to make a man let me go to school, or you have to pass a law to make a man let me walk down the street, you have to enforce that law and you'd be living actually in a police state. It would take a police state in this country. I mean a real police state right now just to get a token recognition of a law. It took, I think, 15,000 troops and six million dollars to put one Negro in the University of Mississippi. That's a police action, police state action.

Warren: That's a police action.

Malcolm X: So, actually, all of the civil rights problems during the past ten years have created a situation where America right now is moving toward a police state. You can't have anything otherwise. So that's your supposition.

Warren: All right. Then you see no possibility of a self-regeneration for our society then?

Malcolm X: When I was in Mecca...

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: I noticed that their they had no color problem. That they had people there whose eyes were blue and people there whose eyes were black, people whose skin was white, people whose skin was black, people whose hair was blond, people whose hair was black, from the whitest white person to the blackest black person.

Warren: I read your letters.

Malcolm X: There was no racism, there was no problem. But the religious philosophy that they had adopted, in my opinion, was the only thing and is the only thing that can remove the white from the mind of the white man and the Negro from the mind of the Negro. I have seen what Islam has done with our people, our people who had this feeling of Negro and it and it had a psychological effect of putting them in a in, a mental prison. When they accepted Islam, it removed that. Well, white people whom I have met, who have accepted Islam, they don't regard themselves as white but as human beings. And by looking upon themselves as human beings, their whiteness to them isn't the yardstick of perfection or honor or anything else. And, therefore, this creates within them an attitude that is different from the attitude of the white that you meet here in America, because then, and it was in Mecca that I realized that white is actually an attitude more so than it's a color. And I and I can prove it because among Negroes we have Negroes who are as white as some white people. Still there's a difference.

Warren: I was about to ask you about, what is a Negro?

Malcolm X: Yeah, it's an attitude. I'll tell you what it is. And white is an attitude. And it is the attitude of the American white man that is making him stand condemned today before the eyes of the entire dark world and even before the eyes of the Europeans. It is his attitude, his haughty, holier-than-thou attitude. He has the audacity to call himself even the "leader of the free world" while he has a country that can't even give the basic human rights to over 22 million of its citizens. This takes audacity, this takes nerve. So it is this attitude today that's causing the Americans to be condemned.

Warren: What do you take of the western European white as opposed to the American white?

Malcolm X: Well, there's a great deal of difference in the a great deal of difference in the, when you say west European, even there's a difference between the west European and the east European.

Warren: That's what I'm talking about.

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. But there's a great deal of difference in them. Many of them who belong to these countries that were former colonial powers have racist attitudes, but their racist attitude is never displayed to the degree that the America's attitude of racism is displayed. Never.

Warren: You know the book by Essien Udom called Black Nationalism? I know you must.

Malcolm X: I was with Essien Udom in...

Warren: You were?

Malcolm X: ...in Nigeria last month.

Warren: I wish you'd tell me about him. Who is he?

Malcolm X: Well, he's a Nigerian. At present he's a professor at Ibadan University.

Warren: Ah! I didn't know where he was. Now I knew he was a scholar.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Warren: Do you agree with his analysis that the Black Muslim religion, Islam in America, has served as a concealed device to gratify the American Negro's aspirations to white middle-class values?

Malcolm X: No, I don't think
...

Warren: He takes that view, you know.

Malcolm X: Yes, but I don't think that the objective of the American Negro is white middle-class values because what are white middle-class values? And what makes the whites who have these middle-class values have those values? Where did they get it? They didn't have these same values, you know, four hundred years, five hundred years ago. Where did they get their value system that they now have attained to? And my contention is that if you trace it back, it was the people of the East who brought them out of the Dark Ages, who brought about the period, or ushered in or initiated the atmosphere that brought into Europe the period known as the Renaissance or the re-awakening of Europe. And this re-awakening actually involved an era during which the people of Europe, who were coming out of the Dark Ages, were then adopting the value system of the people in the East, in the,

of the oriental society, many of which they were exposed to for the first time during the Crusades.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: Well, these were African these were African-Arab-Asian values. The only section of Europe that had a high value system during the Dark Ages was the, were those on the Iberian Peninsula in the Spanish-Portuguese area, southern France. And that high state of a culture existed there because of Africans known as Moors had come there and brought it there. So that value system has been handed right down in European society. And today when you find Negroes, if they even look like they're adopting these so-called middle-class values, standards, it's not that they're taking something from the white man, but they're probably identifying again with the level or standard that these same whites have gotten from them back during that period.

Warren: You would approach Essien Udom's theory on that ground, undercutting it?

Malcolm X: Undercutting it, definitely.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: I think that if he had something he didn't take it back far enough in history...

Warren: I see.

Malcolm X: ...to get at the proper understanding of it.

Warren: You know there's a theory that's sometimes enunciated by people like Reverend Wyatt Walker, for one, or Whitney Young, that the Black Muslim is primarily created by the white press. He exists but in a, in a...his importance was created by the white press.

Malcolm X: Wyatt doesn't say that as much as Whitney Young does.

Warren: Both of them say it. Both of them said it to me, anyway.

Malcolm X: Well...

Warren: A paper tiger is what Wyatt what Wyatt Walker calls it.

Malcolm X: Yeah. Well, I can answer them like this. Wyatt Walker can walk through Harlem. No one would know him.

Warren: Yeah.

Malcolm X: Whitney Young could walk through Harlem. No one would know him. Any of the Black Muslims can walk through Harlem and there's people know them. I don't think that anyone has been really created more by the white press than the civil right leaders. The white press itself created them. And they themselves in their pronouncements will tell you they need white allies, they need white help, they need white this.

Warren: Yes, some of them do.

Malcolm X: They are more a creation of the white press and the white community, and are more dependent on the white community than any other group in the in the community.

Warren: Almost word for word what you have said I could turn around as Wyatt Walker said to me about, not you personally, but about the whole Black Muslim movement. That if you go outside of New York City, Dr. King is known to ninety percent of the Negroes in the United States and is respected and is identified more or less with him, at least as a hero of one kind or another. That the Black Muslim, outside of one or two communities like New York, are unknown.

Malcolm X: Well, if that's their opinion, that's their opinion. I myself have never been concerned with whether we are considered known or unknown. It's it's no problem of ours.

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: I will say this. That anytime there's a fire in the Negro community and it's burning out of control, you send of anyone of them send Whitney Young in to put it out.

Warren: What do you think of Abraham Lincoln?

Malcolm X: I think that he probably did more to trick Negroes than any other man in history.

Warren: Can you explain that?.

Malcolm X: Well, there's his own...where he I have read where he said he wasn't interested in freeing the slaves.

Warren: He said that, yes.

Malcolm X: So he was interested in saving the Union. Well, most Negroes have been tricked into thinking that Lincoln was a Negro lover whose primary aim was to free them, and he died because he freed them. I think Lincoln did more to deceive Negroes and to make the race problem in this country worse than any man in history.

Warren: How does Kennedy relate to...

Malcolm X: Kennedy, I relate right along with Lincoln. Lincoln to me... Kennedy was a deceitful man. He was a cold-blooded politician whose purpose was to get elected. And the only time Kennedy made any, took any action to even look like he identified with Negroes was when he was forced to. Kennedy didn't even make his speech based on this problem being a moral issue until Negroes exploded in Birmingham. During. during...

Warren: Yes, that was Birmingham.

Malcolm X: Right. During the whole month that Negroes were being beaten by police and washed down the sewer with water hoses, and King was in jail begging for the federal government to intervene, Kennedy's reply was, "No federal statutes have been violated." And it was only when the Negroes erupted that Kennedy come on the television with all his old pretty words. No, the man was a deceiver. He was deceitful and I will never bite my tongue in saying that. I don't think he was anything but a politician, and he used Negroes to get elected and to get votes.

Warren: What about Roosevelt?

Malcolm X: Same thing. There was no president ever had more power than Roosevelt. Roosevelt could have solved many problems, and all he did was.. put...took Negroes off welfare, or first he put them onto welfare, WPA and other projects that he had, and then, if it hadn't been for Hitler going on the rampage, Negroes would still be on the welfare.

Warren: What about Eleanor Roosevelt?

Malcolm X: Same thing. Eleanor Roosevelt was the chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, I think it was, at a time when this country, and at the time that the Human Rights, the Covenant on Human Rights was formed, this country didn't even sign it. This country has never signed the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights. They signed the Declaration of Human Rights. But if they had signed the covenant they would have to get it ratified by the Congress and the Senate, and they could never get the Congress and the Senate to agree to an international law on human rights when they couldn't even get Congress or the Senate to agree on a civil rights law. So Eleanor Roosevelt could easily have told Negroes the deceitful maneuvering of the United States government that was going on behind the scenes. She never did it. In my opinion she was just another white woman who...whose profession was to make it appear that she was on the Negro's side. You have a lot of whites who are in this category. Therefore, they are made Negro loving a profession. They are what I call professional liberals who take advantage of the confidence that Negroes place in them and, therefore, this enhances their own prestige and it gives them key roles to play in the in the politics of this country.

Warren: What about James Baldwin?

Malcolm X: Jimmy Baldwin is a Negro writer.

Warren: What's the content of that?

Malcolm X: He's a Negro writer who has gained fame because of his indictment and his very acid description—I call it an acid description—of what's going on in this country. My only...I don't agree with his non-violent, peaceful, loving approach. I just saw his play, Blues for Mr. Charlie, which I thought was an excellent play until it ended. And if you've seen the end of it, you'll see what I mean.

Warren: I haven't seen it yet.

Malcolm X: Well, you see it. All during the play I'm thinking that it has that, when at the final act that revenge will be taken, or justice will be given for the murder that has taken place.

Warren: I understand that the Ford Foundation is financing the play now—I hear this, I'm not certain of it—is financing it to keep it open a little while longer. Well, that's a strange situation, isn't it?

Malcolm X: Not to me.

Warren: Why?

Malcolm X: I don't know, but it's not strange. I like, as I say, I like the play, Blues for Mr. Charlie, but the ending of it has the Negro again forgetting that a lynching has just taken place.

Warren: That's why the Ford Foundation might subsidize it, is that it?

Malcolm X: Well, I think that a white that segments like that of the white power structure will subsidize anything that implies that Negroes should be forgiving and long-suffering.

Warren: You know Ralph Ellison's work?

Malcolm X: Not too well. All I know is that he wrote The Invisible Man.

Warren: Yes. Have you read that?

Malcolm X: No, but I know that I got the point.

Warren: Yeah. What do you think of his position?

Malcolm X: I don't know what his position is. If his position is that the Negro in this society is an invisible man, then that's a good position. Whatever else goes with it, I don't know.

Warren: All right. Taking another, somewhat different tack, what about Nehru?

Malcolm X: I would like to add to...

Warren: Please, do.

Malcolm X: ...Ellison's Invisible Man.

Warren: Please.

Malcolm X: See, the Negro, as an invisible man...usually when a man is invisible he knows more about those who are visible, than those who are visible know about him. And my contention is that the Negro knows more about the white man, and white society, than the white man knows about the Negro and Negro society.

Warren: I think that's true.

Malcolm X: The servant always knows his master better than the master knows his servant. The servant the mas-...the servant watches the master sleep, but the master never sees the servant sleep. The servant sees the master angry. The master never sees the servant angry. So the servant always knows the master better than the master knows the servant. In fact, the servant knows the house better than the master does. And my contention is that the Negro knows this country better than the white man does, every facet of it, and when he wakes up he'll prove it. Now, about Nehru?

Warren: Yes.

Malcolm X: I think that Nehru probably was a good man, although I didn't go for it. I don't go for anybody who is passive. I don't go for anybody... who is...who is...who advocates passivism or peaceful suffering in any form whatsoever. I don't go for it.

Warren: What about Jesus Christ?

Malcolm X: I go for Mao Tse-tung much more than Nehru because I think that Nehru brought his country up in a beggar's role. Their roles, the role of India and its reliance upon the West during the years since it got its supposed independence, has it today just as helpless and dependent as

it was when it first got its independence. Whereas in China, the Chinese fought for their independence. They became militant right from the outstart, and today they're...even though they aren't loved, they are, they are respected. Though the West doesn't love them, the West respects them. Now, the West doesn't respect India, but it loves India.

Warren: I see your distinction.

Malcolm X: Can you see my distinction?

Warren: I do indeed.

Malcolm X: I admire the stand of China and the stand of Mao Tsetung, but I can't admire, with respect, the stand of Nehru in India. I just can't do it.

Warren: What about Reverend Galamison?

Malcolm X: Reverend Galamison is fighting a hard battle against great opposition, and I admire a man who fights a hard battle against great opposition.

Warren: No matter what's he fighting for or against?

Malcolm X: Well, I admire a man who fights a battle against opposition, and if there wasn't something about Galamison that...the people I notice that the power structure is against Galamison. And most of the Negro leaders who get the support of the power structure end up being against Galamison. So my suspicious nature is that there's something that Galamision, about Galamison that must have some good in it or some right in it.

Warren: Well, his policy is one of integration, and that isn't exactly your policy.

Malcolm X: No, but at the same time his policy is intelligent enough where he can't be used to attack me. And and most of these other Negro leaders who are supposedly integrationists aren't that intelligent.

Warren: I see.

Malcolm X: All right.

Warren: Are you being dragged away?

Malcolm X: Yes, I'm being...

Warren: All right. Well, I'll pack up.

# OAAU Founding Rally
# (June 28, 1964)

Asalaam Alaikum, Mr. Moderator, our distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, our friends and our enemies, everybody is here.

As many of you know, last March when it was announced that I was no longer in the Black Muslim movement, it was pointed out that it was my intention to work among the 22 million non-Muslim Afro-Americans and to try and form some type of organization, or create a situation where the young people, our young people, the students and others, could study the problems of our people for a period of time and then come up with a new analysis and give us some new ideas and some new suggestions as to how to approach a problem that too many other people have been playing around with for too long. And that we would have some kind of meeting and determine at a later date whether to form a black nationalist party or a black nationalist army.

There have been many of our people across the country from all walks of life who have taken it upon themselves to try and pool their ideas and to come up with some kind of solution to the problem that confronts all of our people. And tonight we are here to try and get an understanding of what it is they've come up with.

Also, recently when I was blessed to make a trip, or religious pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca where I met many people from all over the world, plus spent many weeks in Africa trying to broaden my own scope and get more of an open mind to look at the problem as it actually is, one of the things that I realized, and I realized this even before going over there, was that our African brothers have gained their independence faster than you and I here in America have. They've also gained recognition and respect as human beings much faster than you and I.

Just ten years ago on the African continent, our people were colonized. They were suffering all forms of colonization, oppression, exploitation, degradation, humiliation, discrimination, and every other kind of -ation. And in a short time, they have gained more independence, more recognition, more respect as human beings than you and I have. And you

and I live in a country which is supposed to be the citadel of education, freedom, justice, democracy, and all of those other pretty-sounding words.

So it was our intention to try and find out what it was our African brothers were doing to get results, so that you and I could study what they had done and perhaps gain from that study or benefit from their experiences. And my traveling over there was designed to help to find out how.

One of the first things that the independent African nations did was to form an organization called the Organization of African Unity. This organization consists of all independent African states who have reached the agreement to submerge all differences and combine their efforts toward eliminating from the continent of Africa colonialism and all vestiges of oppression and exploitation being suffered by African people. Those who formed the organization of African states have differences. They represent probably every segment, every type of thinking. You have some leaders that are considered Uncle Toms, some leaders who are considered very militant. But even the militant African leaders were able to sit down at the same table with African leaders whom they considered to be Toms, or Tshombes, or that type of character. They forgot their differences for the sole purpose of bringing benefits to the whole. And whenever you find people who can't forget their differences, then they're more interested in their personal aims and objectives than they are in the conditions of the whole.

Well, the African leaders showed their maturity by doing what the American white man said couldn't be done. Because if you recall when it was mentioned that these African states were going to meet in Addis Ababa, all of the Western press began to spread the propaganda that they didn't have enough in common to come together and to sit down together. Why, they had Nkrumah there, one of the most militant of the African leaders, and they had Adoula from the Congo. They had Nyerere there, they had Ben Bella there, they had Nasser there, they had Sekou Toure, they had Obote; they had Kenyatta, guess Kenyatta was there, I can't remember whether Kenya was independent at that time, but I think he was there.

Everyone was there and despite their differences, they were able to sit down and form what was known as the Organization of African Unity, which has formed a coalition and is working in conjunction with each other to fight a common enemy.

Once we saw what they were able to do, we determined to try and do the same thing here in America among Afro-Americans who have been divided by our enemies. So we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity which has the same aim and objective: to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people by any means necessary.

That's our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary. We don't feel that in 1964, living in a country that is supposedly based upon freedom, and supposedly the leader of the free world, we don't think that we should have to sit around and wait for some segregationist congressmen and senators and a President from Texas in Washington, D.C., to make up their minds that our people are due now some degree of civil rights. No, we want it now or we don't think anybody should have it.

The purpose of our organization is to start right here in Harlem, which has the largest concentration of people of African descent that exists anywhere on this earth. There are more Africans in Harlem than exist in any city on the African continent. Because that's what you and I are, Africans. You catch any white man off guard in here right now, you catch him off guard and ask him what he is, he doesn't say he's an American. He either tells you he's Irish, or he's Italian, or he's German, if you catch him off guard and he doesn't know what you're up to. And even though he was born here, he'll tell you he's Italian. Well, if he's Italian, you and I are African even though we were born here.

So we start in New York City first. We start in Harlem and by Harlem we mean Bedford-Stuyvesant—any place in this area where you and I live, that's Harlem—with the intention of spreading throughout the state, and from the state throughout the country, and from the country throughout the Western Hemisphere. Because when we say Afro-American, we include everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent. South America is America. Central America is America. South America has many people in it of African descent. And everyone in South America of African descent is an Afro-American. Everyone in the Caribbean, whether it's the West Indies or Cuba or Mexico, if they have African blood, they are Afro-Americans. If they're in Canada and they have African blood, they're Afro-Americans. If

they're in Alaska, though they might call themselves Eskimos, if they have African blood, they're Afro-Americans.

So the purpose of the Organization of Afro-American Unity is to unite everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent into one united force. And then, once we are united among ourselves in the Western Hemisphere, we will unite with our brothers on the motherland, on the continent of Africa. So to get right with it, I would like to read you the "Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, started here in New York, June, 1964:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, organized and structured by a cross section of the Afro-American people living in the United States of America, has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity which was established at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May of 1963.

We, the members of the Organization of Afro- Arnerican Unity, gathered together in Harlem, New York:

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all our people to control our own destiny;

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are central objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro-American unity;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

Inspired by our common determination to promote understanding among our people and cooperation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress conditions of peace and security must

be established and maintained;

And by conditions of peace and security, we mean we have to eliminate the barking of the police dogs, we have to eliminate the police clubs, we have to eliminate the water hoses, we have to eliminate all of these things that have become so characteristic of the American so-called dream.

These have to be eliminated. Then we will be living in a condition of peace and security. We can never have peace and security as long as one black man in this country is being bitten by a police dog. No one in the country has peace and security.

Dedicated to the unification of all people of African descent in this hemisphere and to the utilization of that unity to bring into being the organizational structure that will project the black people's contributions to the world;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights are the principles in which we believe and that these documents if put into practice represent the essence of mankind's hopes and good intentions;
Desirous that all Afro-American people and organizations should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of our people will be assured;

We are resolved to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a nonsectarian, constructive program for human rights;
We hereby present this charter.

I. Establishment.

The Organization of Afro-Arnerican Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters on the African continent.

Which means anyone of African descent, with African blood, can become a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and also any one of our brothers and sisters from the African continent. Because not only

it is an organization of Afro-American unity meaning that we are trying to unite our people in the West but it's an organization of Afro-American unity in the sense that we want to unite all of our people who are in North America, South America, and Central America with our people on the African continent. We must unite together in order to go forward together. Africa will not go forward any faster than we will and we will not go forward any faster than Africa will. We have one destiny and we've had one past.

In essence what it is saying is instead of you and me running around here seeking allies in our struggle for freedom in the Irish neighborhood or the Jewish neighborhood or the Italian neighborhood, we need to seek some allies among people who look something like we do. It's time now for you and me to stop running away from the wolf right into the arms of the fox, looking for some kind of help. That's a drag.

II. Self Defense.

Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right to self-defense.

The Constitution of the United States of America clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within our rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary.

I repeat, because to me this is the most important thing you need to know. I already know it.

We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within our rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary.

This is the thing you need to spread the word about among our people

wherever you go. Never let them be brainwashed into thinking that whenever they take steps to see that they're in a position to defend themselves that they're being unlawful. The only time you're being unlawful is when you break the law. It's lawful to have something to defend yourself. Why, I heard President Johnson either today or yesterday, I guess it was today, talking about how quick this country would go to war to defend itself. Why, what kind of a fool do you look like, living in a country that will go to war at the drop of a hat to defend itself, and here you've got to stand up in the face of vicious police dogs and blue-eyed crackers waiting for somebody to tell you what to do to defend yourself!

Those days are over, they're gone, that's yesterday. The time for you and me to allow ourselves to be brutalized nonviolently is passé. Be nonviolent only with those who are nonviolent to you. And when you can bring me a nonviolent racist, bring me a nonviolent segregationist, then I'll get nonviolent. But don't teach me to be nonviolent until you teach some of those crackers to be nonviolent. You've never seen a nonviolent cracker. It's hard for a racist to be nonviolent. It's hard for anyone intelligent to be nonviolent. Everything in the universe does something when you start playing with his life, except the American Negro. He lays down and says, "Beat me, daddy."

So it says here: "A man with a rifle or a club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or a club." That's equality. If you have a dog, I must have a dog. If you have a rifle, I must have a rifle. If you have a club, I must have a club. This is equality. If the United States government doesn't want you and me to get rifles, then take the rifles away from those racists. If they don't want you and me to use clubs, take the clubs away from the racists. lf they don't want you and me to get violent, then stop the racists from being violent. Don't teach us nonviolence while those crackers are violent. Those days are over.

Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with people who are moral or a system that is moral. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American person and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, against bombers, against Iynchers, against floggers, against brutalizers and against exploiters.

I might say right here that instead of the various black groups declaring war on each other, showing how militant they can be cracking each other's heads, let them go down South and crack some of those crackers' heads. Any group of people in this country that has a record of having been attacked by racists and there's no record where they have ever given the signal to take the heads of some of those racists why, they are insane giving the signal to take the heads of some of their ex-brothers. Or brother X's, I don't know how you put that.

III. Education.

Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and our people rediscover their identity and thereby increase their self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs only to the people who prepare for it today.

And I must point out right there, when I was in Africa, I met no African who wasn't standing with open arms to embrace any Afro-American who returned to the African continent. But one of the things that all of them have said is that every one of our people in this country should take advantage of every type of educational opportunity available before you even think about talking about the future. If you're surrounded by schools, go to that school.

Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest-run schools in the city of New York. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children.

They don't understand us, nor do they understand our problems; they don't. The textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country.

And they don't. When we send our children to school in this country they learn nothing about us other than that we used to be cotton pickers. Every little child going to school thinks his grandfather was a cotton picker. Why, your grandfather was Nat Turner; your grandfather was Toussaint L'Ouverture; your grandfather was Hannibal. Your grandfather was some of the greatest black people who walked on this earth. It was your

grandfather's hands who forged civilization and it was your grandmother's hands who rocked the cradle of civilization But the textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country.

The Board of Education's integration plan is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in New York City's school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure before it even starts.

The Board of Education of this city has said that even with its plan there are 10 percent of the schools in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant community in Brooklyn that they cannot improve. So what are we to do ?

This means that the Organization of Afro-Arnerican Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the 10 percent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community itself.

Since they say that they can't improve these schools, why should you and I who live in the community, let these fools continue to run and produce this low standard of education? So, let them turn those schools over to us. Since they say they can't handle them, nor can they correct them, let us take a whack at it.

What do we want? We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. Meaning we want black principals and black teachers with some textbooks about black people.

We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to our people before they can be used in these schools.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education. And this is very important.

Through these steps we will make the 10 percent of the schools that we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people from all over the nation. Instead of them being schools turning out pupils whose academic diet is not complete, we can turn them into examples of what we can do ourselves once given an opportunity.

If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. And when these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will then return our children to them.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. The Afro-American parent must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly.

This whole thing about putting all of the blame on the teacher is out the window. The parent at home has just as much responsibility to see that what's going on in that school is up to par as the teacher in their schools. So it is our intention not only to devise an education program for the children, but one also for the parents to make them aware of their responsibility where education is concerned in regard to their children.

We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our efforts and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every Afro-American community in America.

We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our own children to become scientists, to become mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which automation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self-respect through their own efforts.

IV. Politics and Economics.

And the two are almost inseparable, because the politician is depending on some money; yes, that's what he's depending on.

Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic power and political power, with social power being derived from those two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political, and social. This can only be done through organization. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro-American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and its potential; we will start immediately a voter registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an independent voter.

We won't organize any black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out. Both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out. Both parties are racist, and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party. I can prove it. All you've got to do is name everybody who's running the government in Washington, D.C., right now. He's a Democrat and he's from either Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, from one of those cracker states. And they've got more power than any white man in the North has. In fact, the President is from a cracker state. What's he talking about? Texas is a cracker state, in fact, they'll hang you quicker in Texas than they will in Mississippi. Don't you ever think that just because a cracker becomes president he ceases being a cracker. He was a cracker before he became president and he's a cracker while he's president. I'm going to tell it like it is. I hope you can take it like it is. We propose to support and organize political clubs, to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community.

We don't support any black man who is controlled by the white power structure. We will start not only a voter registration drive, but a voter education drive to let our people have an understanding of the science of politics so they will be able to see what part the politician plays in the scheme of things; so they will be able to understand when the politician is doing his job and when he is not doing his job. And any time the politician is not doing his job, we remove him whether he's white, black, green, blue,

yellow or whatever other color they might invent.

The economic exploitation in the Afro-American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America. In fact, it is the most vicious practiced on any people on this earth. No one is exploited economically as thoroughly as you and I, because in most countries where people are exploited they know it. You and I are in this country being exploited and sometimes we don't know it.

Twice as much rent is paid for rat-infested, roach-crawling, rotting tenements. This is true. It costs us more to live in Harlem than it costs them to live on Park Avenue. Do you know that the rent is higher on Park Avenue in Harlem than it is on Park Avenue downtown? And in Harlem you have everything else in that apartment with you—roaches, rats, cats, dogs, and some other outsiders—disguised as landlords.

The Afro-American pays more for food, pays more for clothing, pays more for insurance than anybody else. And we do. It costs you and me more for insurance than it does the white man in the Bronx or somewhere else. It costs you and me more for food than it does them. It costs you and me more to live in America than it does anybody else, and yet we make the greatest contribution.

You tell me what kind of country this is. Why should we do the dirtiest jobs for the lowest pay? Why should we do the hardest work for the lowest pay? What should we pay the most money for the worst kind of food and the most money for the worst kind of place to live in? I'm telling you we do it because we live in one of the rottenest countries that has ever existed on this earth. It's the system that is rotten; we have a rotten system. It's a system of exploitation, a political and economic system of exploitation, of outright humiliation, degradation, discrimination—all of the negative things that you can run into, you have run into under this system that disguises itself as a democracy, disguises itself as a democracy. And the things that they practice against you and me are worse than some of the things that they practiced in Germany against the Jews. Worse than some of the things that the Jews ran into. And you run around here getting ready to get drafted and go someplace and defend it. Someone needs to crack you upside your head.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will wage an unrelenting

struggle against these evils in our community. There shall be organizers to work with our people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program.

Instead of waiting for the white man to come and straighten out our neighborhood, we'll straighten it out ourselves. This is where you make your mistake. An outsider can't clean up your house as well as you can. An outsider can't take care of your children as well as you can. An outsider can't look after your needs as well as you can. And an outsider can't understand your problems as well as you can. Yet you're looking for an outsider to do it. We will do it or it will never get done.

"We propose to support rent strikes. Yes, not little, small rent strikes in one block We'll make Harlem a rent strike. We'll get every black man in this city...the Organization of Afro-American Unity won't stop until there's not a black man in the city not on strike. Nobody will pay any rent. The whole city will come to a halt. And they can't put all of us in jail because they've already got the jails full of us.

Concerning our social needs—I hope I'm not frightening anyone. I should stop right here and tell you if you're the type of person who frights, who gets scared, you should never come around us. Because we'll scare you to death. And you don't have far to go because you're half dead already. Economically you're dead—dead broke. Just got paid yesterday and dead broke right now.

V. Social.

This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and the Afro-American community.

This organization is not responsible to anybody but us. We don't have to ask the man downtown can we demonstrate. We don't have to ask the man downtown what tactics we can use to demonstrate our resentment against his criminal abuse. We don't have to ask his consent; we don't have to ask his endorsement; we don't have to ask his permission. Anytime we know that an unjust condition exists and it is illegal and unjust, we will strike at it by any means necessary. And strike also at whatever and whoever gets in the way.

This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and numerically. We believe that our communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually, and culturally in the struggle for human rights and human dignity.

The community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect, and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality.
Yes, there are some good policemen and some bad policemen. Usually we get the bad ones. With all the police in Harlem, there is too much crime, too much drug addiction, too much alcoholism, too much prostitution, too much gambling.

So it makes us suspicious about the motives of Commissioner Murphy when he sends all these policemen up here. We begin to think that they are just his errand boys, whose job it is to pick up the graft and take it back downtown to Murphy. Anytime there's a police commissioner who finds it necessary to increase the strength numerically of the policemen in Harlem and, at the same time, we don't see any sign of a decrease in crime, why, I think we're justified in suspecting his motives. He can't be sending them up here to fight crime, because crime is on the increase. The more cops we have, the more crime we have. We begin to think that they bring some of the crime with them.

So our purpose is to organize the community so that we ourselves—since the police can't eliminate the drug traffic, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized gambling, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized prostitution and all of these evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community, it is up to you and me to eliminate these evils ourselves. But in many instances, when you unite in this country or in this city to fight organized crime, you'll find yourselves fighting the police department itself because they are involved in the organized crime. Wherever you have organized crime, that type of crime cannot exist other than with the consent of the police, the knowledge of the police and the cooperation of the police.

You'll agree that you can't run a number in your neighborhood without the police knowing it. A prostitute can't turn a trick on the block without the police knowing it. A man can't push drugs anywhere along the avenue

without the police knowing it. And they pay the police off so that they will not get arrested. I know what I'm talking about—I used to be out there. And I know you can't hustle out there without police setting you up. You have to pay them off.

The police are all right. I say there's some good ones and some bad ones. But they usually send the bad ones to Harlem. Since these bad police have come to Harlem and have not decreased the high rate of crime, I tell you brothers and sisters it is time for you and me to organize and eliminate these evils ourselves, or we'll be out of the world backwards before we even know where the world was.

Drug addiction turns your little sister into a prostitute before she gets into her teens; makes a criminal out of your little brother before he gets in his teens—drug addiction and alcoholism. And if you and I aren't men enough to get at the root of these things, then we don't even have the right to walk around here complaining about it in any form whatsoever. The police will not eliminate it.

Our community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect, and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality.

Where this police brutality also comes in—the new law that they just passed, the no-knock law, the stop-and-frisk law, that's an anti-Negro law. That's a law that was passed and signed by Rockefeller.

Rockefeller with his old smile always he has a greasy smile on his face and he's shaking hands with Negroes, like he's the Negro's pappy or granddaddy or great-uncle. Yet when it comes to passing a law that is worse than any law that they had in Nazi Germany, why, Rockefeller couldn't wait till he got his signature on it. And the only thing this law is designed to do is make legal what they've been doing all the time.

They've passed a law that gives them the right to knock down your door without even knocking on it. Knock it down and come on in and bust your head and frame you up under the disguise that they suspect you of something. Why, brothers, they didn't have laws that bad in Nazi Germany. And it was passed for you and me, it's an anti-Negro law, because you've got an anti-Negro governor sitting up there in Albany—I started to say

Albany, Georgia—in Albany, New York. Not too much difference. Not too much difference between Albany, New York and Albany, Georgia. And there's not too much difference between the government that's in Albany, New York and the government in Albany, Georgia.

The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all-out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction.

This is absolutely necessary. When a person is a drug addict, he's not the criminal; he's a victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles—those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown.

We must create meaningful creative, useful activities for those who were led astray down the avenues of vice.

The people of the Afro-American community must be prepared to help each other in all ways possible; we must establish a place where unwed mothers can get help and advice.

We must set up a guardian system that will help our youth who get into trouble. Too many of our children get into trouble accidentally. And once they get into trouble, because they have no one to look out for them, they're put in some of these homes where others who are experienced at getting in trouble are. And immediately it's a bad influence on them and they never have a chance to straighten out their lives. Too many of our children have their entire lives destroyed in this manner. It is up to you and me right now to form the type of organizations wherein we can look out for the needs of all of these young people who get into trouble, especially those who get into trouble for the first time, so that we can do something

to steer them back on the right path before they go too far astray.

And we must provide constructive activities for our own children. We must set a good example for our children and must teach them to always be ready to accept the responsibilities that are necessary for building good communities and nations. We must teach them that their greatest responsibilities are to themselves, to their families and to their communities.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro-American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due to him and the procedure for obtaining them.

Many of our people have sacrificed their lives on the battlefront for this country. There are many government benefits that our people don't even know about. Many of them are qualified to receive aid in all forms, but they don't even know it. But we know this, so it is our duty, those of us who know it, to set up a system wherein our people who are not informed of what is coming to them, we inform them, we let them know how they can lay claim to everything that they've got coming to them from this government. And I mean you've got much coming to you. The veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using GI loans and all other items that we have access to or have available to us.

Afro-Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro-American community, for it is our home and it is our power the base of our power.

What we do here in regaining our self-respect, our manhood, our dignity and freedom helps all people everywhere who are also fighting against oppression.

Lastly, concerning culture and the cultural aspect of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself.

Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery. We came from Africa, a great continent, wherein live a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing about it.

This is no accident. It is no accident that such a high state of culture existed in Africa and you and I know nothing about it. Why, the man knew that as long as you and I thought we were somebody, he could never treat us like we were nobody. So he had to invent a system that would strip us of everything about us that we could use to prove we were somebody. And once he had stripped us of all human characteristics—stripped us of our language, stripped us of our history, stripped us of all cultural knowledge, and brought us down to the level of an animal—he then began to treat us like an animal selling us from one plantation to another, selling us from one owner to another, breeding us like you breed cattle.

Why, brothers and sisters, when you wake up and find out what this man here has done to you and me, you won't even wait for somebody to give the word. I'm not saying all of them are bad. There might be some good ones. But we don't have time to look for them. Not nowadays.

We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to un-brainwash an entire people.

A cultural revolution. Why, brothers, that's a crazy revolution. When you tell this black man in America who he is, where he came from, what he had when he was there, he'll look around and ask himself "Well what happened to it, who took it away from us and how did they do it?" Why, brothers, you'll have some action just like that. When you let the black man in America know where he once was and what he once had, why, he only needs to look at himself now to realize something criminal was done to him to bring him down to the low condition that he's in today.

Once he realizes what was done, how it was done, where it was done, when it was done, and who did it, that knowledge in itself will usher in your action program. And it will be by any means necessary. A man doesn't know how to act until he realizes what he's acting against. And you don't

realize what you're acting against until you realize what they did to you. Too many of you don't know what they did to you, and this is what makes you so quick to want to forget and forgive. No, brothers, when you see what has happened to you, you will never forget and you'll never forgive. And, as I say, all of them might not be guilty. But most of them are. Most of them are.

Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they can depend on the Afro-American community for support, and Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American community for inspiration.

Our artists—we have artists who are geniuses; they don't have to act the Stepin Fetchit role. But as long as they're looking for white support instead of black support, they've got to act like the old white supporter wants them to. When you and I begin to support the black artists, then the black artists can play that black role. As long as the black artist has to sing and dance to please the white man, he'll be a clown, he'll be clowning, just another clown. But when he can sing and dance to please black men, he sings a different song and he dances a different step. When we get together, we've got a step all our own. We have a step that nobody can do but us, because we have a reason for doing it that nobody can understand but us.

We must work toward the establishment of a cultural center in Harlem, which will include people of all ages and will conduct workshops in all of the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, and the entire spectrum of Afro-American history.

This cultural revolution will be the journey to our rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the level of the lower animals.

When you have no knowledge of your history, you're just another animal; in fact, you're a Negro; something that's nothing. The only black man on earth who is called a Negro is one who has no knowledge of his history. The only black man on earth who is called a Negro is one who doesn't know where he came from. That's the one in America. They don't call Africans Negroes.

Why, I had a white man tell me the other day, "He's not a Negro." Here the man was black as night, and the white man told me, "He's not a Negro, he's an African. I said, Well listen to him. I knew he wasn't, but I wanted to pull old whitey out, you know. But it shows you that they know this. You are Negro because you don't know who you are, you don't know what you are, you don't know where you are, and you don't know how you got here. But as soon as you wake up and find out the positive answer to all these things, you cease being a Negro. You become somebody.

Armed with the knowledge of our past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past.

And to quote a passage from Then We Heard the Thunder by John Killens, it says: "He was a dedicated patriot: Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land." Old John Killens.

This is our aim. It's rough, we have to smooth it up some. But we're not trying to put something together that's smooth. We don't care how rough it is. We don't care how tough it is. We don't care how backward it may sound. In essence it only means we want one thing. We declare our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary.

I'm sorry I took so long. But before we go farther to tell you how you can join this organization, what your duties and responsibilities are, I want to turn you back into the hands of our master of ceremonies, Brother Les Edmonds.

[A collection is taken. Malcolm resumes speaking.]

One of the first steps we are going to become involved in as an Organization of Afro-American Unity will be to work with every leader and other organization in this country interested in a program designed to bring your and my problem before the United Nations. This is our first point of business. We feel that the problem of the black man in this country is beyond the ability of Uncle Sam to solve it. It's beyond the ability of the

United States government to solve it. The government itself isn't capable of even hearing our problem, much less solving it. It's not morally equipped to solve it.

So we must take it out of the hands of the United States government. And the only way we can do this is by internationalizing it and taking advantage of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Charter on Human Rights, and on that ground bring it into the UN before a world body wherein we can indict Uncle Sam for the continued criminal injustices that our people experience in this government.

To do this, we will have to work with many organizations and many people. We've already gotten promises of support from many different organizations in this country and from many different leaders in this country and from many different independent nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. So this is our first objective and all we need is your support. Can we get your support for this project?

For the past four weeks since my return from Africa, several persons from all walks of life in the Afro-American community have been meeting together, pooling knowledge and ideas and suggestions, forming a sort of a brain trust, for the purpose of getting a cross section of thinking, hopes, aspirations, likes and dislikes, to see what kind of organization we could put together that would in some way or other get the grassroots support, and what type of support it would need in order to be independent enough to take the type of action necessary to get results.

No organization that is financed by white support can ever be independent enough to fight the power structure with the type of tactics necessary to get real results. The only way we can fight the power structure, and it's the power structure that we're fighting—we're not even fighting the Southern segregationists, we're fighting a system that is run in Washington, D.C. That's the seat of the system that we're fighting. And in order to fight it, we have to be independent of it. And the only way we can be independent of it is to be independent of all support from the white community. It's a battle that we have to wage ourselves.

Now, if white people want to help, they can help. But they can't join. They can help in the white community, but they can't join. We accept their help. They can form the White Friends of the Organization of Afro-American

Unity and work in the white community on white people and change their attitude toward us. They don't ever need to come among us and change our attitude. We've had enough of them working around us trying to change our attitude. That's what got us all messed up.

So we don't question their sincerity, we don't question their motives, we don't question their integrity. We just encourage them to use it somewhere else—in the white community. If they can use all of this sincerity in the white community to make the white community act better toward us, then we'll say, "Those are good white folks." But they don't have to come around us, smiling at us and showing us all their teeth like white Uncle Toms, to try and make themselves acceptable to us. The White Friends of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, let them work in the white community.

The only way that this organization can be independent is if it is financed by you. It must be financed by you. Last week I told you that it would cost a dollar to join it. We sat down and thought about it all week long and said that charging you a dollar to join it would not make it an organization. We have set a membership joining fee, if that's the way you express it, at $2.00. It costs more than that, I think to join the NAACP.

By the way, you know I attended the NAACP convention Friday in Washington, D.C., which was very enlightening. And I found the people very friendly. They've got the same kind of ideas you have. They act a little different, but they've got the same kind of ideas, because they're catching the same hell we're catching. I didn't find any hostility at that convention at all. In fact, I sat and listened to them go through their business and learned a lot from it. And one of the things I learned is they only charge, I think $2.50 a year for membership, and that's it. Well this is one of the reasons that they have problems. Because any time you have an organization that costs $2.50 a year to belong to, it means that that organization has to turn in another direction for funds. And this is what castrates it. Because as soon as the white liberals begin to support it, they tell it what to do and what not to do.

This is why Garvey was able to be more militant. Garvey didn't ask them for help. He asked our people for help. And this is what we're going to do. We're going to try and follow his books.

So we're going to have a $2.00 joining and ask every member to contribute a dollar a week Now, the NAACP gets $2.50 a year, that's it. And it can't ever go anywhere like that because it's always got to be putting on some kind of drive for help and will always get its help from the wrong source. And then when they get that help, they'll have to end up condemning all the enemies of their enemy in order to get some more help. No, we condemn our enemies, not the enemies of our enemies. We condemn our enemies.

So what we are going to ask you to do is, if you want to become a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, it will cost you $2.00. We are going to ask you to pay dues of a dollar a week. We will have an accountant, a bookkeeping system, which will keep the members up-to-date as to what has come in, what has been spent, and for what. Because the secret to success in any kind of business venture—and anything that you do that you mean business, you'd better do in a businesslike way—the secret to your success is keeping good records, good organized records.

Since today will be the first time that we are opening the books for membership, our next meeting will be next Sunday here. And we will then have a membership. And we'll be able to announce at that time the officers of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. I'll tell you the top officer is the chairman, and that's the office I'm holding. I'm taking the responsibility of the chairman, which means I'm responsible for any mistakes that take place; anything that goes wrong, any failures, you can rest them right upon my shoulders. So next week the officers will be announced.

And this week I wanted to tell you the departments in this organization that, when you take out your membership, you can apply to work in. We have the department of education. The department of political action. For all of you who are interested in political action, we will have a department set up by brothers and sisters who are students of political science, whose function it will be to give us a breakdown of the community of New York City. First, how many assemblymen there are and how many of those assemblymen are black how many congressmen there are and how many of those congressmen are black. In fact, let me just read something real quick and I'll show you why it's so necessary. Just to give you an example.

There are 270,000 eligible voters in the twenty-first senatorial district. The twenty-first senatorial district is broken down into the eleventh, seventh,

and thirteenth assembly districts. Each assembly district contains 90,000 eligible voters. In the eleventh assembly district, only 29,000 out of 90,000 eligible voters exercise their voting rights. In the seventh assembly district, only 36,000 out of the 90,000 eligible voters vote. Now, in a white assembly district with 90,000 eligible voters, 65,000 exercise their voting rights, showing you that in the white assembly districts more whites vote than blacks vote in the black assembly districts. There's a reason for this. It is because our people aren't politically aware of what we can get by becoming politically active.

So what we have to have is a program of political education to show them what they can get if they take political action that's intelligently directed. Less than 25 percent of the eligible voters in Harlem vote in the primary election. Therefore, they have not the right to place the candidate of their choice in office, as only those who were in the primary can run in the general election. The following number of signatures are required to place a candidate to vote in the primaries: for assemblyman it must be 350 signatures; state senator, 750; countywide judgeship, 1,000; borough president, 2,150; mayor, 7,500. People registered with the Republican or Democratic parties do not have to vote with their party.

There are fifty-eight senators in the New York state legislature. Four are from Manhattan; one is black. In the New York state assembly, there are 150 assemblymen. I think three are black; maybe more than that. According to calculation, if the Negro were proportionately represented in the state senate and state assembly, we would have several representatives in the state senate and several in the state assembly. There are 435 members in the United States House of Representatives. According to the census, there are 22 million Afro-Americans in the United States. If they were represented proportionately in this body, there would be 30 to 40 members of our race sitting in that body. How many are there? Five. There are 100 senators in the United States Senate. Hawaii, with a population of only 600,000, has two senators representing it. The black man, with a population of in excess of 20 million, is not represented in the Senate at all. Worse than this, many of the congressmen and representatives in the Congress of the United States come from states where black people are killed if they attempt to exercise the right to vote.

What you and I want to do in this political department is have our brothers and sisters who are experts in the science of politics acquaint our people

in our community with what we should have, and who should be doing it, and how we can go about getting what we should have. This will be their job and we want you to play this role so we can get some action without having to wait on Lyndon B. Johnson, Lyndon B. Texas Johnson.

Also, our economics department. We have an economics department. For any of you who are interested in business or a program that will bring about a situation where the black man in Harlem can gain control over his own economy and develop business expansion for our people in this community so we can create some employment opportunities for our people in this community, we will have this department.

We will also have a speakers bureau because many of our people want to speak, want to be speakers, they want to preach, they want to tell somebody what they know, they want to let off some steam. We will have a department that will train young men and young women how to go forth with our philosophy and our program and project it throughout the country; not only throughout this city but throughout the country.

We will have a youth group. The youth group will be designed to work with youth. Not only will it consist of youth, but it will also consist of adults. But it will be designed to work out a program for the youth in this country, one in which the youth can play an active part.

We also are going to have our own newspaper. You need a newspaper. We believe in the power of the press. A newspaper is not a difficult thing to run. A newspaper is very simple if you have the right motives. In fact, anything is simple if you have the right motives. The Muhammad Speaks newspaper, I and another person started it myself in my basement. And I've never gone past the eighth grade. Those of you who have gone to all these colleges and studied all kinds of journalism, yellow and black journalism, all you have to do is contribute some of your journalistic talent to our newspaper department along with our research department, and we can turn out a newspaper that will feed our people with so much information that we can bring about a real live revolution right here before you know it.

We will also have a cultural department. The task or duty of the cultural department will be to do research into the culture, into the ancient and current culture of our people, the cultural contributions and achievements

of our people. And also all of the entertainment groups that exist on the African continent that can come here and ours who are here that can go there. Set up some kind of cultural program that will really emphasize the dormant talent of black people.

When I was in Ghana I was speaking with, I think his name is Nana Nketsia, I think he's the minister of culture or he's head of the culture institute. I went to his house, he had a—he had a nice, beautiful place; I started to say he had a sharp pad. He had a fine place in Accra. He had gone to Oxford, and one of the things that he said impressed me no end. He said that as an African his concept of freedom is a situation or a condition in which he, as an African, feels completely free to give vent to his own likes and dislikes and thereby develop his own African personality. Not a condition in which he is copying some European cultural pattern or some European cultural standard, but an atmosphere of complete freedom where he has the right, the leeway, to bring out of himself all of that dormant, hidden talent that has been there for so long.

And in that atmosphere, brothers and sisters, you'd be surprised what will come out of the bosom of this black man. I've seen it happen. I've seen black musicians when they'd be jamming at a jam session with white musicians—a whole lot of difference. The white musician can jam if he's got some sheet music in front of him. He can jam on something that he's heard jammed before. If he's heard it, then he can duplicate it or he can imitate it or he can read it. But that black musician, he picks up his horn and starts blowing some sounds that he never thought of before. He improvises, he creates, it comes from within. It's his soul...it's that soul music. It's the only area on the American scene where the black man has been free to create. And he has mastered it. He has shown that he can come up with something that nobody ever thought of on his horn.

Well likewise he can do the same thing if given intellectual independence. He can come up with a new philosophy. He can come up with a philosophy that nobody has heard of yet. He can invent a society, a social system, an economic system, a political system, that is different from anything that exists or has ever existed anywhere on this earth. He will improvise; he'll bring it from within himself. And this is what you and I want.

You and I want to create an organization that will give us so much power we can sit down and do as we please. Once we can sit down and think as

we please, speak as we please, and do as we please, we will show people what pleases us. And what pleases us won't always please them. So you've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Do you understand that? You've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Once you get power and you be yourself why, you're gone, you've got it and gone. You create a new society and make some heaven right here on this earth.

And we're going to start right here tonight when we open up our membership books into the Organization of Afro-American Unity. I'm going to buy the first memberships myself—one for me, my wife, Attillah, Qubilah, these are my daughters, Ilyasah, and something else I expect to get either this week or next week. As I told you before, if it's a boy I'm going to name him Lumumba, the greatest black man who ever walked the African continent.

He didn't fear anybody. He had those people so scared they had to kill him. They couldn't buy him, they couldn't frighten him, they couldn't reach him. Why, he told the king of Belgium, "Man, you may let us free, you may have given us our independence, but we can never forget these scars." The greatest speech—you should take that speech and tack it up over your door. This is what Lumumba said: "You aren't giving us anything. Why, can you take back these scars that you put on our bodies? Can you give us back the limbs that you cut off while you were here? No, you should never forget what that man did to you. And you bear the scars of the same kind of colonization and oppression not on your body, but in your brain, in your heart, in your soul right now. So, if it's a boy, Lumumba. If it's a girl Lumumbah.

We hope that we will be able to give you all the action you need. And more than likely we'll be able to give you more than you want. We just hope that you stay with us.  Our meeting will be next Sunday night right here.

We want you to bring all of your friends and we'll be able to go forward. Up until now, these meetings have been sponsored by the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. They've been sponsored and paid for by the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. Beginning next Sunday, they will be sponsored and paid for by the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

I don't know if I'm right in saying this, but for a period of time, let's you and me not be too hard on other Afro-American leaders. Because you

would be surprised how many of them have expressed sympathy and support in our efforts to bring this situation confronting our people before the United Nations. You'd be surprised how many of them, some of the last ones you would expect, they're coming around. So let's give them a little time to straighten up. If they straighten up, good. They're our brothers and we're responsible for our brothers. But if they don't straighten up, then that's another point.

And one thing that we are going to do, we're going to dispatch a wire, a telegram that is, in the name of the Organization of Afro-American Unity to Martin Luther King in St. Augustine, Florida, and to Jim Forman in Mississippi, worded in essence to tell them that if the federal government doesn't come to their aid, call on us. And we will take the responsibility of slipping some brothers into that area who know what to do by any means necessary.

I can tell you right now that my purpose is not to become involved in a fight with Black Muslims, who are my brothers still. I do everything I can to avoid that because there's no benefit in it. It actually makes our enemy happy. But I do believe that the time has come for you and me to take the responsibility of forming whatever nucleus or defense group is necessary in places like Mississippi.

Why, they shouldn't have to call on the federal government—that's a drag. No, when you and I know that our people are the victims of brutality, and all times the police in those states are the ones who are responsible, then it is incumbent upon you and me, if we are men, if we are to be respected and recognized, it is our duty to do something about it. Johnson knew that when he sent Dulles down there. Johnson has found this out. You don't disappear. How are you going to disappear? Why, this man can find a missing person in China. They send the CIA all the way to China and find somebody. They send the FBI anywhere and find somebody.

But they can't find them whenever the criminal is white and the victim is black then they can't find them.

Let's don't wait on any more FBI to look for criminals who are shooting and brutalizing our people. Let's you and me find them. And I say that it's easy to do it. One of the best-organized groups of black people in America was the Black Muslims. They've got all the machinery, don't think they haven't;

and the experience where they know how to ease out in broad daylight or in dark and do whatever is necessary by any means necessary. They know how to do that. Well I don't blame anybody for being taught how to do that. You're living in a society where you're the constant victim of brutality. You must know how to strike back.

So instead of them and us wasting our shots, I should say our time and energy, on each other, what we need to do is band together and go to Mississippi. That's my closing message to Elijah Muhammad: If he is the leader of the Muslims and the leader of our people, then lead us against our enemies, don't lead us against each other.

I thank you for your patience here tonight, and we want each and every one of you to put your name on the roll of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. The reason we have to rely upon you to let the public know where we are is because the press doesn't help us; they never announce in advance that we're going to have a meeting. So you have to spread the word over the grapevine. Thank you. Asalaam Alaikum.

# The Second OAAU Rally (July 5, 1964)

Asalaam Alaikum. Brothers and sisters, I think we have a very nice audience here this evening taking into consideration that this is a holiday weekend when normally you and I would be out on the beach rubbing elbows with those other elbows. So I want to thank those of you who have taken off from the beach and those many other places and taken the time to come out here this evening so that we can try and get a better understanding of what we must do and therefore what we are going to do.

Before starting out—I don't know if anybody is here from the New York Journal American. Is anybody here from the New York Journal American? The reason I would like to know, and if anybody comes in from the New York Journal American please let me know, is because last Wednesday they had a headline in here saying that Malcolm X plans to take over, which to me is a deliberately concocted blue-eyed lie.

This person, who professes to be named Martin Arundel, whatever kind of name that is, on the front page of this paper went on to explain how I had named last Sunday Gloria Richardson, Albert Cleage, and Jesse Gray and several others as part of a brain trust responsible for setting up the OAAU. I doubt that any of you who are sitting here heard me mention those names last Sunday. But here's a man who reported it just like he heard it.

And this is one of the reasons why you have such bad racial problems on this earth today. You tell lies about us. And we get to believing that you just might be what we had been told you are. At least all the evidence leads in that direction. So this particular paper, the New York Journal American, filled its front page on Wednesday with nothing but lies allegedly giving an account of what took place here last Sunday. And I very much doubt that this person was here.

Also it mentioned that I attacked the civil rights leaders, which I didn't do. I didn't attack anybody but the man who has been brutal to us. And it isn't the civil rights leaders who have been brutal. They've been the victims of brutality. They have been loving you all while you all have been hating them. So I didn't attack them. I probably questioned their intelligence

in letting you beat them without fighting back. But I don't think that we attacked them. In fact, we sent them a telegram, we sent Martin Luther King a telegram, letting him know that if he needed any help, we'd come on the run. Does that sound like we're attacking civil rights leaders? No, we're telling them that they need some help and we'll help them. But not nonviolently.

You'll excuse me for opening up the meeting on that note, but it is very trying on one's patience to have to listen to white people day in and day out say that we bar them from our meetings, or that we don't like them, or that our attitude is sort of bitter. And then when you let them into your meeting, they prove that you should have kept them out of it in the first place. I guess bad white people put you good ones on the spot, don't they?

On Thursday of this week, or I think it was Friday, there was a great hullaballoo made over the recent passage of the civil rights bill. On the front pages of all the newspapers the day after it was supposedly signed so that it was in effect, they had pictures of little black boys sitting in barbershop chairs letting white barbers cut their hair. And this was hailed as a great victory. Pick up on that.
In 1964, when oppressed people all over this earth are fighting for their place in the sun, the Negro in America is supposed to stand up and cheer because he can sit down and let a white man mess up his head.

At the same time that so much hullaballoo was being made over the passage of the civil rights bill, if you read closely between the lines, a little black boy in Georgia was found hung on a tree. A 1964 June lynching. Nothing was said in the paper, no hullaballoo was made over that. But here's a little fourteen-year-old black boy in Georgia lynched, and to keep you and me from knowing what was taking place, they showed another picture of a little black boy letting a white man cut his hair.

This is the trickery that you and I are faced with every day in this society. They on the one hand try and show us how much progress we're making. But if we look through all of that propaganda we find that our people are still being hung, they're still disappearing, and no one is finding them, or no one is finding their murderers.

And at the same time also that so much hullaballoo was being made over this new civil rights legislation, a bill went into effect known as the no-

knock law or stop-and-frisk law, which was an anti-Negro law. They make one law that's outright against Negroes and make it appear that it is for our people, while at the same time they pass another bill that's supposedly designed to give us some kind of equal rights. You know, sooner or later you and I are going to wake up and be fed up, and there's going to be trouble. There's got to be trouble.

While they were making so much hullaballoo again over the passage of these new civil rights bills or legislation, they could not deny the fact that all these new laws are aimed at the south. None of them are aimed at the North. Nothing in this legislation is designed to straighten out the situation that you and I are confronted with here in New York City. There's nothing in the bill that will stop job discrimination in New York, that will stop housing discrimination in New York, that will stop educational discrimination in New York. There's nothing in the bill that will stop the police from exercising police state tactics in New York. There's nothing in the bill that touches on your and my problem here in New York City. Everything in the bill deals with our people in the South. We are interested in our people in the South. But we have to question whether or not this bill, these laws, will help our people in the South when ten years ago the Supreme Court came up with a law called the desegregated school law, or something to that effect, which hasn't been enforced yet.

And you and I would be children, we would be boys, we would be mental midgets, if we let the white man even make us think that some new laws were going to be enforced in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Texas while the Supreme Court law has not yet been enforced in New York City. You'd be out of your mind to even look happy. And you'd be way out of your mind to make them think that you're happy. No, when you and I know that these political tricks are being pulled, if you and I don't let it be known that we know it, why, they'll keep on with their skullduggery and their trickery, and they will think that the problem is being solved when actually they're only compounding it and making it worse. If they can't enforce laws that are laid down by the Supreme Court, which is the land's highest court, do you think that they can enforce some new laws in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia? And if they can't enforce these new laws, then why do they pretend? Why come up with the bill? What is all this hullaballoo for? It's nothing but twentieth-century trickery, some more of the same old legislative trickery that you and I and our mothers and fathers have been handed for the past fifty, sixty, or one hundred years.

Prior to one hundred years ago, they didn't need tricks. They had chains. And they needed the chains because you and I hadn't yet been brainwashed thoroughly enough to submit to their brutal acts of violence submissively. Prior to a hundred years ago, you had men like Nat Turner, that Brother Benjamin was talking about, and others, Toussaint L'Ouverture. None of them would submit to slavery. They'd fight back by any means necessary. And it was only after the spirit of the black man was completely broken and his desire to be a man was completely destroyed, then they had to use different tricks. They just took the physical chains from his ankles and put them on his mind. And from then on, the type of slavery that you and I have been experiencing, we've been kept in it, year in and year out, by a change of tricks. Never do they change our condition or the slavery. They only change the tricks.

This is done from the White House right on down to the plantation boss in Alabama and Mississippi. Right on down from the White House you are tricked, right on down to the plantation boss in Mississippi and Alabama. There is no difference between the plantation boss in Mississippi and the plantation boss in Washington, D.C. Both of them are plantation bosses. What you experience in this country is one huge plantation system, the only difference now being that the President is the plantation boss.

And he's got a whole lot of well-known celebrity-style Negroes to act as overseers, to keep us in check. When we begin to get too bad, they jump in and say, now, let's be responsible, or let's be intelligent, or let's don't go too fast, let's slow down. But it's still a slave system. It's only brought about in a more modern way, a more up-to-date form of slavery.

Proof of which, of the people who just got off the boat yesterday in this country, from the various so-called Iron Curtain countries, which are supposedly an enemy to this country, and no civil rights legislation is needed to bring them into the mainstream of the American way of life, then you and I should just stop and ask ourselves, why is it needed for us? They're actually slapping you and me in the face when they pass a civil rights bill. It's not an honor; it's a slap in the face. They're telling you that you don't have it, and at the same time they're telling you that they have to legislate before you can get it. Which in essence means they're telling you that since you don't have it and yet you're born here, there must be something about you that makes you different from everybody else who's born here; something about you that actually, though you have the right of

birth in this land, you're still not qualified under their particular system to be recognized as a citizen.

Yet the Germans, that they used to fight just a few years ago, can come here and get what you can't get. The Russians, whom they're supposedly fighting right now, can come here and get what you can't get without legislation; don't need legislation. The Polish don't need legislation. Nobody needs it but you. Why?—you should stop and ask yourself why. And when you find out why, then you'll change the direction you've been going in, and you'll change also the methods that you've been using trying to get in that direction.

We've got to seek some new methods, a reappraisal of the situation, some new methods for attacking it or solving it, and a new direction, and new allies. We need allies who are going to help us achieve a victory, not allies who are going to tell us to be nonviolent. If a white man wants to be your ally, what does he think of John Brown? You know what John Brown did? He went to war. He was a white man who went to war against white people to help free slaves. He wasn't nonviolent. White people call John Brown a nut. Go read the history, go read what all of them say about John Brown. They're trying to make it look like he was a nut, a fanatic. They made a movie on it, I saw a movie on the screen one night. Why, I would be afraid to get near John Brown if I go by what other white folks say about him.

But they depict him in this image because he was willing to shed blood to free the slaves. And any white man who is ready and willing to shed blood for your freedom—in the sight of other whites, he's nuts. As long as he wants to come up with some nonviolent action, they go for that, if he's liberal, a nonviolent liberal, a love-everybody liberal. But when it comes time for making the same kind of contribution for your and my freedom that was necessary for them to make for their own freedom, they back out of the situation. So, when you want to know good white folks in history where black people are concerned, go read the history of John Brown. That was what I call a white liberal. But those other kind, they are questionable.

So if we need white allies in this country, we don't need those kind who compromise. We don't need those kind who encourage us to be polite, responsible, you know. We don't need those kind who give us that kind of advice. We don't need those kind who tell us how to be patient. No, if we want some white allies, we need the kind that John Brown was, or we don't

need you. And the only way to get those kind is to turn in a new direction.

Now this may anger some of you who've been involved in protests and demonstrations and other things. Maybe you don't realize it, but I think most of us here do. The days of demonstrations of protest are over. They're outdated. All that does is put you in jail. You've got to pay money to get out. And you still haven't solved the problem. Go and find out how much money has been paid by demonstrators for court, for legal fees, bail bonds, during the past five or six years. And then find out what has been gained from it and you'll see that we're in the red. We're broke.

Plus, a protest demonstration is an act that is a reaction to what someone else has done. And as long as you're involved in it, you're in someone else's bag. You're reacting to what they've done. And all they have to do to keep you on their string is keep situations developing to keep you reacting, to keep you so busy you never have a chance to sit down and figure out a constructive program of your own that will enable you and me to make the progress that is our due.

An example. A demonstration is all right if it's going to get results. Oh, yes. But a demonstration just to demonstrate is a waste of time. If someone touches one of us and we want to go where the guilty person is, we all go together. But we don't go just to walk around the block with a sign. No, we go to get the one who harmed us—that's a demonstration, that's what's known as positive action. You don't go and march around someone to let him know you don't like what he did. Why, you can stay home and let him know you don't like what he did. If he's got any sense, he knows that you shouldn't like what he did. No, that stuff is outdated.

The kind of a demonstration you and I want and need is one that gets positive results. Not a one-day demonstration, but a demonstration until the end, the end of whatever we're demonstrating against. That's a demonstration. Don't say that you don't like what I did and you're going to come out and walk in front of my house for an hour. No, you're wasting your time. I'll sit down and go to sleep until your hour is up. If we're going to demonstrate, it should be a demonstration based upon no-holds-barred. I know, the sooner the better. But, then again, not the sooner the better. Because whenever black people are independent enough to come up with the type of demonstration that is necessary to get results, there's going to be bloodshed. Because in a real demonstration, the white man's going to

resist—yes, he is. So if you're not for some all-out action, you shouldn't get involved in any kind of action. This is all I'm saying. If whatever you are demonstrating for isn't worth dying for, don't demonstrate. Your demonstration is in vain.

And when I say whenever it isn't worth dying for, I don't mean one-way dying. Dying must be reciprocal, mutual; some dying on both sides. If it's not worth that, stay home.

Please just try and understand. Anything that involves a large number of people can always get out of hand, which means it can always bring death to you. Any kind of demonstration that you're in can bring death to you, especially when you're in a society that believes in brutality. So when you get involved in a large demonstration, you can die. But you should not be willing to die alone. So, if you should not be willing to die alone, it also involves taking the lives of others. And if it is not worth your taking the lives of others, then don't demonstrate. This is what you must understand. Any cause that can cost you your life must be the type of cause in which you yourself are willing to take life.

If it can cost you your life and you aren't willing to take life, do you realize what you are doing to yourself? Why, you're walking into a lion's den with your hands tied. If it is not worth dying for, get out of it. If it can cost you your life and, at the same time, you aren't psychologically prepared to take life, stay out of it. Get out of it. All you'll do is get in the way. You'll make someone have to do something unnecessarily. You'll go and get yourself killed, and your brother will have to go and take the head that took your head. And your head isn't even worth it.

So all of these off-the-wall, excuse the expression, activities that we've been maneuvered into during the past ten years—we don't want that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity was formed by brothers and sisters, black, brown, red, and yellow, from the Afro-American community for the purpose of trying to devise some kind of positive program that would enable us to take positive steps toward getting some positive results. And one of the first aims of this organization is to internationalize your and my problem.

Even in these demonstrations that brought about token integration, the only reason he gave up some tokens was because the world was watching

him. He didn't do it because your protest changed him. This is what you've got to understand. Why, you can protest against this man all day long. It's no change of heart that makes him back up. He looks across the water and sees the world looking at him. And he changes only to the degree that you have reached world opinion. If you have changed world opinion, he changes. But you don't change his opinion. No. And if you don't understand that, then you need to crawl back in the cotton patch. Because that's where you belong. You don't belong out here on the world stage.

And if it took world pressure to bring us the gains, whatever gains we've made, then what should we do today? Continue to look to Washington, D.C.? No, look to the world. Bring the attention of the world on our problem. Bring the support of the world to bear on our side against Uncle Sam. Don't treat Uncle Sam like he's a friend. If he's a friend, we wouldn't be in this shape. If he was your friend, you wouldn't be a second-class citizen. If he was your friend, then a little black child wouldn't have been hung on a tree in Georgia the other day. If he was your friend, you wouldn't have a segregated school system in New York City. No, you have got no friends in Washington, D.C. You've only got friends when you get outside the confines of North America. You've got friends in Africa, friends in Asia, friends in Latin America.

So we have to take our problem to our friends, or put our problem at a level where our friends can help us or in a forum where our friends have some say-so. Since our friends abroad, our brothers, have no say-so in America's domestic affairs, we have to take our problem out of America's domestic jurisdiction and place it in a forum where our friends and our brothers have some say-so. In this we will be showing some intelligence because it will show that we are at least able to distinguish between friend and foe. Right now, we haven't always reflected this ability. We've gone to our enemy looking for friendship and we ran from our friends. They've put us on the racetrack.

We have to make the world see that the problem that we're confronted with is a problem for humanity. It's not a Negro problem; it's not an American problem. You and I have to make it a world problem, make the world aware that there'll be no peace on this earth as long as our human rights are being violated in America. Then the world will have to step in and try and see that our human rights are respected and recognized. We have to create a situation that will explode this world sky-high unless we are heard from

when we ask for some kind of recognition and respect as human beings. This is all we want—to be a human being. If we can't be recognized and respected as a human being, we have to create a situation where no human being will enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

If you're not for that, you're not for freedom. It means you don't even want to be a human being. You don't want to pay the price that is necessary. And you shouldn't even be allowed around us other humans if you don't want to pay the price. You should be kept in the cotton patch where you're not a human being. You're an animal that belongs in the cotton patch like a horse and a cow, or a chicken or a possum, if you're not ready to pay the price that is necessary to be paid for recognition and respect as a human being.

Brothers, the price is death, really. The price to make others respect your human rights is death. You have to be ready to die or you have to be ready to take the lives of others. This is what old Patrick Henry meant when he said liberty or death. Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, or kill me. Treat me like a man, or kill me. This is what you have to say. Respect me, or put me to death. But when you start to put me to death, we're both going to die together. You have to say that.

This is not violence. This is intelligence. As soon as you start even thinking like that, they say you're advocating violence. No, you're advocating intelligence. Didn't you hear Lyndon B. Johnson last week when he said that they'll go to war in a minute to protect their life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness? Did they say LBJ was violent? No, they said he was a good president. Well, let's you and I be good presidents.

It's time for you and me now to let the world know how peaceful we are, how well-meaning we are, how law-abiding we wish to be. But at the same time we have to let the same world know we'll blow their world sky-high if we're not respected and recognized and treated the same as other human beings are treated. If you won't tell them that, you need to just get off the planet. You shouldn't even be around in the company of people. No, in fact, you should be too ashamed to be seen out in public because you're not a man, you're less than a man, subhuman.

One of the first steps toward our being able to do this is to internationalize our problem. Let the world know that our problem is their problem, it's a problem for humanity. And the first form in which this can be done is

the United Nations. One of the first acts of business of the Organization of Afro-American Unity is to organize the type of program that is necessary to take your and my case into the United Nations. Not only into the United Nations, but also we need to take it before every international body that sits on this earth. The Organization of African Unity, which consists of thirty-three independent African heads of state, will meet in Cairo on July 17. We should be there letting them know that we're catching hell in America.

If the Organization of African Unity is set up and composed of the independent heads of state from the African continent, and you and I are from Africa, have African blood in our veins, and we've heard them say that Africa is not free until all Africans are free—we're Africans too, and we want them to be just as concerned at the governmental level with our problem as they are with the problems of our people in South Africa and Angola. And we should let them know about it.

Our problem should be placed before the Organization of American States, the OAS. If they are going to listen to the troubles that Cuba creates, if they are going to take the trouble that Haiti presents to the Western Hemisphere before the OAS, if they take the Panamanian situation before the OAS, or if they have trouble in Santo Domingo and it goes before the OAS, you tell me by what right the plight of 22 million of our people here cannot be brought before the OAS. It should be brought before the OAS.
Very quickly, we'll leave the international situation alone for a moment and come to the local situation. If the Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that the problem of black people in this country is worthy of being brought before the world court in order to bring about world opinion on our side, is that all we have in mind? No. When you're in the ring fighting a man, you've got to fight him with long jabs and short uppercuts. You've got to be slapping him while you're dodging, and dodging while you're slapping him. You have to have a long-range and a short-range goal. President Nkrumah was most right when he said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto it." This is good and true. Politics is power, the science of how to govern.

The only real power that is respected in this society is political power and economic power. Nothing else. There's no such thing as a moral force that this government recognizes. Why, you're in a dream world. They don't know what a moral force is. You read more about moral corruption in Washington, D.C. than anything else. Don't talk about what happened in

Britain with Christine Keeler. What's happening in Washington, D.C.? Things that can't even be talked about. The only thing in Britain is they bring it out in the open. The corrupters in Washington are so powerful they can keep it from coming out in the open because they've got something on everybody. Everybody is in on it.

The only type of power that this government recognizes is political power and economic power. These are the only two kinds. In the past, our leaders have shown their lack of insight by not realizing that this segregated school system was producing children with an inferior education so that after they would graduate they still weren't qualified to participate or compete. What have we wasted our time doing? Protesting. To whom? Donovan. Who else? Gross. Why? Because we didn't know any better. Does Donovan hire himself? No. Does Gross hire himself? No. Who hires both of them? The mayor. We've been protesting against the puppet. Well, if you want to protest you got to go against the puppeteer. You have to strike at Wagner. How can you say Wagner is a good man and the two men he appointed are bad men? Wagner isn't carrying out their program. They're carrying out his program.

And the only way you can strike at him, you have to have political power. How do we get political power? We have to organize the people of Harlem in a door-by-door campaign, I mean door by door, house by house, people by people, person by person, and you have to make them feel so ashamed that they're not registered they won't even come out of the house. We have to create an atmosphere in Harlem—and when I say Harlem, the greater New York area—in which every black man in the greater New York area will feel like he's a traitor if he's not a registered voter. His ballot will be like a bullet.

One or the other, we're at a time in history now where we want freedom, and only two things bring you freedom—the ballot or the bullet. Only two things. Well, if you and I don't use the ballot and get it, we're going to be forced to use the bullet. And if you don't want to use the ballot, I know you don't want to use the bullet. So let us try the ballot. And if the ballot doesn't work, we'll try something else. But let us try the ballot. And the only way we can try the ballot is to organize and put on a campaign that will create a new climate.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity is planning a campaign that

will enable us within a matter of weeks to map out the city and touch every person in it who looks like us. There's only one thing we want them to do: register. That's all. We'll make it easy for them. Not register as a Democrat or a Republican, but as an independent. Don't sell your soul. If you're registered as a Democrat or a Republican, you've sold your soul.

An example. One of the worst things that anyone could have done was done by a well-known Negro leader, so-called—oh, I guess he's a Negro leader—when he condemned Goldwater. Tell you why. If he's already condemned Goldwater, what does Johnson have to do for you now? Nothing. Don't let the man know what you're against or who you're against. It's tactical suicide, tactical suicide, to let Lyndon B. Johnson know this far in advance that you don't go for the man he's running against.

Why, he doesn't have to promise you anything. He's already got you, dumb you, in his pocket. He needs to offer nothing. Well, as long as you and I follow that kind of birdbrain leadership, we never will have any political heaven. We'll have political hell. I'm not saying that to criticize any personality, but it must be said. Before you and I commit ourselves in any kind of campaign, make sure that it's going to help the whole, or don't say anything at all

This doesn't mean that I'm for the man. But I never let this man know that I'm against that man until I find out what this man is putting down. Do you understand? Don't let one think that he's got you in his pocket. Let him know that he doesn't know which way you're going until he produces something that is worthy of your support. Do you understand?

The no-knock law, the stop-and-frisk—we can go picket the police station. What good will it do? The police didn't pass the law. They're just out here. Who passed the law? The legislators. How do you protest against the legislators? With the ballot. So what the Negro leader has had you and me doing is going in the wrong direction. Don't protest against the puppet. Go work on the puppeteer. Go get the director of the show and take him off the scene, and then you can change the cast or you can change the script.

The City Council right now is considering a law that's designed to make it illegal for you to walk with a rifle or have a rifle. Why just now? As long as it's been legal to own a rifle, why all of a sudden does the great white father want to pass a law making rifle-carrying illegal? Because of you;

he's afraid of you getting rifles. Every law that they pass is aimed at you. Every legislator who walks inside the place where they make these laws, they think about you. They argue all night long on other laws. But when it comes to passing a law designed to keep you and me in the corral, they can pass it just like that.

So if you want to protest the no-knock law, you need the ballot. If you want to protest what the City Council is doing, you need the ballot. If you want to protest the segregated school system and change it, you need the ballot. Anything you can think of that you want to change right now, the only way you can change it is with a ballot or a bullet. And if you're not ready to get involved with either one of those, you are satisfied with the status quo. That means we'll have to change you.

There are 915,743 of our people in the state of Mississippi. That's almost a million. In 125 counties of Mississippi, they're in the majority. Ninety other counties, they constitute more than 40 percent of the population. Any time you have that number of black people who are of that numerical majority in that many counties, if they were given the vote, Eastland wouldn't be representing them. They'd be representing themselves. The state of Mississippi would be in the hands of the black man. And it must be in his hands—by the ballot or the bullet. It must be one or the other.

This is why the campaign that they have in Mississippi for voter registration is a good campaign. They're not trying to integrate, they're trying to get our people registered to vote, which is good, because it puts them in a position to strike right at the base of all of their misery. If our people down there are risking their lives so that they can register and be in a position to vote or have some say-so in their own destiny, what do you and I look like in New York City, with the registration booth only a few blocks away, and we haven't been in it?

And I say, brothers, you're talking to a man who's guilty of all of this. I've never tried to take part in anything political Couldn't see it. For one thing, I was in a religious organization that was talking about some thing coming by-and-by. And any time you start thinking about something by-and-by, you can't take hold of anything now-and-now or here-and-here. A lot of the critics, civil rights persons, used to criticize us, especially me, for not being active in politics. They should be glad, because so many of them were shamming and jiving— excuse the expression, but that's what they were

doing. When we get involved, we're involved for keeps.

We'll take a man and try and get all the people to back him. But then if he sells us out, we'll put him in the Hudson River. In the Hudson River, yes. We'll back him, we'll support him, but he has to represent us, not the man downtown. As soon as you back a man, you put him in office, you put him in a position to get you and me something, and then he starts dilly-dallying and compromising and looking out for himself, why, the very law of nature demands that that person be removed by any means necessary.

Since our people are making such a sacrifice to become registered voters in Mississippi, it's a sin for you and me not to be registered so we can vote in New York City and in New York State, or throughout the North. Here in this state they have forty-one congressmen. Nineteen of these forty-one congressmen from this state are from New York City. New York City is so big that almost half of all of the legislators that leave this state and go to Washington, D.C., come from New York City. They say that the size of New York City is around 8 million people. And they say there's about a million and a half black people. When they say there's a million and a half, that means there's 3 million, because they never let you and me know how many there really are.

Out of the forty-one congressmen from this state, and the nineteen from New York City, only one is black. Think of it. Only one congressman, Adam Powell, out of all these black people, and you and I are saying hurray, hurray, hurray, we've got one. Why, brothers, we haven't got anything near what we're supposed to have. We become satisfied too quickly. We have to find out what enabled the people here in Manhattan to send a black man to Congress. Then let us see if the same situation exists in the Bronx and get a black man from the Bronx to go to Congress. And find out if the same situation that produced them exists in Brooklyn and get one from Brooklyn. Why, you're like a nut voting for someone to represent you in a legislative body who doesn't even look like you. Let us find out who is the congressman in every area where we live and then find out if he's serving us or if he's serving someone else. If he's serving us, let him stay there. And if he's not serving us, let us get rid of him.

Adam Powell is the only black politician in this country who is independent of the white political machine. This doesn't mean that he takes advantage of his position always for our good. And it doesn't mean by me

saying this that I'm criticizing him. I'm not. I would never criticize him for the joy of white folks. They just go crazy when they hear you knock at Adam. If I thought he was wrong I wouldn't say so, I wouldn't give them that pleasure. In fact, I'd go for him as long as they don't go for him.

But the point that I'm trying to make is this, that he is independent of the political machine. Why? Because the people support him. Well, the people then should make him aware that they are aware that he wouldn't be there if it wasn't for them. And therefore the maximum mileage should be gotten from his position, maximum mileage. Because he's the only black politician in this country who's independent of the white political machine. And the only reason he's independent is because you support him. Most of these others—they have to rely on the machine in order to get in office.

But once we find that we have a man that can buck the machine and still go to Washington, then we should let that man know that the only reason he's bucking it is because we're behind him. And if we're behind him, that means we're watching him and we want results.

There are two senators from this state. Neither one of them are black. Both of them pretend to be pro-black, but as politicians they don't dare to pretend to be anything else.

There are fifty-eight state senators. Out of those fifty-eight state senators, twenty-five come from New York City. And only two of them are black. Think of this. Twenty-five state senators from New York City and only two of them represent us.

There are 150 state assemblymen. Sixty-five of that 150 are from New York City. And out of that sixty-five, only four are black. Out of sixty-five, we have four. The state assembly is the one that passes the anti-Negro law, no-knock, stop~and-frisk. The state assembly, that's where it's passed. You don't protest at the police precinct. No, the law itself is opening the door for the cop to be a brute or to be a Gestapo-type policeman. But the man who makes this law is the one that goes up to Albany. You can keep him from going to Albany if you are a registered voter.

Once you get the ballot, you know what this means? You don't have to get out in the street any more and risk your health and your life and your limb demonstrating. All you have to do is organize that political power

and direct it against anyone who's against you or direct it behind anyone who is for you. And in this way you and I will find that we're always taking constructive, positive action and getting some kind of result.

City councilmen, there are thirty-five city councilmen in New York City. Do you know out of thirty-five city councilmen, there's only one black one, and he's a councilman-at-large, J. Raymond Jones? And many of our people don't even know who the black councilman is. How would you expect to change our miserable situation when we have a council that the black man can't even get into? He's not even represented there. We're not represented in the city government in proportion to our number. We're not represented in the state government in proportion to our number. And we aren't represented in the federal government in proportion to our number.

So, the only way we can get them to change their laws is by becoming involved with the ballot. If the ballot won't do it, I here's no other alternative but the bullet. I say there's no other alternative but the bullet. As old Patrick Henry said—I always like to quote Pat because when I was going to their school they taught me to believe in it. They said he was a patriot. And he's the only one I quote. I don't know what any of the rest of them said. But I know what Pat said: Liberty or death. That means the ballot or the bullet. That's what it means in Harlemese, in Harlem talk.

Again, some facts and figures on Harlem that will only take a minute. The total black population based on the 1960 census is 336,364 right here in Harlem. In central Harlem between 110th Street and 155th Street, there are supposedly 193,800 of our people. How do they know? That's how many they counted. I've never been counted. Most of you have never been counted. How many of you have been at home when the man came and said I'm a census taker? I want to see. Look how many of you have your hand up. I know you haven't been counted.

Well, how does the man know how many of us there are? He doesn't know. He guesses, brothers. And he tells you what he wants you to believe. Whenever you hear this man tell you that there's 300,000, there's a million. He won't let you know how large you are or how many of you there are. And I have never met anybody yet that's been counted. Every once in a while, he runs through the neighborhood and says yes, there's so many and so many. He says that there are approximately 250,000 or more people eligible to register to vote. Approximately 125,000 are registered. Only

59,000 in the last Congressional election. Less that 15,000 voted in the Democratic primary election.

This shows you that most of our people don't involve themselves in politics at all. And if they did become involved and had a say-so in their destiny, everything would be a great deal different.

Another quick fact. It says that there are more than 10,000 people unemployed in central Harlem and there is not one employment office to accommodate them. Listen to this. The area of highest unemployment in the city is Harlem. There's not one employment office in Harlem. There are employment agencies. But there's a difference between an agency and an employment office. An agency sells you a job. If they get you a job, you've got to give them four months' pay . You work for them. That's slavery, brothers. Why isn't there an employment office in Harlem if Harlem has the highest rate of unemployment? Can you see the conspiracy?

What the man does is, he sends you to the agency; you pay for your job, which means that if he gives you the job you've got to give him a cut for two months. As soon as your two months' work is up, the man fires you. This is a game, it's a conspiracy, between the employer and the employment agency. How many of you know that this is not true? This is true. They sell you a job. Then after they sell you a job, they fire you and sell that same job to somebody else. Why, brothers, it's time for you and me to go on the warpath behind what's coming down.

No, I say that this is bad. Women constitute 48 percent of the work force in Harlem, 48 percent of the work force. Women, your and my women. The man won't give us a job, he gives them a job washing his dishes and his little snotty-nosed blue-eyed babies. We go and take care of them.

Concerning the income in Harlem. The average family income in Harlem is only $3,723 per year. And it says here that the mayor's committee estimated that it takes $6,000 per family to survive. Not to live in ease, to survive. Look, if the mayor sets up a committee and that committee does some research and comes up with the scientific finding that it takes $6,000 for the average family to survive, and then they say that you only average a little over $3,700, brothers, you're not surviving— you're in bad shape.

Approximately 15,000 in central Harlem receive some sort of public

assistance. That means welfare. There are 3,898 retail stores, all owned by whites, practically. They do an annual gross sale of $345,871,000 per year in this area. Meaning his businesses do this much gross sales in the neighborhood. Then he gives $10 back to the NAACP and $10 to CORE and tells you what a good man he is, he's your fiend. Why, we need to wake up.

One hundred and sixty-eight liquor stores do an annual gross sale of $34,368,000. And this doesn't include bars and taverns. Did you hear what I said? The liquor store where you go and buy it by the bottle, not the nightclub or the bar or the tavern, but just the liquor store alone sells you $34,368,000 worth of whiskey a year. Why, you should be ashamed of your drunk self. Do you know that there are governments in Africa whose annual budget to run their entire country for the year isn't as much as you spend in central Harlem for whiskey? And you wonder why you're catching so much hell. Why, the money you spend for whiskey will run a government.

So we have to do something about this. And we intend to do it with the Organization of Afro-American Unity. And before we go a step farther—and we didn't intend to go this late tonight—we want to stop right now just before our question period and give Brother Benjamin here a chance to get on with our collection period. The reason we always have a collection period is that our public collection foots all of our expenses toward putting on these rallies.

[Collection is taken.]

* * *

[Question: about John Brown]

Malcolm X: Brother, yes, I understand what you're saying, I think. There's an old African proverb which I find most enlightening, which says that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. The enemy of my enemy is my friend. As long as there's a lion coming after me, if I'm throwing stones at it and you're throwing chickens at it and someone else is throwing something else at it, as long as everybody else throws something at it, as far as I'm concerned they're all right with me, at least at this time. And if things change, then things will change. If the situation changes, everything changes. But as long

as they're throwing something at the lion, we say good. This doesn't mean that you always trust your allies. But as long as they want to ally themselves against the same one that you're fighting against, watch them and let them go ahead and fight against it. Yes, sir?

Question: Are there any fallout shelters in Harlem?

Malcolm X: Brother, if anything ever happens where you need a fallout shelter, a fallout shelter won't do you any good. When things get that bad, a fallout shelter won't do you any good. When things get that bad, forget it. And they are heading in that direction. Yes, sir?

Question: Brother teacher, must we utilize John Brown as a friend of the black man?

Malcolm X: No, I don't say he was a friend of the black man. I use it to give you an example of how to test the white man who says he's your friend. Let him go down with some action similar to John Brown's. If he's willing to die for you and all of that, then let him go ahead and do it.

Question: (about other whites who had been friendly to the Negro)

Malcolm X: You said they were friendly, but you didn't say they were friends. There's a difference.

Question: Well, they didn't give their life but they did great things to help.

Malcolm X: Whatever good they did, good. But we don't have to blow the bugle for any of them. We don't have to blow the bugle. Look, I've got an example. Some of them have died right now in Mississippi to try and change the situation. We still don't need to blow the bugle because the situation is there. We don't blow any bugles until the war's over. All the dying that they do is for naught if the situation remains the same. Some of us get too happy at an opportunity to find good white folks. Whatever good they do, good. If you want to use it as an example, good. But don't blow the bugle over it. And any time you find white people who help you just so you can say you're a good white man, no. Yes, ma'am?

Question: Where can you join the bullet campaign?

Malcolm X: Just join the Organization of Afro-American Unity. If you're interested in action, the Organization of Afro-American Unity has departments for any kind of action you want. If you want ballot action, we have that political department. If you want business action, we have a department that you can get involved in that will enable you to show us how to develop businesses and solve some of our economic problems. If you're interested in the cultural department, we have that. If you're interested in other departments, we also have them. Some of them we don't list publicly.

But I might point out you would be very surprised and encouraged to know how many of our people there are who are ready and willing to become involved actively in any kind of physical campaign designed to bring about an end to the Klan and these other racists who have been brutalizing our people. You have black people, we've had over 400 of them who have telephoned just within the past week to find out when you're going, saying count me in. Yes, sir?

Question: (says there is also a Negro city councilman from Brooklyn)

Malcolm X: Very good, brother. I'm sorry they didn't give me that information. So that means there are two out of twenty-five. And they're so quiet we never even heard their names. Why, don't you know when a black man goes downtown and represents us, he's supposed to be like Powell? Powell's the loudest thing in this country. That's why they don't like him. They don't dislike him because he goes to Europe, because they go to Europe. All that other stuff that they say about him, they're not against him because of that. They're against him because he's loud.
And in the history of this country polite black people have never been successful in bringing about any kind of advantages for black people. You have to walk in with a hand grenade and tell the man, listen, you give us what we've got coming or nobody is going to get anything. Then he might listen to you. But if you go in there polite and acting responsible and sane, why, you're wasting your time, you have to be insane. Yes, brother?

Question: Brother Malcolm, do you think it's wise that we should make it publicly known that possibly guerrillas are going to Mississippi or other places so the white man can be prepared?

Malcolm X: He's already prepared, brother. He's already prepared.

Sometimes it is good. If the United States government doesn't want you and me going into Mississippi organizing our people into the type of units that will enable them to retaliate against the Ku Klux Klan and create a very nasty situation in this country for the whole world to see, then the government should occupy the state of Mississippi.

Question: Well, don't you think the element of surprise would be better able to get the same thing done?

Malcolm X: Before the Chinese came across the Yalu during the Korean war, they told Uncle Sam, don't come another step, or else we're going to do such and such a thing. They were so confident in their ability to take on anything Sam had, they said don't come another step or we're going to do thus and so. Brother, let me tell you about a Klansman. He's a coward. He can be thoroughly organized and if you go like that [stamps his foot], he'll cut out. That's why they're hiding beneath those sheets. You never read where a Klansman does anything, you read where the mob does so and so. Because they're cowards.

Any time you get black people to take a stand against those sheeted so-called knights, you'll get rid of them overnight. And I for one would announce yes, we are doing it, and get some black people and go on down there. And I don't think we'd be the loser, no. In fact, I know we wouldn't. We've got black people in Mississippi right now who are already ready. They are already ready, they are sitting there waiting. The white man is finding out they've authorized it a long time ago. They're waiting for someone to let them know that it's all right. See, the preacher has been telling them that it's not all right. And once you make it known that it's all right to fight to defend yourself, that it's your right, that you are justified in returning bullet for bullet with a racist organization like the Klan. Let them know it, you won't even have to go down there. There's enough of them there to do it themselves. But you want to be in on the action. I'm telling you, Harlem is full of our people who want to go down there. Some of them come from down there. Yes, sir?

Question: Brother Malcolm, I was reading the Amsterdam News on the way to this meeting. And they have an article in there that says Malcolm X offers his assistance to CORE and these other supposedly nonviolent organizations. In this article they said they were considering your offer but they hadn't made any comment about it. I'd like for you to read the article.

Malcolm X: We don't have time to read the whole article. We're glad you gave the Amsterdam News a plug. And tell them that you gave them a plug so they'll mention in their next week's edition that we're going to have a rally next Sunday. We sent a telegram to the Student Nonviolent Committee in Mississippi, telling them that if the federal government won't protect the lives and the property of our people that we would send some brothers down there who knew how to organize our people into self-defense units that would show our people how to speak the only language that the Klan understands. And the only language they understand is the language of force. I'm telling you: anytime you lay a few Klansmen out, dead, the government will step in.

Now, am I supposed to be charged with advocating violence? Let me show you what a rotten system this is. They'll walk out of here and say I'm advocating violence. They won't say that the Klan is practicing violence, they won't say that the White Citizens Council is practicing violence, they won't say that the United States government is condoning violence. All they'll do is walk out and say we are advocating violence. You're living in a rotten system. No, we should declare open season on Klansmen, open season. Let it be known. Yes, ma'am.

Question: How can you register as an independent when there's no independent party?

Malcolm X: A person can register as an independent voter and then vote any way they want. No, I'm not speaking of an independent party. I'm speaking of a person registering as an independent voter, meaning that you're not committed to any party.

Question: What can the people who are already registered Democrat or Republican do? You talk about those who should register. But what about those who are registered as Democrats or Republicans?

Malcolm X: You have no problem. You can easily become an independent registered voter. If you were a Democrat, you could become a Republican, couldn't you? If you were a Republican, you could change your party affiliation to Democrat.

Question: But if I am registered as a Democrat, what should I do?

Malcolm X: Get with the rest of the independent voters. All I'm trying to show you is that we need a collective body of registered voters who are not committed to any party and not committed to any man until we find out what we're going to achieve from that commitment, some positive results from that commitment.

Question: But how can you un-commit yourself?

Malcolm X: If you're already committed? We'll look into it and let you know next week. And that's one of the reasons why we have a political committee, which we feel will have the type of political know-how to steer us around any problem that we're confronted by. It's best to be uncommitted. A black man that's committed is out of his mind. Be uncommitted. Because you haven't thrown a punch doesn't mean you can't throw it. I'd say as long as you haven't thrown it, you've always got one to throw. Yes, ma' am?

Question: Brother Malcolm, just a comment: all we have to know is what Adam Powell has been doing the past few years.

Malcolm X: He jumped from party to party, didn't he? But we want to give an explanation so that it will be clarified. We can best give you one by having our committee that has that responsibility get that information. And at our meeting next Sunday night we'll have that. Yes, ma' am?

Question: (about getting an appointment to discuss a problem)

Malcolm X: You can get it right at the Theresa office. Make it through the secretary there. I don't run from people. But the reason that I never make far-in-advance appointments is because I don't want a situation to ever come up where I have to stand somebody up. Right now, things are pretty hot for me, you know. Oh, yes. I'm trying to stay alive, you understand. I may sound like I'm cracking, but I'm facting. I've been hinting for two months what it was all about and some people thought I was crazy. But some of it's beginning to come out now. And the white press didn't bring it out. They sat on it because they didn't want that thing to crumble. Any time they find that something is putting black people in a vise, they want that thing to exist. If you notice, anything as a rule that is written up—again, like the Journal American did last Sunday; they said that we had 600 people out here. See, they're chronic liars. And they said what an

overwhelming victory was scored by Elijah Muhammad.

Well, you know, I hate to get on this subject. You all will forgive me if I do. But they said that they expected 500,000 at the Armory. And if they had 10,000, why, good night, they're still 490,000 short, unless their public relations man made a typographical error when he was putting out the press release. So I don't call that any kind of victory. But they like to use us one against the other. That's really what they're trying to do. And sometimes you find us, we're dumb enough to let ourselves be used one against the other. So, the secretary there at the office in the Theresa will set that up. There, 'way in the back.

Question: You once stated that the only solution for the so-called Negro was ultimately to return to Africa. Then at the last meeting, you said we should turn to Africa culturally and spiritually, but politically should stay in this country.

Malcolm X: Hold it right there. The first statement that I made, I made before going to Africa myself. I spent about five weeks over there speaking to every kind of African leader that I could gain access to. And the net result of that trip was that if our people go, they're welcome. But those who are politically mature over there say that we would be wiser to play a role at this time right here. If we want to go back, we're welcome, but what we do should be for the good of the whole, not for the few. Any time you restore cultural or spiritual bonds between our people here and our people there, then we begin to work together. Right now, someone is needed right here to do some work for the whole. And you and I are in the best position to do it.

Question: (remarks not audible)

Malcolm X: Brother, if all of us wanted to go back to Africa—you wouldn't be satisfied to go back all by yourself, I know that. Your desire would be to see all of us go back if I am judging you correctly. Then how would you create a situation, number one, that would make all of us black-minded enough to want to go back, or make all of us have a thorough enough knowledge of what it is like over there to want to go back, or like this man so fed up with us he'd want to send us there? How would you go about doing it? How would you go about getting 22 million people to go to a place that they think is a rotten, insect-infested jungle? How would you go

about getting them to go back when they cringe when you use the word African or Africa? What strategy would you use? Or else you'd end up going back by yourself.

Don't you know you've got some nationalists right here that aren't ready to go back? They'll talk that talk, I mean talk that talk, but when it comes to taking some concrete action, that's just talk. Well, let's face reality. Our people have to be brought up to the point where we have sufficient understanding of the assets that are due us if we do go back. And as long you can't get 22 million people to that level or to that point, then while you are trying to point them in that direction, you have to at the same time have some kind of program which will enable them to take the maximum advantage of every opportunity that exists here.

I want to go back to Africa. But what can I do while I'm waiting to go? Go hungry? Live in a rat-infested slum? Send my children to a school where their brains are being crippled? No, if we are going to go but time is going to pass between now and our going, then we have to have a long-range program and a short-range program, one that is designed to turn us in that direction, but at the same time one that is designed to enable us to take maximum advantage of every opportunity under this roof where we are right now. One more question—yes, sir?

Question: What will be the attitude of this organization toward American intervention in Africa?

Malcolm X: The brother wants to know what will be the attitude of this organization in regards to American intervention in Africa. By that you're probably referring to recently, when they bombed our Congolese brothers, when American pilots bombed our brothers in the Congo. Why, that was worse than what the Italians did to our brothers in Ethiopia.

Any time these kinds of things take place, you and I should be organized in such a way that the American government will think a long time before it takes any steps towards dropping bombs on Africans who are our brothers and sisters. This is why we must organize. But this handful of people here means nothing. We have to organize ourselves and then organize the city and then organize the state and then organize the country. Once you do this, the government is not going to intervene in Africa.

Walking downtown with a sign saying we protest what you did in the Congo means nothing if you're not organized. We have to organize house by house, street by street, city by city, state by state, every black man of African descent in the Western Hemisphere. And then you and I can stop the acts of atrocity not only in Mississippi, but also in the Congo. But first you have to organize. Coming to these meetings is not organization. After coming, go back and take out a membership so that we can get organized, and so at these membership meetings we can then tell you how you can help us organize others. And if those organize others and those organize others, the first thing you know we'll have this city organized. Then you can act.

Other than that, everything is premature, it is actually premature. You protest, you feel good, your chest is out. But what do you get? Nothing. Because, brothers, the man studies all these actions before he makes his move. When you see them intervening in the Congo and then have nerve enough to tell the press, so that they'll tell the American public—proof of which, name me a Negro paper that protested. Name a Negro—I use the word Negro now on purpose—name a Negro organization that protested. Name a Negro leader that protested. The State Department knew in advance what it was doing. They're not worried about those organizations, or those leaders. But this handful of people means nothing. What you and I have to do is organize, organize every black face you can find. And I'll guarantee you that they'll know in advance if we're organized, before they make any move in the Congo or anywhere else.

But one of the worst slaps in the face that the black man in this country has received was when the State Department had the audacity last week to admit that American pilots were bombing defenseless Africans in the Congo. And not one outcry was made among our people. The Negro leaders are too busy talking about rowdyism on the subways. Pick up on that. Rowdyism among Negroes on the subway, and black people are being torn from limb to limb by American bombs dropped daily American pilots from American planes.

# Speech to The African Summit Conference (August 21, 1964)

The Organization of Afro-American Unity has sent me to attend this historic African Summit Conference as an observer to represent the interests of 22 million African-Americans whose human rights are being violated daily by the racism of American imperialists.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity has been formed by a cross section of America's African- American community, and is patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity.

Just as the Organization of African Unity has called upon all African leaders to submerge their differences and unite on common objectives for the common good of all Africans, in America the Organization of Afro-American Unity has called upon Afro-American leaders to submerge their differences and find areas of agreement wherein we can work in unity for the good of the entire 22 million African Americans.

Since the 22 million of us were originally Africans, who are now in America, not by choice but only by a cruel accident in our history, we strongly believe that African problems are our problems and our problems are African problems.

We also believe that as heads of the independent African states you are the shepherds of all African peoples everywhere, whether they are still at home here on the mother continent or have been scattered abroad.

Some African leaders at this conference have implied that they have enough problems here on the mother continent without adding the Afro-American problem.

With all due respect to your esteemed positions, I must remind all of you that the Good Shepherd will leave ninety-nine sheep who are safe at home to go to the aid of the one who is lost and has fallen into the clutches of the imperialist wolf.

We in America are your long-lost brothers and sisters, and I am here

only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and, like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

We were taken forcibly in chains from this mother continent and have now spent over three hundred years in America, suffering the most inhuman forms of physical and psychological tortures imaginable.

During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women, and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high- pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

And all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American governmental authorities, the police themselves, for no reason other than that we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America.

The American Government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of your 22 million African-American brothers and sisters. We stand defenseless, at the mercy of American racists who murder us at will for no reason other than we are black and of African descent.

Last week an unarmed African-American educator was murdered in cold blood in Georgia; a few days before that three civil rights workers disappeared completely, perhaps murdered also, only because they were teaching our people in Mississippi how to vote and how to secure their political rights.

Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over three hundred years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb. Recently, three students from Kenya were mistaken for American Negroes and were brutally beaten by the New York police. Shortly after that two diplomats from Uganda were also beaten by the New York City police, who mistook them for American Negroes.

If Africans are brutally beaten while only visiting in America, imagine the physical and psychological suffering received by your brothers and sisters

who have lived there for over three hundred years.

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all time when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

Our problem is your problem. It is not a Negro problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem, a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights, it is a problem of human rights.

We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check now by American dollarism. Don't let American racism be "legalized" by American dollarism.

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she is also deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another. South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile toward black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity, both are canine, both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue. We beseech independent African states to help us bring our problem before the United Nations, on the grounds that the United States Government is

morally incapable of protecting the lives and the property of 22 million African-Americans. And on the grounds that our deteriorating plight is definitely becoming a threat to world peace.

Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning the other cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are.

We are well aware that our future efforts to defend ourselves by retaliating—by meeting violence with violence, eye for eye and tooth for tooth—could create the type of racial conflict in America that could easily escalate into a violent, worldwide, bloody race war.
In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

One last word, my beloved brothers at this African Summit: "No one knows the master better than his servant." We have been servants in America for over three hundred years. We have a thorough inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "Uncle Sam." Therefore, you must heed our warning. Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful,"friendly" American dollarism.

May Allah's blessings of good health and wisdom be upon you all.

# Speech to The Second African Summit Conference (August 21, 1964)

Every effort by the American press to play down the importance and the success of the Second African Summit Conference held recently here in the ancient African city of Cairo could well be a drastic mistake for the Western powers, and especially for America

The entire continent of Africa and her awakening people is the richest prize yet in the key struggle for the "balance of power" currently waged between East and West. Not only her unlimited supplies of untapped mineral resources, but also her strategic geographic position makes her extremely vital in the present world struggle.

Why does the press of the Western powers constantly ridicule and play down the idea of a United States of Africa? They know that a divided Africa is a weak Africa, and they want to keep her a dependent target of Western "philanthropy," or what is being increasingly described here as "benevolent" colonialism. The neocolonialists who would "woo and rule" Africa today must skillfully disguise their selfish aims within their generous offers of unlimited "economic aid, Peace Corpism or crossroadism," all of which is nothing but the modem counterpart of the nineteenth-century "missionaryism."

A united Africa is a strong and independent Africa, an Africa that can stand on its own feet, walk for itself, and avoid the snares and pitfalls devised by the "benevolent" imperialists to keep the mother continent divided, weak, and dependent upon the "philanthropic" West for economic "aid," political "guidance," and military "protection."

During the Second African Summit Conference any unbiased observer could easily see that Africa is making every effort today to stand on her own feet and speak with her own voice. Africa seeks only her rightful place in the sun. The degree to which the well-meaning element in the American public realizes that "to be independent and self-sustaining" is Africa's only aim, will determine the attitude and the degree of pressure the American public will put upon the politicians at home in order to keep the American

Government's foreign policy toward Africa a policy of genuine assistance instead of the thinly disguised "benevolent" colonialism, "philanthropic" imperialism or what many of the more "cautious recipients" of American economic aid are beginning to label as American dollarism.

I refer to the importance of the well-meaning element of American society being properly informed and having the correct understanding of Africa's aims and efforts because America today is the leading Western power, and the attitude of the American public can play a vital role in determining whether there will be a positive or negative reaction of the West in the face of Africa's efforts toward a united and independent continent.

The American people must be made to understand that this vast continent is aflame with the spirit of revolution; not a negative or destructive revolution based on revenge, but a revolution designed to produce the constructive social changes that will bring positive benefits to the long-neglected African people.

The bloodless revolution here in Cairo that dethroned and sent into exile the despotic former King Farouk, and Egypt's steady progress toward positive social changes during the past twelve years, has made the United Arab Republic and its militant President Gamal Abdel Nasser the cornerstone and pattern of the overall African Revolution.

Despite the distorted picture painted of the United Arab Republic by anti-African propagandists, President Nasser and his able assistants have made great progress in his "step by step" program to bring the benefits of modernization to his people. He has skillfully guided them away from the antiquated liabilities of their past, while at the same time showing them how to retain and harness the assets of their ancient and glorious civilization.

The successful industrialization of the United Arab Republic in just twelve years since the revolution and the thirst he has since inspired within the Egyptian masses to educate themselves in the free schools set up throughout Egypt since the revolution are only a few of the many revolutionary accomplishments that have served as a cornerstone and pattern for the spirit of economic, political, and intellectual independence that has been sweeping this entire mother continent these past twelve years.

And the revolutionary spirit he has inspired here on this continent among his fellow Africans has leaped across the Atlantic Ocean and entered into the heart and mind of 22 million of our people in America who are also of African origin.

The spirit of brotherly understanding and unity in which President Gamal Abdel Nasser opened and conducted the Second African Summit Conference held recently here in Cairo inspired all others with the same spirit of willingness to recognize the necessity for changes, and successfully laid the groundwork for serious discussions toward the formation of a truly independent and United States of Africa.

The success of this Second Summit Conference is not only an overwhelming victory for the people here on the mother continent, but it is also a victory for the 22 million brothers and sisters in America who are of African origin...for we awakening Afro-Americans are well aware today that a united Africa is a strong Africa, and it is only in the strength of our African brothers that we in America will ever realize a true solution to our own struggle for independence and the recognition and respect of our own human rights.

The time has come when the awakened voice of Africa is being heard with a tremendous impact throughout the world, and the ever increasing importance and influence of the voice can be traced to the First African Summit Conference, which was held in Addis Ababa in May of 1963.

It was this First African Summit Conference that laid the foundation for the crushing blow, physically and psychologically, to the schemes of the European and American neo-imperialists to weaken Africa by keeping her artificially divided into "Africa above the Sahara and Africa below the Sahara, Arab Africa and 'African,' Muslim Africa and non-Muslim Africa, light-skinned and darkskinned Africa."
The Summit Conference in Addis Ababa was the first step taken by Africans themselves to destroy these divisive concepts that had been skillfully created and propagated by the American and European neo-imperialists. These successful steps toward unity which were set in motion at the First Summit Conference made the enemies of African unity quite ill and desperate to create new countermeasures to forestall African unity. But the fortunes spent by the neo-imperialists in their divisive propaganda

has been like pouring money down the drain because their former African "concubine" has awakened and the illicit honeymoon between Mother Africa and her former European "lovers" is now over forever.

The sunlight of mutual understanding that shined forth brilliantly from the First Summit Conference created a new climate here on the mother continent, ushering in an atmosphere of brotherliness among the various heads of the independent African states. Personality conflicts that formerly kept some of them narrow-minded, shortsighted, and apart were submerged into the background and de-emphasized; and instead areas and topics of common concern, common benefit, and common agreement were emphasized and discussed. The good of Africa was put above the personal feelings of a few individuals.

Yes, the First Summit was indeed an accomplishment within itself. No one selfishly argued that it should be held in Lagos, Accra, Monrovia, Algiers, Khartoum, or Conakry instead of Addis Ababa. They showed respect for Emperor Haile Selassie, even though he was an absolute monarch and most of the others were from anti-monarchy republics. This first Summit brought together the African monarchs, kings, and presidents on the same level...it created a "working atmosphere" between monarchies, kingdoms, and republics, between the big countries and the small ones, those rich in natural resources and those that were almost barren.

Thus, the first Summit created the climate for unity. But it was here in Cairo at the Second African Summit Conference that the real unity of action began to take form, when all the heads of the independent African states denounced imperialism and racism in all of its forms including even the passage of a resolution condemning the continued racist oppression of the 22 million Afro-Americans in the United States. And many of them for the first time joined in denouncing Israel as a base and tool of neo-imperialism, and they openly supported the right of the Arab refugees to return to their Palestine homeland. They could easily see that since over 80 per cent of the Arab world is on the African continent, Arab problems are inseparable from African problems.

The spirit of brotherhood was so strong at this Second Summit Conference that the heads of state not only agreed on the necessity of a united Africa, but they vigorously discussed the problems also of restoring liberty and dignity to the mother continent as a whole. They recognized

the Government of Zambia and the Government-in-exile of Angola, accepting both heads of state (Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Holden) as full participants at the Summit Conference. They gave full support to the freedom fighters of the Africa Liberation movement, and expressed concrete plans to assist their freedom struggle both morally and materially, even if it necessitated supplying weapons for an open, bloody revolt against the remaining racist diehards.

Although many of them recognized that Israel is nothing but a base here on the northeast tip of the mother continent for the twentieth-century form of "benevolent colonialism," they felt that the most pressing problem facing the continent is the openly racist Government occupying South Africa, the remnant of the nineteenth-century colonialism represented by the forced rule of the European minority over the African majority. The collective decisions and resolutions by the Conference to bring strict sanctions against the racist Government of South Africa were agreed to by all of the African heads of state, and thus there is no doubt that this firm stand to support the African majority's struggle for liberty in that area will step up their efforts to throw out the racist European minority that is forcibly ruling their country.

They also recognized the seriousness of our problem in America, its relationship to the African continent, and their moral obligation to give us their all-out support in our struggle for human rights-and thus my coming to the Summit Conference was not in vain as some elements in the American press have tried to "suggest," but instead my coming proved to be very fruitful for our freedom struggle in America, and especially for our plan to take our problems before the United Nations. I had traveled over six thousand miles from America to attend this African Summit Conference as an observer. The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) had sent me to present the true plight and the feelings of 22 million Afro-Americans to these heads of independent African states.

Upon my arrival in Cairo I was met with open arms by the African leaders and their various delegations. I found no doors closed to me. They asked me to prepare a memorandum on the real status of our people in America, explaining how we are also victimized by neo-imperialism in its racist American form, and they urged me to present my memorandum to the Conference so they could take action on it in our behalf.

I tried to summarize our plight in as few words as possible, but my memorandum of continued atrocities against the Afro-American by racists in the United States still stretched into nine pages. It charged America with practicing a worse form of organized racism than South Africa, and described how this racist element in the State Department had skillfully alienated us from the natural sympathy and support of our African brothers in our freedom struggle by using white "liberals" to gain our friendship and confidence in order to "advise" and maneuver us into a twelve-year fight for our civil rights, knowing that as long as our freedom struggle was labeled "civil rights" it would be considered by the African nations as American "domestic" affairs and our plight would remain within the sole jurisdiction of the American Federal Government for a "solution."

My memorandum charged that this same racist element in the State Department knew that our newly formed Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was planning to internationalize America's race problem by lifting it from the level of civil rights to a struggle for the universally recognized human rights, and on these grounds we could then bring America before thc United Nations and charge her with violating the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and thereby of also violating the U.N. Charter itself.

In order to keep the Organization of Afro- American Unity (OAAU) from gaining the interest, sympathy, and support of the independent African states in our effort to bring the miserable plight of the 22 million Afro-Americans before the U.N., the racist element in the State Department very shrewdly gave maximum worldwide publicity to the recent passage of the Civil Rights Bill which was actually only a desperate attempt to make the African states think America was sincerely trying to correct the continued injustices done to us, and thereby maneuver the African Government into permitting America to keep her racism "domestic" and still within her sole jurisdiction.

This racist element within the State Department realizes that if any intelligent, truly militant Afro- American is ever permitted to come before the United Nations to testify in behalf of the 22 million mistreated Afro-Americans, our dark-skinned brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia, and Latin America would then see America as a "brute beast," even more cruel and vulturous than the colonial powers of Europe and South Africa combined. I was relieved and delighted to learn how easily most of the African heads

of state and their advisers could see through the tricks of the American racists. One of them told me he knew the Civil Rights Bill was only a "political maneuver" to capture the Negro votes in the coming elections, and he stressed that it could hardly have been accidental that passage of the bill came to fruition during this crucial election year.

Another described it as a beautiful document on paper but agreed that it was a document that could never be implemented. Another said it was like the novocaine a dentist gives a patient who has a rotten, abscessed tooth without ever pulling the tooth—or treating the condition while ignoring the cause.

All of them with whom I was able to establish personal contact agreed with my contention that our problem was one of human rights instead of only civil rights. They also agreed that we needed and deserved the full support of the entire world in our struggle for human rights.

Thus, these enlightened heads of the thirty-three independent African states at the Second Summit Conference passed a resolution condemning the continued brutal treatment of the Afro-American in the United States, and they voiced full sympathy and support in our struggle to break the yoke of American racism. This resolution had so many frightening implications for America's future image and position in the world, especially for her foreign policy in this crucial election year; it is not surprising that the American press completely smothered the fact that the Second Summit Conference passed such a resolution, despite the fact that it was sent out over UPI wire services to all the American news outlets. Right up to this moment the American public has never been told that the Second African Summit passed a resolution condemning the mistreatment of the Afro-Americans and voicing full support of our freedom struggle. The voice of Africa is becoming stronger every day.

The spirit of unity here in Cairo during this Second Summit Conference, and their agreement that there is no room here on the mother continent for imperialism any more in any form—and by the time these heads of state convene their Third Summit Conference in Accra next year, most of the remaining strongholds of imperialism are sure to have fallen under the crushing weight of a rising, united Africa!

# Letter to the Egyptian Gazette (August 25, 1964)

I am not a racist, and I do not subscribe to any of the tenets of racism. But the seed of racism has been firmly planted in the hearts of most American whites ever since the beginning of that country. This seed of racism has rooted itself so deeply in the subconsciousness of many American whites that they themselves ofttimes are not even aware of its existence, but it can be easily detected in their thoughts, their words, and in their deeds.

In the past I permitted myself to be used by Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the sect known as the Black Muslims, to make sweeping indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as the result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of anyone race.

My religious pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca has given me a new insight into the true brotherhood of Islam, which encompasses all the races of mankind. The pilgrimage broadened my scope, my mind, my outlook, and made me more flexible in approaching life's many complexities and in my reactions to its paradoxes.

At Mecca I saw the spirit of unity and true brotherhood· displayed by tens of thousands of people from all over the world, from blue-eyed blonds to black-skinned Africans. This served to convince me that perhaps some American whites can also be cured of the rampant racism which is consuming them and about to destroy that country.

I am now striving to live the life of a true Sunni Muslim.

In the future I intend to be careful not to sentence anyone who has not first been proven guilty. I must repeat that I am not a racist nor do I subscribe to the tenets of racism. I can state in all sincerity that I wish nothing but freedom, justice, and equality, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all people.

However, the first law of nature is self-preservation, so my first concern is with the oppressed group of people to which I belong, the 22 million Afro-Americans, for we, more than any other people on earth today, are deprived of these inalienable human rights.

But time is running out for America. The 22 million Afro-Americans are not yet filled with hate or a desire for revenge, as the propaganda of the segregationists would have people believe. The universal law of justice is sufficient to bring judgment upon the American whites who are guilty of racism. The same law will also punish those who have benefited from the racist practices of their forefathers and have done nothing to atone for the "sins of their fathers." Just look around on this earth today and see the increasing troubles this generation of American whites is having. The "sins of their fathers" are definitely being visited upon the heads of this present generation. Most intelligent American whites will admit freely today without hesitation that their present generation is already being punished and plagued for the evil deeds their forefathers committed when they enslaved millions of Afro-Americans in that country.

But it is not necessary for their victim—the Afro- American—to seek revenge. The very conditions the American whites created are already plaguing them into insanity and death. They are reaping what their forefathers have sown. "Their chickens are coming home to roost." And we, the 22 million Afro-Americans, their victims, need only to spend more time removing the "scars of slavery" from the backs and the mind of our own people, physical and mental scars left by four hundred years of inhuman treatment there in America at the hands of white racists.

The key to our success lies in united action. Lack of unity among the various Afro-American groups involved in our struggle has always been the reason we have failed to win concrete gains in our war against America's oppression, exploitation, discrimination, segregation, degradation, and humiliation. Before the miserable condition of the 22 million "second-class citizens" can be corrected, all the groups in the Afro-American community must form a united front.

Only through united efforts can our problems there be solved.
How can we get the unity of the Afro-American community? Ignorance of each other is what has made unity impossible in the past. Therefore we need enlightenment. We need more light about each other. Light

creates understanding, understanding creates love, love creates patience, and patience creates unity. Once we have more knowledge (light) about each other we will stop condemning each other and a united front will be brought about.

All 22 million Afro-Americans have the same basic goal, the same basic objective. We want freedom, justice, and equality, we want recognition and respect as human beings. We are not divided over objectives, but we have allowed our racist enemies to divide us over the methods of attaining these common objectives. Our enemy has magnified our minor points of difference, then maneuvered us into wasting our time debating and fighting each other over insignificant and irrelevant issues.

The common goal of 22 million Afro-Americans is respect as human beings, the God-given right to be a human being. Our common goal is to obtain the human rights that America has been denying us. We can never get civil rights in America until our human rights are first restored. We will never be recognized as citizens there until we are first recognized as humans.

The present American "system" can never produce freedom for the black man. A chicken cannot lay a duck egg because the chicken's "system" is not designed or equipped to produce a duck egg. The system of the chicken was produced by a chicken egg and can therefore reproduce only that which produced it.

The American "system" (political, economic, and social) was produced from the enslavement of the black man, and this present "system" is capable only of perpetuating that enslavement.

In order for a chicken to produce a duck egg its system would have to undergo a drastic and painful revolutionary change...or REVOLUTION. So be it with America's enslaving system.

In the past the civil rights groups in America have been foolishly attempting to obtain constitutional rights from the same Government that has conspired against us to deny our people these rights. Only a world body (a world court) can be instrumental in obtaining those rights which belong to a human being by dint of his being a member of the human family.

As long as the freedom struggle of the 22 million Afro-Americans is labeled a civil rights issue it remains a domestic problem under the jurisdiction of the United States, and as such, bars the intervention and support of our brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia, Latin America, as well as that of the well-meaning whites of Europe. But once our struggle is lifted from the confining civil rights label to the level of human rights, our freedom struggle has then become internationalized.

Just as the violation of human rights of our brothers and sisters in South Africa and Angola is an international issue and has brought the racists of South Africa and Portugal under attack from all-other independent governments at the United Nations, once the miserable plight of the 22 million Afro-Americans is also lifted to the level of human rights our struggle then becomes an international issue, and the direct concern of all other civilized governments, we can then take the racist American Government before the World Court and have the racists in it exposed and condemned as the criminals that they are.

Why should it be necessary to go before a world court in order to solve America's race problem? One hundred years ago a civil war was fought supposedly to free us from the Southern racists. We are still the victims of their racism. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was supposedly to free us. We are still crying for freedom. The politicians fought for amendments to the Constitution supposedly to make us first-class citizens. We are still second-class citizens.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court itself issued a historic decision outlawing the segregated school system, and ten years have passed and this law is yet to be enforced even in the Northern states.
If white America doesn't think the Afro-American, especially the upcoming generation, is capable of adopting the guerrilla tactics now being used by oppressed people elsewhere on this earth, she is making a drastic mistake. She is underestimating the force that can do her the most harm.

A real honest effort to remove the just grievances of the 22 million Afro-Americans must be made immediately or in a short time it will be too late.

# OAAU Homecoming Rally (November 29, 1964)

Asalaam Alaikum, all my brothers and sisters. Well, I hardly know how to get started, but I can let you know in advance that we're not going to keep you here tonight very long. I first have to make a confession—I almost didn't get here tonight; something came up, a situation developed where we were going to almost have to postpone our little brief talk until next Sunday. But thanks to the one that created the universe—some call him God; some call him a whole lot of things; I call him Allah—I'm thankful to be able to be here.

Now, brothers and sisters, all I would like to do tonight, and I beg your forgiveness, is to give you a brief sketch or outline on some experiences that I've had during the past eighteen weeks. It's certainly good to be back, although I don't know how a black man can leave a black continent and come back to a white continent and say it's good to be back I would like to give a brief sketch to you concerning some of the experiences that I've had, some of the things I've seen, some of the things I've heard, so that you can evaluate them with your own mind.

The reason that it has to be brief is that I have to leave the country again this week I'll be back next Sunday, but I'm involved in a debate at Oxford University in England, outside of London, on Thursday. I have to go there for that, and then come back here for a rally which we're going to have next Sunday night, at which time we are going to try and get some experts to come and give us an outline of exactly what has taken place in the Congo, so that the black people in Harlem won't have to be involved in a situation where we'll be sitting on the log, wondering what's going on. I think that you and I should realize that the time has come for us to let the world know that we're not only interested in some kind of integrated situation in the United States, but we're interested in taking our place on the world stage, and we're interested in anything that involves black people anywhere on this earth.

It would be a crime for you and me to be in a city that has more black people in it than any other city on this earth, New York City, and be silent in the face of the criminal action of the United States government in conjunction with Belgium in the Congo. I mean criminal, criminal action

that this government has involved itself in. Lyndon B. Johnson—he said it today, he's to blame. He doesn't have to say it; we know he's to blame before he said it. He waited until the people had voted for him and he got in, and things got cut and dried. Then he got in cahoots with Belgium—one of the worst racist governments that has ever existed on the face of the earth, Belgium. This government, in conjunction with that government, is dropping paratroopers in the Congo under the pretext that it's some kind of humanitarian operation.

So next Sunday night we are going to try and get some of our African brothers and some of our Afro- American brothers who are well versed in the facts concerning the history of the Congo to tell how the white man happened to be over there in the first place, why he is over there still and finds it so difficult to leave, and most important of all, what are the factors behind the deep-rooted hostility that seems to lie in the hearts of our Congolese brothers toward them. We want to know if our brothers are savage, as they keep implying, or are they justified in the feelings that they've been displaying toward these people who are over there in their land, not by their invitation?

I don't want to get on that, but this is what we want next Sunday night, and we're going to try and get some help in outlining the incidents that led up to the present situation in the Congo today. But never believe what you read in the newspapers—they're not going to tell you the truth. The truth isn't in them. Not when it comes to the Congo; they can't tell the truth. I was on the radio with a man the other night, and he had the nerve to tell on the air about some Congolese atrocities, and the benevolence of the Belgian government, and how Belgian atrocities never took place. I didn't believe that a white man, so intelligent, would have so much nerve in 1964. I could see him taking that stand in 1924, or even 1944, or maybe 1954, but not 1964.

So, brothers and sisters, when I left here on the 9th of July, it was primarily because I had just been successful in starting a new religious organization which many of you have heard about, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and we had also just been successful in organizing a new nonreligious organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. One of the main reasons for undertaking the journey was to lay a foundation. It is impossible for any black group in America to become involved in any kind of religion that doesn't have roots directly connected with some source in

the East. And it is impossible for any black group in America to become involved in any kind of political organization that doesn't have some roots directly connected with our roots on the African continent. This is the era of revolution.

Now I must just take time to clarify what I mean before some of these pencil-scratchers misquote me, which they're going to do anyway. You notice two years ago the American press was calling your and my struggle a revolution—"Negro revolution, Negro revolution." Now, they didn't mind calling it that, and they didn't mind you referring to it as that, because they knew that what was happening was no revolution. But when you start using the word "evolution" in its real sense, then they get shaky. They start classifying you as a fanatic, or something subversive or seditious, or other than a law-abiding person. But today we're living in an era of revolution, which means an era of change, when people who are being oppressed want a change. And they don't want a gradual change. They don't want the change that comes year by year, or week by week, or month by month. They want a change right now.

Cairo is one of the cities on this earth that has the headquarters for more revolutionary movements, I imagine, than any other city. By the way, when I got there, as you know, they were having the African summit conference. All of our brothers were over there, getting together, discussing the problems of the world. It was a beautiful sight, especially when you live in a country where you and I don't have any chance to discuss anything but an integrated cup of coffee, or how to integrate some toilet in Mississippi. When you go and find independent African nations, headed by their leaders, their heads of state, sitting down and discussing problems of the world, the economic, political, and social problems of the world, why, it makes you feel good, it makes you get a new lease on life.

When I got there, there was a great deal of pressure already being put on various segments of the African community to not open any doors, and these pressures were being put down by this government. I started not to say this government, but I'm going to tell the truth the way it is, let the chips fall where they may.

They had their men over there running around like mad with their money, trying to make it impossible for any American Negro to be included in any way in any conference dealing with Africans, or dealing with international

affairs. They try to give the impression over there that you and I aren't interested in international affairs, that you and I are interested only in integrating Mississippi. This is the image that is very skillfully spread abroad of the American Negro, that you and I cannot see beyond the shores of America—that our minds and our thoughts and our desires and our hopes are limited to everything right here.

Naturally, any African who would believe this is shocked when he sees an Afro-American coming to an international conference, especially a conference that's composed just of independent African states. Some of them this government has tried to give the impression over there that you and I don't even identify with Africa. And some of them get shocked when they see you and me turning in their direction.

I'm telling you, they've done a vicious job. This thing they call the USIS, the United States Information Service, is one of the most vicious organs that has ever been put together and sent anywhere by any country. It will make that propaganda machine that Goebbels had, under Hitler, look like child's play.

Why, in every African country the USIS window has pictures in it, showing the passage of the civil rights bill to make it look like the problems of every Negro over here have been solved. Go in any African country, and you know before you get there what's going to be in the window. They use the passage of the civil rights bill to make it appear that Negroes aren't being lynched any more, that Negroes' voting rights aren't being trampled upon any more, that police aren't busting Negroes' heads with clubs any more, nor are they using dogs and violence and water hoses to wash us down the drain. They make it appear that the civil rights bill created a paradise in the United States for the 22 million Negroes. This is the thing they call USIS. It does a very bad job of creating the wrong image and giving the wrong impression.

To show you how vicious they are—I'm within my rights to attack it; actually I'm not attacking it, I'm only analyzing it. On the 4th of November, the date that the election was over, the USIS circulated a document on me throughout the African continent—knocking me, you know. Here I am, just a little old poor so-called Negro from Harlem, and they're going to waste all their paper trying to tell Africans, "Don't listen to what that man says, because he doesn't represent anything, and doesn't represent anybody,

and has always been discredited." That's your USIS. I say a prayer for them.

I want to say this too, in passing, for the benefit of our Muslim brothers and sisters who might be here from some of the Muslim countries, and might get a bit nervous over what I'm saying, and the way I'm saying it. This is not a religious meeting. When I come to a meeting sponsored by the OAAU, which is the Organization of Afro-American Unity, I put my religion in this pocket right here, and keep it here. And when I talk like this, it doesn't mean I'm less religious, it means I'm more religious.

I believe in a religion that believes in freedom. Any time I have to accept a religion that won't let me fight a battle for my people, I say to hell with that religion. That's why I am a Muslim, because it's a religion that teaches you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It teaches you to respect everybody, and treat everybody right. But it also teaches you if someone steps on your toe, chop off their foot. And I carry my religious axe with me all the time.

You know they have freedom movements on the African continent. There are many liberation movements; there are movements of Africans from South Africa, from Mozambique, from South-West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Angola. In every country, in every area on the African continent that has not tossed aside the shackles of colonialism, they have developed a liberation movement, and the purpose of these liberation movements is to throw aside the oppressor.

After the summit conference, the most respected groups were these freedom fighters. The heads of the various liberation movements from the different parts of the African continent were all housed on a ship that was anchored in the Nile River—a ship called the Isis. They were placed there so that they could all be together, and discuss the problems that they had in common. At the same time it was excellent for security purposes, because you can't get on a boat so easily.

I was blessed with the opportunity to live on that boat with the leaders of the liberation movements, because I represented an Afro-American liberation movement—Afro-American freedom fighters. And all of us were on there together. It gave me an opportunity to study, to listen and study the type of people involved in the struggle—their thinking, their objectives, their aims and their methods. It opened my eyes to many things. And I

think I was able to steal a few ideas that they used, and tactics and strategy, that will be most effective in your and my freedom struggle here in this country.

Some of them were nonviolent—I didn't listen too long to any of those. And others really want freedom. When a person places a proper value on freedom, there is nothing under the sun that he will not do to acquire that freedom. Whenever you hear a man saying he wants freedom, but in the next breath he is going to tell you what he won't do to get it, or what he doesn't believe in doing in order to get it, he doesn't believe in freedom. A man who believes in freedom will do anything under the sun to acquire or achieve his freedom, and he will do anything under the sun to preserve his freedom. And the only reason you and I here in America don't yet have freedom is we haven't yet matured to that stage where we can see this is the real price, or the real attitude, or the real approach that one must make.

I was, as I said, in Egypt, the United Arab Republic, for two months, and then left and went to Mecca, where I was for about a week; I was in Saudi Arabia for about a week, and Mecca a couple of days. I left there and went to Kuwait, where all the oil is, on the Persian Gulf, and from there to Beirut in Lebanon. After spending two months there, in the Middle East, then I went on into other parts of Africa, the first stop being Khartoum where, since then, they've had a whole lot of trouble—which they should have had. Now everything is all settled; they had a revolution, and got people that didn't belong in power out of power—that's how you do it. And that's what they did, the students.

The students all over the world are the ones who bring about a change; old people don't bring about a change. I mean I'm not saying this against anybody that's old—because if you're ready for some action you're not old, I don't care how old you are. But if you're not ready for some action, I don't care how young you are, you're old. As long as you want some action, you're young. But any time you begin to sit on the fence, and your toes start shaking because you're afraid too much action is going down, then you're too old; you need to get on out of the way. Some of us get too old while we're still in our teens.

So, I went through Khartoum to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, which is a wonderful country. It has its problems, and it's still a wonderful country. Some of the most beautiful people I've seen are in Ethiopia, and most

intelligent and most dignified, right there in Ethiopia. You hear all kinds of propaganda about Ethiopia. But any time a person tries to tell you, as they've told you and me, that Ethiopians don't think they're the same as we are, that's some of that man's manufacturing. He made that up. You know who I mean when I say "that man." They're just as friendly toward us as anybody else is.

I was there for about a week, and went on into Kenya, a place which really knocked me out. If ever I saw any Africans who looked like they have the potential for explosion, it's our good Kikuyu brothers in Kenya. I was discussing my opinion of the people of Kenya, especially in Nairobi, with some friends while I was there, and I told them that I was looking at the faces of these people, and they looked like they can explode. And they do; they look like they can explode, more so than any place I went on the continent. You can just see, right in their faces, energy. Now if you channel it in the right direction, it goes in the right direction; if you let it go in the wrong direction, it goes in the wrong direction—but they've got the energy, that's the most important thing.

And as proof that they can explode, they exploded the other day. When the United States, with her criminal action in the Congo—and that's what it is, criminal action in the Congo—they marched on the embassy there in Nairobi, tore it up. And that shows you what the Africans feel. They don't like to see anybody exploiting another African or oppressing another African; they stick together, and you and I can learn that's what we're supposed to do. When something happens in Mississippi, we don't have to go to Mississippi—they've got some people that look just like those in Mississippi, right here.

My contention is, those up here are just as much responsible for what's happening down there as those down there. And when you and I let them know that we hold all of them responsible, then all of them will start acting right. They'll keep those others in line. But as long as you and I make them think they can pass the buck, then they will be passing the buck, they'll be telling us, you know, "Mississippi," and they're doing the same thing right here.

So, when I left Kenya, I went to Zanzibar and Tanganyika; now it's called Tanzania. And I never went anywhere that has pleased me more than that place. It's beautiful—all of Africa is beautiful—but in Tanganyika, it's

a very beautiful place. It's hot, it's like Miami, Miami is hot, and if these people pay as much money as they do to live in Miami, why, you know, the entire African continent where I went is just like Miami Beach. And they're always telling you and me, you know, how difficult a time we would have trying to adjust if we went over there. I'm telling you, if you want to integrate, go to Africa. There are more white people over there than there are over here. That's where they all are. They're over there living like kings, basking in the sun.

And when we go back in that sense, then this spiritual bond that is created makes us inseparable, and they can see that our problem is their problem, and their problem is our problem. Our problem is not solved until theirs is solved, theirs is not solved until ours is solved. And when we can develop that kind of relationship, then it means that we will help them solve their problems, and we want them to help us solve our problems. And by both of us working together, we'll get a solution to that problem. We will only get that problem solved by working together.

This was the essence of every discussion—that the problems are one, that the destiny is the same, the origin is the same. Even the experiences are the same; they catch hell, we catch hell. And no matter how much independence they've got, on that land, on the mother continent, if we don't have it over here, and don't have respect over here, when they come over here they are mistaken for one of us and they are disrespected too. So in order to be respected, we must be respected.

And I say, brothers and sisters, they're beginning to see this. They're beginning to see that the problems are one. They are interested in our problems, but they were shocked to learn that we were also interested in their problems. And if I would have any advice to give to our people here in the Western Hemisphere, I would say that it has been almost criminal on our part, all the organizations that we have, for us not to have tried to make some kind of direct contact, direct communication, with our brothers on the African continent before.

We should never let the white man represent us to them, and we should never let him represent them to us. It is our job today to represent ourselves, as they are representing themselves. We don't need someone else representing us. We don't want anybody to tell somebody how we think We will let the world know how we think We don't want any handkerchief-

head set up by the State Department as a spokesman for us, telling the world how we think; we want the world to know how we think We want the world to know we don't like what Sam is doing in the Congo to our brothers and sisters.

I must say this, in brief. I was talking to a brother from the Congo, who was very angry. I was in Tanganyika, he had just come from Leopoldville, and he was very angry because he told me that out of all of the paratroopers, or eighty paratroopers—you'll have to stop handing me these things while I'm up here, it's getting like Grand Central Station, you send my mind somewhere else. He was telling me that he was very angry at American Negroes. And he was talking about us, you know, like a dog. Not me, because he knows what I represent. The best thing the white man ever did for me was to make me look like a monster all over the world. Because I can go any place on the African continent and our African brothers know where I stand.

He was angry because he said that most of the paratroopers, the American soldiers that were guarding these transports that Tshombe was using, were American Negroes; that they put American soldiers in there. I never had a chance to check it out. Normally I wouldn't stand up in a public meeting and say it, but when I first heard it, and I heard it from an Afro-American who works over there, I went to track this brother from the Congo down. He's a very intelligent fellow, and he said "Yes," and he was hot, you know. And so I sat down to let him know that all of us don't think like that. That they had to go all over the United States with a microscope and find that many Negroes dumb enough to let themselves be sent to the Congo—imagine, a Negro that lets himself be sent to the Congo!—in a uniform, against people who look just like he does. Why, he should be shot. So I let him know that that wasn't us, that was somebody else.

Also, brothers and sisters, you know Tshombe. You've heard of him. From what I understand, Tshombe arrives in the United States on Tuesday. He's got a whole lot of nerve. The best thing they did for him in Cairo was when they locked him up. That protected him. Because Tshombe can't go to any country where there are true black men, true black men, and walk the street in safety. This is the worst African that was ever born. The worst African that was ever born. This is the man who in cold blood, cold blood, committed an international crime—murdered Patrice Lumumba, murdered him in cold blood. The world knows that Tshombe murdered

Lumumba. And now he's a bed partner for Lyndon B. Johnson. Yes, a bed partner. They're sleeping together, they're sleeping together. When I say sleeping together, I don't mean that literally. But beyond that they're in the same bed. Johnson is paying the salaries, paying the government, propping up Tshombe's government, this murderer. It is the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, the man you voted for—you were insane, out of your mind, out of your head, to vote for a man like that; drunk But I don't blame you, you just were tricked. I told you a fox will always get business.

So Tshombe arrives here on Tuesday. And many of our brothers that belong to the African student association plan to give him a welcome. Shucks, I have a religion that believes in hospitality. Everybody should be welcome—according to their just desserts. So the brother that's involved in this, I think Sidi Ali—where is he? Sidi Ali, come and give this announcement. This is our brother, Sidi Ali of Ghana.

[Sidi Ali speaks.]

Brothers and sisters, I have some quick announcements.

Next week the Audubon is not available, so our next meeting will be on the 13th, which will be two weeks from tonight. At that time the topic will be "The Congo Crisis." I imagine the crisis won't be over. Because it's of such nature that they're in there now and they can't come out with clean hands. It's almost impossible for them to pull out. They went in there and killed people; now, when they pull back out, what do you think will happen? They can't get out of it like that.

One thing you must always bear in mind, as our brother pointed out, these young brothers that are in the Stanleyville area, Oriental Province, are not rebels, as the press continues to refer to them. They call themselves Simbas, which means lions, you know, meaning they've got it. They're freedom fighters, and your and my heart should be with theirs. They are men, they are men, the proof of which is they are dying to get their freedom. They're killing too, but so what? They've been killed themselves—all they do is believe in equality. What's good for the goose is good for the goose.

Also, always bear in mind, that the only Congolese soldiers that are winning any battles, or that have won any battles, have been those brothers who are the freedom fighters. The Congolese soldiers that fight for

Tshombe don't win battles. They were giving up in the face of the freedom fighters. They were giving up the entire Congo. They were evacuating the place and the United States got desperate. That's why they went and got Tshombe, went all the way up in Spain, where Tshombe had retired, had given up, was living the life, and they talked him into going back to the Congo and becoming the premier.

As soon as they got him back into position as premier, the first thing he did was bring in some white mercenaries, murderers—because that's what a mercenary means, it means a hired killer. And this government, the United States government, supplies the salaries for these hired killers from your tax dollars. Every time you pay your taxes you are paying the salary for those white blue-eyed murderers there in the Congo who are killing the Congolese. There's nobody in the State Department can deny it.

In fact, I read in the paper today where Lyndon B. Johnson said he'd take full responsibility. He should take full responsibility. He's pulling the same kind of an act over there in the Congo that they've been pulling in Texas on you and me for the past two or three hundred years. That's a Texas act. You know what kind of act goes on in Texas. But they can't win because the only way Tshombe can remain premier is with help from the outside. He must get white help. So, as long as Tshombe remains the premier of the Congo, it means the white man is going to have to continue sending white soldiers in there to rescue him. And he'll lose every white soldier he has, he'll lose them in there.
So, those brothers know what they're doing—in fact, what you and I need to do. What you and I need to do. Many of us are vets, we've had all kind of experience. You've seen all kinds of action, haven't you? But you've never seen any action for yourself, and you've never seen any action for anybody who is of your own land. Many of you are unemployed. We might put on a drive right here in Harlem to raise up some black mercenaries to take over there to show them what to do.

You see, there's some kind of cultural, psychological block in the minds of our brothers there, or these white mercenaries wouldn't have the advantage. All they have is the psychological advantage. They wouldn't have that on you and me. You and I don't have that block, we don't have that cultural block because they destroyed our culture. We can think just like they think now. We can do the same thing they can do. You just give me ten black ones and we'll eat up fifty of those white ones. Eat them up.

And there's nothing wrong with that. Why? Because this government, this same government has recruited what they call "anti-Castro Cubans." Which means they're American. And this government sends them over there to bomb the Congolese. But they're afraid to say that they're American pilots, so they say they're anti-Castro Cuban pilots. Okay, we've got black people who can fly planes—we've been flying them for the man. Instead of you sitting around here driving a bus, remember how you used to fly a plane for him, get on over there and get with it on the right side. If they can send white ones against black ones, we can recruit and send black ones against white ones. I frankly believe that it would be most exciting. I know a whole lot of Afro-Americans would go for free—would go for fun. We don't need any money, we just want to get even.

Now, I'm going to tell you what they're going to do, because I know them. In the paper tomorrow you're going to read that a whole lot of frantic, you know, statements were made. As long as there are white people going over there shooting black people, nothing is said—they glorify them. But when you and I start talking like we want to do the same thing to some of them, then we're fanatics, we're bloodthirsty. But I think then the white man should know one thing—when I say white man, I'm not saying all of you, whatever you are, because some of you might be all right. And whichever one of you acts all right with me, you're all right with me, as long as you act all right. But if you don't act all right, you're not all right. All you've got to do to be all right with me is act all right. But don't come thinking you're all right just because you're white.
I think that point has to be made because if you don't clarify it, they go out of here saying you're a racist, that you're against all white people. We're not against all white people. We're against all those that aren't right, all of them that aren't right.

We purposely aren't going to have any question and answer period tonight. I don't think we need one. But we are going to take up a collection because we pay for this hall and we won't be able to get back here two weeks from now unless we pay for it. And when I say we pay for it, you know, we. Just let me take five minutes right now real quick before I forget while the brothers are coming to take up a collection.

And again, as soon as you start taking up a collection, you'll read in the papers tomorrow morning: "what they did—they took up a collection." They write like they're out of their mind. They always are intelligent until

they come around us. When you read what they write someplace else, they write intelligently. But when we let them in here and let them write, then they write things that aren't even of interest. [Shouts from the audience.] You say, "Why let them in?" Sometime I'll tell you why I let them in. But if you don't want them in here, then keep them out.

[During the collection, Malcolm makes further announcements. He reports the arrival of an African Muslim teacher from Mecca and tells when and where he will be speaking. To offset any feeling of religious favoritism, he offers "to make an announcement for (any) church you belong to, church or synagogue." He promises an effort will be made to get scholars and experts from the United Nations to speak at the next rally, "So we won't have to go by what we read in the newspapers." Then he continues:]

I think our brother, Sidi Ali, did a wonderful job in destroying that myth about cannibalism. The man is always trying to make it look like our people are cannibals. The only cannibal I've ever seen, the only persons I've ever seen who eat up people, are those people. Not our people, those people. I'm not saying who those people are, whoever fits "those." And usually they end up trying to put all those characteristics on us to hide their own guilt. They shouldn't do that. It should be emphasized over and over and over by you and me that we aren't racists. One of the worst categories to let them put you in is the category of racist.

I'm not a racist. I don't judge a man because of his color. I get suspicious of a lot of them and cautious around a lot of them—from experience. Not because of their color, but because of what experience has taught me concerning their overall behavior toward us. So, please don't ever go away saying that we are against people because of their color. We are against them because of what they do to us and because of what they do to others. All they have to do to get our good will is to show their good will and stop doing all those dirty things to our people. Is that understood?

Also, within the next couple of weeks we will spell out the type of support we got on our effort to bring the United States into the United Nations and charge her with violating our human rights. You and I must take this government before a world forum and show the world that this government has absolutely failed in its duty toward us. It has failed from Washington, D.C., all the way in to New York City. They have failed in their

duty toward you and me. They have failed to protect us, they have failed to represent us, they have failed to respect us. And since they have failed, either willingly or because of their inability, we think that they should be brought up there so the world can see them as they actually are.

Now, if this government doesn't want to have her linen washed in public, then we give her a week or two to get her house in order. And if she can't get it in order in two weeks, then get on out there with South Africa and Portugal and the rest of those criminals who have been exploiting and abusing dark-skinned people now for far too long. We're all fed up. Right? Right.

[Malcolm introduces Jesse Gray, who suggests that the place to send black mercenaries is Mississippi, and concludes: "It's always very easy for us to be ready to move and ready to talk and ready to act, but unless we truly get down into the heart of the ghetto and begin to deal with the problems of jobs, schools, and the other basic questions, we are going to be unable to deal with any revolutionary perspective, or with any revolution for that matter." Malcolm then says:]

That was our brother Jesse Gray, the leader of the Harlem rent strikes, and what he said is true. When I speak of some action for the Congo, that action also includes Congo, Mississippi. But the point and thing that I would like to impress upon every Afro-American leader is that there is no kind of action in this country ever going to bear fruit unless that action is tied in with the overall international struggle.

You waste your time when you talk to this man, just you and him. So when you talk to him, let him know your brother is behind you, and you've got some more brothers behind that brother. That's the only way to talk to him, that's the only language he knows. Why do I say, "Make sure your brother is behind you"? Because you're going to have to fight this man, believe me, yes, you're going to have to fight him. You're going to have to fight him. He doesn't know any other language.

You can go and talk that old pretty talk to him, he doesn't even hear you. He says yes, yes, yes. You know, you can't communicate if one man is speaking French and the other one is speaking German. They've both got to speak the same language. Well, in this country you're dealing with a man who has a language. Find out what that language is. Once you know what

language he speaks in, then you can talk to him. And if you want to know what his language is, study his history. His language is blood, his language is power, his language is brutality, his language is everything that's brutal.

And if you can't talk that talk, he doesn't even hear you. You can come talking that old sweet talk, or that old peace talk, or that old nonviolent talk—that man doesn't hear that kind of talk. He'll pat you on your back and tell you you're a good boy and give you a peace prize. How are you going to get a peace prize when the war's not over yet? I'm for peace, but the only way you're going to preserve peace is be prepared for war.

Never let anybody tell you and me the odds are against us—I don't even want to hear that. Those who think the odds are against you, forget it. The odds are not against you. The odds are against you only when you're scared. The only things that makes odds against you is a scared mind. When you get all of that fright off of you, there's no such thing as odds against you. Because when a man knows that when he starts playing with you, he's got to kill you, that man is not going to play with you. But if he knows when he's playing with you that you're going to back up and be nonviolent and peaceful and respectable and responsible, why, you and me will never come out of his claws.

Let him know that you're peaceful, let him know that you're respectful and you respect him, and that you're law-abiding, and that you want to be a good citizen, and all those right-thinking things. But let him know at the same time that you're ready to do to him what he's been trying to do to you. And then you'll always have peace. You'll always have it. Learn a lesson from history, learn a lesson from history.

I must say this once before we close. I don't want you to think that I'm coming back here to rabble-rouse, or to get somebody excited. I don't think you have to excite our people; the man already has excited us. And I don't want you to think that I'm ready for some unintelligent action, or some irresponsible action, or for just any old thing just to be doing something. No. I hope that all of us can sit down with a cool head and a clear mind and analyze the situation, in the back room, anywhere, analyze the situation; and after we give the proper analysis of what we're confronted by, then let us be bold enough to take whatever steps that analysis says must be taken. Once we get it, then let's do it, and we'll be able to get some kind of result in this freedom struggle.

But don't let anybody who is oppressing us ever lay the ground rules. Don't go by their game, don't play the game by their rules. Let them know now that this is a new game, and we've got some new rules, and these rules mean anything goes, anything goes. Are you with me, brothers? I know you're with me.

So, again I thank you and we will look for all of you out here, if possible, two weeks from tonight on the 13th of December. By the way, I want to tell you, I was in Paris Monday night before Alioune Diop's group, Presence Africaine. Many of our people in Paris, as well as from the African continent, are organizing, and they are just as concerned with what is going on over here as you and I are. You and I have to link up with our people who are in Paris—when I say our people, you know, us—we have to link up with our people who are in London, England. We've got a whole lot of them over there, brothers, I saw them.

We've got to link up with our people who are in the Caribbean, in Trinidad, in Jamaica, in all the islands, and we've got to link up with our people who are in Central America and South America. Everywhere you see someone who looks like us, we've got to get together. And once we get together, brothers, we can get some action, because we'll find we are not the underdog. All those odds this man's talking about don't exist. He put them in our minds—right or wrong? Very good. So we thank you, and we'll see you in two weeks. May Allah bless you.

# Les Crane Interviews Malcolm X (December 2, 1964)

Les Crane: My next guest is Mr. Malcolm X, ladies and gentleman. This interview is going to be a little difficult for me to do, because I know Malcolm. We've done shows together before. He's been a guest of mine on a couple of different occasions. We've had telephone conversations of length and interest. And—so to get the story, I'm going to make believe that we've never met, okay?

Malcolm X: That's fine. That's the best way.

Crane: All right. Let's start from the beginning. First of all, what is the Black Muslim movement?

Malcolm X: Well, as you know, I'm not in the Black Muslim movement. But the Black Muslim movement is an organization in this country that's headed by Elijah Muhammad.

Crane: That's all?

Malcolm X: It's an organization that's headed by Elijah Muhammad. It says it's a religious organization and that its religion is Islam. But the people in the world of Islam don't accept it as an orthodox Islamic religious organization.

Crane: In other words, they claim to be a branch, an American branch, of the Muhammadan religion.

Malcolm X: No, not the Muhammadan. The real Muslim never refers to his religion as the Muhammadan religion. His religion is Islam.

Crane: Muhammad being the prophet of that...

Malcolm X: Muhammad is one of the prophets of that religion. The people who believe in that religion believe in all of the prophets—Moses, Abraham, Jesus, all of them. But they believe in Muhammad ibn Abd Allah as the last of the prophets. And Elijah Muhammad in this country

says that he is also teaching that religion. But that religion is a religion of brotherhood. It advocates the brotherhood of man, all men.

Crane: That's the Muslim religion?

Malcolm X: Yes. This is the...well, those who practice the religion of Islam call themselves Muslims. In this country they're referred to as Moslems.

Crane: Now, you consider yourself to be a Moslem in this country?

Malcolm X: I'm a Muslim. I believe in the religion of Islam.

Crane: And you are no longer a member of the Black Muslims?

Malcolm X: No, no.

Crane: Now what caused that split?

Malcolm X: Well actually, I don't think that it's any...that it contributes anything constructive to go into what caused the split. I'm not in it. I was inseparable from it while I was in it. But now I'm not. I leave it in the past.

Crane: Well, I don't know how valuable it would be...you know, it was inconceivable to think of the Black Muslim movement in this country without thinking of Malcolm X. You were Elijah Muhammad's right-hand man and his leading spokesman, as well as the head of the mosque in New York, which is the largest Black Muslim mosque in the country, as I understood it. And there were certain things that the Black Muslims represented, at least in my mind through your speeches, that I think are worthy of discussion.

Malcolm X: Well, yes. I represented him probably more diligently than all of the rest of his representatives combined. And this somewhat led to the eventual split. Human nature being what it is.

Crane: Sort of like a power play almost?

Malcolm X: Human nature being what it is.

Crane: Call it politics. We'll call it that.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Crane: But also you said that your trip to Africa has changed your thinking and your position to a great extent.

Malcolm X: Yes. One thing...travel always broadens one's scope. Travel does. Twice this year I visited both Africa and the Middle East. The first time I went was in April and May. I went to Mecca. I went primarily to get a better understanding of Islam. There were things that happened between me and Elijah Muhammad that caused me to greatly question his ability as a man, much less as a religious leader. And, based upon that doubt, I went in search of an understanding of the religion of Islam. I made the Hajj or the pilgrimage to Mecca. While I was...one of the things that Elijah Muhammad always taught us was that Islam is a religion of God. It was a religion in which no whites could participate. And he used...to prove his point, he told us that Mecca was a forbidden city. A city that was forbidden to non-Muslims. And since a white person couldn't be a Muslim in his teaching, he said that no white could enter Mecca. Well, I went to Mecca in May...rather, in April...and everyone was there. In fact one member of the Turkish parliament, who had brought busloads, several hundred busloads, from Turkey to make the pilgrimage, was standing with me on the steps of the hotel in Mina, which is a short distance from Mecca. And he pointed out at that time that Mecca, during the Hajj season, or the pilgrimage season, would be an anthropologist's paradise, because every specimen of humanity is represented there. It's an absolute brotherhood. So that when I saw this with my own eyes, and saw that people of all colors could practice brotherhood, it was at that point that I wrote back and pointed out that I believed in Islam as a religion of brotherhood. But this belief in brotherhood doesn't alter the fact that I'm also an Afro-American, or American Negro as you wish, in a society which has very serious and severe race problems which no religion can blind me to.

Crane: Well, what's interesting to me, there are words that you never used to use in the past in our discussions. You never used to use the word Negro. That word offended you. You used to say "the so-called Negro."

Malcolm X: Well, I said Afro-American or American Negro, as you will.

Crane: And you believed also that brotherhood was impossible at one point.

Malcolm X: Let me explain. The reason I say...Afro-American is a term that our people in this country increasingly are beginning to use to identify themselves. But in using it, I take into consideration that many people don't know what is meant by Afro-American, so I use the word Negro to let you know I was still talking about us.

Crane: Integration offends you. You don't believe in the use of that word. You prefer to think of it as brotherhood which is, for the purposes of our discussion, going to be the same thing. But in the old days you didn't believe in brotherhood, you believed in pure strict separation, didn't you?

Malcolm X: Whenever I opened my mouth, I always said that Elijah Muha...the Honorable Elijah Muhammad...teaches us thus and so. And I spoke for him. I represented him. I represented an organization and organizational thinking. Many of my own views that I had from personal experience I kept to myself. I was faithful to that organization and to that man. Since things came about that made me doubt his integrity, I thought...I think for myself, I listen as much as I can to everyone and try and come up with a capsule opinion, capsulized opinion. I believe that it is possible for brotherhood to be brought about among all people, but I don't delude myself into dreaming or falling for a dream that this exists before it exists. Some of the American...some of the leaders of our people in this country always say that they, you know, they believe in this dream. But while they're dreaming, our people are having a nightmare, and I don't think that you can make a dream come true by pretending that that dream exists when it doesn't.

Crane: You've been a critic of some of the Negro leadership in this country—Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Abernathy, and others—have you changed in your feelings toward them of late?

Malcolm X: I think all of us should be critics of each other. Whenever you can't stand criticism you can never grow. I don't think that it serves any purpose for the leaders of our people to waste their time fighting each other needlessly. I think that we accomplish more when we sit down in private and iron out whatever differences that may exist and try and then do something constructive for the benefit of our people. But on the other hand, I don't think that we should be above criticism. I don't think that anyone should be above criticism.

Crane: Violence or the threat of violence has always surrounded you. Speeches that you've made have been interpreted as being threats. You have made statements reported in the press about how the Negroes should go out and arm themselves, form militias of their own. I read a thing once, a statement I believe you made that every Negro should belong to the National Rifle Association.

Malcolm X: No, I said this: That in areas of this country where the government has proven its...either its inability or its unwillingness to protect the lives and property of our people, then it's only fair to expect us to do whatever is necessary to protect ourselves. And in situations like Mississippi, places like Mississippi where the government actually has proven its inability to protect us...and it has been proven that ofttimes the police officers and sheriffs themselves are involved in the murder that takes place against our people...then I feel, and I say that anywhere, that our people should start doing what is necessary to protect ourselves. This doesn't mean that we should buy rifles and go out and initiate attacks indiscriminately against whites. But it does mean that we should get whatever is necessary to protect ourselves in a country or in an area where the governmental ability to protect us has broken down.

Crane: Therefore you do not agree with Dr. King's Gandhian philosophy.

Malcolm X: My belief in brotherhood would never restrain me in any way from protecting myself in a society from a people whose disrespect for brotherhood makes them feel inclined to put my neck on a tree at the end of a rope.

Crane: Well, it sounds as though you could be preaching a sort of an anarchy.

Malcolm X: No, no. I respect government and respect law. But does the government and the law respect us? If the FBI, which is what people depend upon on a national scale to protect the morale and the property and the lives of the people, can't do so when the property and lives of Negroes and whites who try and help Negroes are concerned, then I think that it's only fair to expect elements to do whatever is necessary to protect themselves. And this is no departure from normal procedure, because right here in New York City you have vigilante committees that have been set up by groups who see where their neighborhood community is

endangered and the law can't do anything about it. So—and even their lives aren't at stake. So—but the fear, Les, seems to come into existence only when someone says Negroes should form vigilante committees to protect their lives and their property. I'm not advocating the breaking of any laws. But I say that our people will never be respected as human beings until we react as other normal, intelligent human beings do. And this country came into existence by people who were tired of tyranny and oppression and exploitation and the brutality that was being inflicted upon them by powers higher than they, and I think that it is only fair to expect us, sooner or later, to do likewise.

Crane: One last question. You don't preach separatism anymore and I assume you don't want to set up a Black African state in this country anymore. What is your main effort toward now?

Malcolm X: Well, the...one of the organizations which we've now formed, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, has reached the conclusion, after a careful analysis of the problem, that approaching our problem just on the level of civil rights and keeping it within the jurisdiction of the United States will not bring a solution. It's not a Negro problem or an American problem any longer. It's a world problem, it's a human problem. And so we're striving to lift it from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. And at that level it's international. We can bring it into the United Nations and discuss it in the same tone and in the same language as the problems of people in other parts of the world also is discussed.

Crane: I'm afraid the clock has caught us. It has been interesting. Thank you so much for coming up.

Malcolm X: You're welcome.

# Oxford Union Debate
# (December 3, 1964)

Mr. Chairman, tonight is the first night that I've have ever had opportunity to be as near to conservatives as I am. And the speaker who preceded me, first I want to thank you for the invitation to come here to the Oxford Union, the speaker who preceded me is one of the best excuses that I know to prove our point concerning the necessity, sometimes, of extremism, in defense of liberty, why it is no vice, and why moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue. I don't say that about him personally, but that type. He's right, X is not my real name, but if you study history you'll find why no black man in the western hemisphere knows his real name. Some of his ancestors kidnapped our ancestors from Africa, and took us into the western hemisphere and sold us there. And our names were stripped from us and so today we don't know who we really are. I am one of those who admit it and so I just put X up there to keep from wearing his name.

And as far as this apartheid charge that he attributed to me is concerned, evidently he has been misinformed. I don't believe in any form of apartheid, I don't believe in any form of segregation, I don't believe in any form of racialism. But at the same time, I don't endorse a person as being right just because his skin is white, and often times when you find people like this, I mean that type, when a man whom they have been taught is below them has the nerve or firmness to question some of their philosophy or some of their conclusions, usually they put that label on us, a label that is only designed to project an image which the public will find distasteful. I am a Muslim, if there is something wrong with that then I stand condemned. My religion is Islam I believe in Allah, I believe in Mohammed as the apostle of Allah, I believe in brotherhood, of all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who's not ready to practice brotherhood with our people.

I just take time to make these few things clear because I find that one of the tricks of the west, and I imagine my good friend...or rather that type from the west...one of the tricks of the west is to use or create images, they create images of a person who doesn't go along with their views and then they make certain that this image is distasteful, and then anything that that person has to say from thereon, from thereon in, is rejected.

And this is a policy that has been practiced pretty well, pretty much by the west, it perhaps would have been practiced by others had they been in power, but during recent centuries the west has been in power and they have created the images, and they've used these images quite skillfully and quite successfully, that's why today we need a little extremism in order to straighten a very nasty situation out, or very extremely nasty situation out.

I think the only way one can really determine whether extremism in the defense of liberty is justified, is not to approach it as an American or a European or an African or an Asian, but as a human being. If we look upon it as different types immediately we begin to think in terms of extremism being good for one and bad for another, or bad for one and good for another. But if we look upon it, if we look upon ourselves as human beings, I doubt that anyone will deny that extremism, in defense of liberty, the liberty of any human being, is a value. Anytime anyone is enslaved, or in any way deprived of his liberty, if that person is a human being, as far as I am concerned he is justified to resort to whatever methods necessary to bring about his liberty again.

But most people usually think, in terms of extremism, as something that is relative, related to someone they know or something that they've heard of, I don't think they look upon extremism by itself, or all alone. They apply it to something. A good example—and one of the reasons that this can't be too well understood today—many people who have been in positions of power in the past don't realize that the power, the centers of power, are changing. When you're in a position of power for a long time you get used to using your yardstick, and you take it for granted that because you've forced your yardstick on others, that everyone is still using the same yardstick. So that your definition of extremism usually applies to everyone, but nowadays times are changing, and the center of power is changing. People in the past who weren't in a position to have a yardstick or use a yardstick of their own are using their own yardstick now. You use one and they use another. In the past when the oppressor had one stick and the oppressed used that same stick, today the oppressed are sort of shaking the shackles and getting yardsticks of their own, so when they say extremism they don't mean what you do, and when you say extremism you don't mean what they do. There are entirely two different meanings. And when this is understood I think you can better understand why those who are using methods of extremism are being driven to them.

A good example is the Congo. When the people who are in power want to, again, create an image to justify something that's bad, they use the press. And they'll use the press to create a humanitarian image, for a devil, or a devil image for a humanitarian. They'll take a person whose a victim of the crime, and make it appear he's the criminal, and they'll take the criminal and make it appear that he's the victim of the crime. And the Congo situation is one of the best examples that I can cite right now to point this out. The Congo situation is a nasty example of how a country because it is in power, can take it's press and make the world accept something that's absolutely criminal. They take pilots that they say are American trained, and this automatically lends respectability to them, and then they will call them anti-Castro Cubans, and that's supposed to add to their respectability, and eliminate that fact that they're dropping bombs on villages where they have no defense whatsoever against such planes, blowing to bits black women, Congolese women, Congolese children, Congolese babies, this is extremism, but it is never referred to as extremism because it is endorsed by the west, it is financed by America, it's made respectable by America, and that kind of extremism is never labeled as extremism. Because it's not extremism in defense of liberty, and if it is extremism in defense of liberty as this type just pointed out, it is extremism in defense of liberty for the wrong type of people.

I am not advocating that kind of extremism, that's cold blooded murder. But the press is used to make that cold blooded murder appear as an act of humanitarianism. They take it one step farther and get a man named Tshombe, who is a murderer, they refer to him as the premier, or prime minister of the Congo, to lend respectability to him, he's actually the murderer of the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo, they never mention this.

I'm not for extremism in defense of that kind of liberty, or that kind of activity. They take this man, who's a murderer, and the world recognizes his as a murderer, but they make him the prime minister, he becomes a paid murderer, a paid killer, who is propped up by American dollars. And to show the degree to which he is a paid killer the first thing he does is go to South Africa and hire more killers and bring them into the Congo. They give them the glorious name of mercenary, which means a hired killer, not someone that is killing for some kind of patriotism or some kind of ideal, but a man who is a paid killer, a hired killer. And one of the leaders of them is right from this country here, and he's glorified as a soldier of fortune

when he's shooting down little black women, and black babies, and black children. I'm not for that kind of extremism, I'm for the kind of extremism that those who are being destroyed by those bombs and destroyed by those hired killers, are able to put forth to thwart it. They will risk their lives at any cost, they will sacrifice their lives at any cost, against that kind of criminal activity. I am for the kind of extremism that the freedom fighters in the Stanleyville regime are able to display against these hired killers, who are actually using some of my tax dollars which I have to pay up in the united states, to finance that operation over there. We're not for that kind of extremism.

Now again I think you must point out that one of those who are very much involved as accessories to the crime is the press. Not so much your press, but the American press which has tricked your press into repeating what they have invented. But I was reading in one of the English papers this morning, I think it's a paper called The Express, and it gave a very clear account of the type of criminal activity that has been carried on by the mercenaries that are being paid by United States tax dollars. And it showed where they were killing Congolese, whether they were from the central government or the Stanleyville government, it didn't make any difference to them, they just killed them. And they had it fixed where those who had been processed had to wear a white bandage around their head, and any Congolese that they saw without their white bandage, they killed them. And this is clearly pointed out and at the beginning of last week there would have been an outcry and no one would have allowed Belgium and the united states and the others who are in cahoots with each other, to carry on the criminal activity that they did in the Congo, which I doubt anyone in the world, even here at Oxford, will accept, not even my friend.

Questioner 1: What exactly sort of extremism would you consider the killing of missionaries?

Malcolm X: I would call it the kind of extremism that was involved when America dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and killed 80,000, or over 80,000 people, men, women, children, everything. It was an act of war. I'd call it the same kind of extremism that happened when England dropped bombs on German cities and Germans dropped bombs on English cities. It was an act of war, and the Congo situation is war, and when you call it war, then anybody that dies, they die a death that is justified. But those who are, but those who are in the Stanleyville regime, sir, are defending their

country, those who are coming in are invading their country. And some of the refugees that were questioned on television in this city a couple of days ago pointed out that had the paratroopers not come in they doubted that they would have been molested, they weren't indeed molested until the paratroopers came in.

I don't encourage any act of murder nor do I glorify in anyone's death, but I do think that when the white public uses it's press to magnify the fact that there are lives of white hostages at stake, they don't say "hostages," every paper says "white hostages." They give me the impression that they attach more importance to a white hostage and a white death, than they do the death of a human being, despite the color of his skin. I feel forced to make that point clear, that I'm not for any indiscriminate killing, nor does the death of so many people go by me without creating some kind of emotion. But I think that white people are making the mistake, and if they read their own newspapers they will have to agree that they, in clear cut language, make a distinction between the type of dying according to the color of the skin. And when you begin thinking in terms of death being death, no matter what type of human being it is, then we all will probably be able to sit down as human beings and get rid of this extremism and moderation. But as long as the situation exists as it is, we're going to need some extremism, and I think some of you will need some moderation too.

So why would such an act in the Congo, which is so clearly criminal, be condoned? It's condoned primarily because it has been glorified by the press and has been made to look beautiful, and therefore the world automatically sanctions it. And this is the role that the press plays, if you study back in history different wars, always the press, whenever a country that's in power wants to step in unjustly and invade someone else's property, they use the press to make it appear that the area that they are about to invade is filled with savages, or filled with people who have gone berserk, or they are raping white women, molesting nuns, they use the same old tactic year in and year out. Now there was a time when the dark world, people with dark skin, would believe anything that they saw in the papers that originated in Europe. But today, no matter what is put in the paper, they stop and look at it two or three times and try and figure out what is the motive of the writer. And usually they can determine what the motive of the writer is. The powers that be use the press to give the devil an angelic image and give the image of the devil to the one who's really angelic. They make oppression and exploitation and war actually look like

an act of humanitarianism. This is not the kind of extremism that I support or that I go along with.
One of the reasons that I think it is necessary for me to clarify my own point, personally, I was in a conversation with a student here, on the campus, yesterday, and she, after we were, I think we had coffee or dinner or something, there were several of us, I have to add that in for those minds of yours that run astray. And she asked me, she told me that "We'll I'm surprised that you're not what I expected," and I said what do you mean. And she said "well I was looking for your horns", and so I told her I have them, but I keep them hidden, unless someone draws them out. As my friend, or that type, it takes certain types to draw them out. And this is actually true, usually when a person is looked upon as an extremist, anything that person does in your eyesight is extreme.

On the other hand, if a person is looked upon as conservative, just about anything they do is conservative. And this again comes through the manipulating of images. When they want you to think of a certain area or certain group as involved in actions of extremism, the first thing they do is project that person in the image of an extremist. And then anything he does from then on is extreme, you know it doesn't make any difference whether it is right or wrong, as far as your concerned if the image is wrong, whatever they do is wrong. And this has been done by the western press, and also by the American press, and it has been picked up by the English press and the European press. Whenever any black man in America shows signs of an uncompromising attitude, against the injustices that he experiences daily, and shows no tendency whatsoever to compromise with it, then the American press characterizes him as a radical, as an extremist someone who's irresponsible, or as a rabble-rouser or someone who doesn't rationalize in dealing with the problem.

Question: I wonder if you could consider, just briefly, ah, that you have projected, rather successfully, a quite upsetting image of a "type".

Malcolm X: It depends on what angle [booing against questioner], no let the gentleman bring out his point. It depends on which angle you look at it sir. I never try and hide what I am.

Question: I am referring to your treatment of the previous speaker.

Malcolm X: You are referring to my treatment of the previous speaker?

You make my point! That as long as a white man does it, it's alright, a black man is supposed to have no feelings . But when a black man strikes back he's an extremist, he's supposed to sit passively and have no feelings, be nonviolent, and love his enemy no matter what kind of attack, verbal or otherwise, he's supposed to take it. But if he stands up in any way and tries to defend himself, then he's an extremist.

No, I think that the speaker who preceded me is getting exactly what he asked for. My reason for believing in extremism, intelligently directed extremism, extremism in defense of liberty, extremism in quest of justice, is because I firmly believe in my heart, that the day that the black man takes an uncompromising step, and realizes that he's within his rights, when his own freedom is being jeopardized, to use any means necessary to bring about his freedom, or put a halt to that injustice, I don't think he'll be by himself. I live in America where there are only 22 million blacks against probably 160 million whites. One of the reasons that I am in no way reluctant or hesitant to do whatever is necessary to see that black people do something to protect themselves, I honestly believe that the day that they do, many whites will have more respect for them, and there'll be more whites on their side than there are now on their side with these little wishy-washy "love thy enemy" approach that they have been using up until now. And if I am wrong than you are racialist.

As I said earlier, in my conclusion, I'm a Muslim. I believe in Allah, I believe in Mohammed, I believe in all of the prophets, I believe in fasting, prayer, charity, and that which is incumbent on a Muslim to fulfill in order to be a Muslim. In April I was fortunate to make the Hajj to Mecca, and went back again in September, to try and carry out my religious functions and requirements, but at the same time that I believe in that religion, I have to point out that I am an American Negro. And I live in a society whose social system is based upon the castration of the black man, whose political system is based upon castration of the black man, and whose economy is based upon the castration of the black man.

A society which, in 1964, has more subtle, deceptive, deceitful methods to make the rest of the world think that it's cleaning up it's house, while at the same time, the same things are happening to us in 1964 that happened in 1954, 1924 and 1884. They came up with a civil rights bill in 1964, supposedly to solve our problem, and after the bill was signed, three civil rights workers were murdered in cold blood. And the FBI head, Hoover,

admits that they know who did it, they've known ever since it happened, and they've done nothing about it. Civil rights bill down the drain. No matter how many bills pass, black people in that country, where I'm from, still our lives are not worth two cents. And the government has shown it's inability, or either it's unwillingness to do whatever is necessary to protect black property where the black citizen is concerned. So my contention is that whenever a people come to the conclusion that the government, which they have supported, proves itself unwilling, or proves itself unable to protect our lives and protect our property, because we have the wrong color skin, we are not human beings unless we ourselves band together and do whatever, however, whenever, is necessary to see that our lives and our property is protected, and I doubt that any person in here would refuse to do the same thing if he were in the same position, or I should say were he in the same condition.

Just one step farther to see if I am justified in this stance, and I am speaking as a black man from America which is a racist society, no matter how much you hear it talk about democracy it's as racist as South Africa or as racist as Portugal or as racist as any other racialist society on this earth. The only difference between it and South Africa, South Africa preaches separation and practices separation, America preaches integration and practices segregation. This is the only difference, they don't practice what they preach, whereas South Africa practices and preaches the same thing. I have more respect for a man who lets me know where he stands, even if he's wrong, than the one comes up like an angel and is nothing but a devil.

The system of government that America has consists of committees, there are sixteen senatorial committees that govern the country and twenty congressional committees. Ten of the sixteen senatorial committees are in the hands of southern racialists, senators who are racialists. Thirteen of the twenty, this is before the last election I think it is even more so now, ten of the sixteen senatorial committees are in the hands of senators who are southern racialists, thirteen of the twenty congressional committees were in the hands of southern congressmen who are racialists. Which means out of the thirty-six committees that govern the foreign and domestic direction of that government, twenty-three are in the hands of southern racialists. Men who in no way believe in the equality of man. And men who do anything within their power to see that the black man never gets to the same seat, or to the same level that they're on. The reason that these men, from that area, have that type of power is because America has a

seniority system, and these who have this seniority have been there longer than anyone else because the black people in the areas where they live, can't vote. And it is only because the black man is deprived of his vote that puts these men in positions of power that gives them such influence in the government beyond their actual intellectual or political ability, or even beyond the number of people from the areas that they represent.

So we can see, in that country, that no matter what the federal government professes to be doing, the power of the federal government lies in these committees and any time a black man or any type of legislation is proposed to benefit the black man, or give the black man his just due, we find that it is locked up in these committees right here. And when they let something through these committees, usually it is so chopped up and fixed up that by the time it becomes law, it is a law that can't be enforced.

Another example is the Supreme Court's desegregation decision that was handed down in 1954. This is a law, and they have not been able to implement this law in New York City or in Boston or in Cleveland or Chicago or the northern cities. And my contention is that any time you have a country, supposedly a democracy, supposedly the "land of the free and the home of the brave," and it can't enforce laws, even in the northern most cosmopolitan and progressive part of it, that will benefit a black man, if those laws can't be enforced, how much heart do you think we will get when they pass some civil rights legislation which only involves more laws. If they can't enforce this law, they'll never enforce those laws.

So my contention is, we are faced with a racialistic society, a society in which they are deceitful, deceptive, and the only way we can bring about a change is speak the language that they understand. The racialists never understands a peaceful language, the racialists never understands the nonviolent language, the racialist has spoken his type of language to us for over four hundred years. We have been the victim of his brutality, we are the ones who face his dogs, who tear the flesh from our limbs, only because we want to enforce the Supreme Court decision. We are the ones who have our skulls crushed, not by the Ku Klux Klan, but by policeman, all because we want to enforce what they call the Supreme Court decision. We are the ones upon whom waterhoses are turned on, practically so hard that it rips the clothes from our back, not men, but the clothes from the backs of women and children, you've seen it yourself. All because we want to enforce what they call the law. Well any time you live in a society

supposedly and it doesn't enforce it's own laws, because the color of a man's skin happens to be wrong, then I say those people are justified to resort to any means necessary to bring about justice where the government can't give them justice.

I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism. But I believe that when a man is exercising extremism, a human being is exercising extremism, in defense of liberty for human beings, it's no vice. And when one is moderate in the pursuit of justice for human beings, I say he's a sinner.

And I might add in my conclusion, in fact, America is one of the best examples, when you read its history, about extremism. Ol' Patrick Henry said "liberty of death"—that's extremism.

I read once, passingly, about a man named Shakespeare. I only read about him passingly, but I remember one thing he wrote, that kind of moved me. He put it in the mouth of Hamlet, I think it was, who said "to be or not to be". He was in doubt about something. Whether it was nobler, in the mind of man, to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune—moderation—or to take up arms against the sea of troubles and, by opposing, end them. And I go for that; if you take up arms you'll end it, but if you sit around and wait for the one who is in power to make up his mind that he should end it, you'll be waiting a long time. And in my opinion, the young generation of whites, blacks, browns, whatever else there is, you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change, people in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change. And a better world has to be built and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. And I, for one, will joint in with anyone—don't care what color you are—as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth. Thank you.

# Speech to Peace Corps Workers (December 12, 1964)

First, I want to let you know I am very thankful for the invitation to speak here this afternoon. Number one, before a group such as this, and number two, I always feel more at home in Harlem than anywhere else I've ever been. The topic we are going to discuss in a very informal way is Africa and the African Revolution and its effect on the Afro-American.

I take time to mention that because I am one who believes that what's happening on the African continent has a direct bearing on what happens to you and me in this country: The degree to which they get independence, strength, and recognition on that continent is inseparable from the degree to which we get independence, strength, and recognition on this continent, and I hope before the day is over to be able to clarify that.

First, I would like to point out that since it is my understanding that most of you are training to be leaders in the community, the country, and the world, some advice that I would give is that whenever you occupy a position of responsibility never accept images that have been created for you by someone else. It is always better to form the habit of learning how to see things for yourself, listen to things for yourself, and think for yourself; then you are in a better position to judge for yourself.

We are living in a time when image-making has become a science. Someone can create a certain image and then use that image to twist your mind and lead you right up a blind path. An example: A few weeks ago, I was on a plane traveling from Algiers to Geneva. There were two white Americans sitting beside me, one a male, the other a female. I had met the male in the airport and we had struck up a conversation. He was an interpreter for the United Nations and was based in Geneva. The lady was with the American Embassy in Algeria. So we conversed for about forty minutes between Algiers and Geneva, a nice human conversation. I don't think they were trying to be white and they weren't trying to prove they weren't white. They weren't particularly trying to prove anything. It was just a conversation between three human beings. I certainly wasn't trying to make them think 1 wasn't black; race just didn't come into the conversation.

So, after we had this quiet, objective, friendly, and very informative conversation for about forty minutes, the lady looked at my briefcase and said, "I want to ask you a personal question. What kind of last name could you have that begins with an 'X'?" This was bugging her. I said, "That's it, 'X,'" like that. So she said, "Well, what's your first name?" 1 said, "Malcolm." She waited about ten minutes and said, "You're not Malcolm X?" and I said, "Yes." She said, "But you're not what 1 was looking for." I told her right then and there about the danger of believing what she hears someone else say or believing what she reads that someone else has written and not keeping herself in a position to weigh things for herself.

So I just take time to mention that because it is very dangerous for you and me to form the habit of believing completely everything about anyone or any situation when we only have the press as our source of information. It is always better, if you don't want to be completely in the dark, to read about it. But don't come to a conclusion until you have an opportunity to do some personal, firsthand investigation for yourself.

The American press, in fact the FBI, can use the American press to create almost any kind of image they want of anyone on the local scene. And then you have other police agencies of an international stature that are able to use the world press in the same manner. If the press is able to project someone in the image of an extremist, no matter what that person says or does from then on, it is considered by the public as an act of extremism. No matter how good, constructive, or positive it is, because it's done by this person who has been projected as an extremist, the people who have been misled by the press have a mental block and the press knows that. The person can run and save someone from drowning in the middle of the Hudson, but still the act is looked upon with suspicion because the press has been used to create suspicion toward that person.

I point these things out—especially for you and me, those of us who are trying to come from behind. If we aren't aware, we'll find that all these modem methods of trickery will be used and we will be maneuvered into thinking that we are getting freedom or thinking that we are making progress when actually we will be going backward.

And one of the things that you and I as an oppressed people should be on guard against, as I said, is to be very careful about letting anyone paint our images for us. The world press as well as the American press can make

the victim of the crime look like the criminal and can make the criminal look like the victim. You don't think that is possible for someone to do this to your mind, but all you have to do is take a look at what happened in the Congo. The world press projected the scene in the Congo as one wherein the people who were the victims of the crime were made to appear as if they were the actual criminals and the ones who were the actual criminals were made to appear as if they were the actual victims. The press did this, and by the press doing this, it made it almost impossible for the public to analyze the Congo situation with clarity and keep it in its proper perspective.

An example: Here we had African villages in the Congo that had no kind of air force whatsoever, they were completely without defense against air attacks; planes were dropping bombs on these African villages. The bombs were destroying women and children. But there was no great outcry here in America against such an inhuman act because the press very skillfully made it look like a humanitarian project by referring to the pilots as "American trained." And as soon as they put the word American in there, that was supposed to lend it some kind of respectability or legality.

They called them American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots and since Castro is a word that is almost like a curse, the fact that they were anti-Castro pilots made whatever they were doing an act of humanitarianism. But still you can't overlook the fact that they were dropping bombs on villages in Africa that had no defense whatsoever against bombs. But they called this an act of humanitarianism and the public was made to accept it as an act of humanitarianism.

I have to point this out because it is an example of how the press can maneuver and manipulate your mind to make you think that mass murder is some kind of humanitarian project simply by making the image of the criminal appear to be that of a humanitarian and the image of the victim that of the criminal.

So it is good to keep this in mind because you can take it a step further. One of the principal images in that scene over there was Tshombe, who is a murderer. He murdered the rightful prime minister of the Congo; this cannot be denied. The rightful minister of the Congo was Patrice Lumumba. Now, the one who is responsible for having murdered him in cold blood—and the world knows it—was put over the Congo as its

premier by the United States Government and this gave him some kind of image of respectability because America sanctioned him. Not only did America sanction him, she supplied him with sufficient funds wherein he could then go to South Africa and import hired killers, mercenaries they call them, but a mercenary is a hired killer.

So this man, Tshombe, who was a murder hired by the United States and placed in a position of authority over the Congo, showed his nature by what he did with American money—he hired some more killers. But because he was appointed by America Tshombe wasn't looked upon as a murderer or a killer, and the American press gave the mercenaries an image of respectability. An image of respectability. Now these mercenaries, under Tshombe's sanction and support, were indiscriminately shooting African women and children as well as African men.
No one got upset over the loss of thousands of Congolese lives; they only got upset when the lives of a few whites were at stake. Because when the lives of the whites were at stake, the press immediately played on your sentiment by referring to these whites as innocent hostages, as nuns and priests and missionaries, and it gave them an image that you would sympathize with.

I must point this out because it shows you how tricky the press can be. The press can make you not have any sympathy whatsoever for the death of thousands of people who look just like yourself, but at the same time, they make tears roll down your face over the loss of a few lives that don't look anything like yourself. They manipulate your feelings.

So my advice to any of you who at any time think that you'll ever be placed in a position of responsibility—you owe it to others as well as to yourself to be very careful about letting others make up your mind for you. You have to learn how to see for yourself, hear for yourself, think for yourself, and then judge for yourself.

Secondly, I would like to say this: It concerns my own personal self, whose image they have projected in their own light. I am against any form of racism. We are all against racism. The only difference between you and me is that you want to fight racism and racists non-violently and lovingly and I'll fight them the way they fight me. Whatever weapon they use, that's the one I'll use. I go for talking the kind of language he talks. You can't communicate with a person unless you use the language he

uses. If a man is speaking French, you can talk German all night long, he won't know what you're talking about. You have to find out what kind of language he understands and then you put it to him in the language that he understands.

I'm a Muslim, which means my religion is Islam. I believe in Allah. I believe in all of the prophets, whoever represented God on this earth. I believe what Muslims believe: prayer, fasting, charity, and the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Mecca, which I've been fortunate to have made four or five times. I believe in the brotherhood of man, all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who doesn't want brotherhood with me. I believe in treating people right, but I'm not going to waste my time trying to treat somebody right who doesn't know how to return that treatment. This is the only difference between you and me.

You believe in treating everybody right whether they put a rope around your neck or whether they put you in the grave. Well, my belief isn't that strong. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I think that anybody who wants to lynch a Negro is not qualified for that brotherhood and I don't put forth any effort to get them into that brotherhood. You want to save him and I don't.

Despite the fact that I believe in the brotherhood of man as a Muslim, and in the religion of Islam, there is one fact also that I can't overlook: I'm an Afro-American and Afro-Americans have problems that go well beyond religion. We have problems that our religious organization in itself cannot solve and we have problems that no one organization can solve or no one leader can solve. We have a problem that is going to take the combined efforts of every leader and every organization if we are going to get a solution. For that reason, I don't believe that as a Muslim it is possible for me to bring my religion into any discussion with non-Muslims without causing more division, animosity, and hostility; then we will only be involved in a self-defeating action. So based upon that, there is a group of us that have formed an organization. Besides being Muslims, we have gotten together and formed an organization that has nothing to do with religion at all; it is known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

In this organization we involve ourselves in the complete struggle of the Afro-American in this country, and our purpose in becoming involved with a non-religious group is to give us the latitude to use any means

necessary for us to bring an end to the injustices that confront us. I believe in any means necessary. I believe that the injustices that we have suffered and will continue to suffer will never be brought to a halt as long as we put ourselves in a straitjacket when fighting those injustices.

Those of us in the Organization of Afro-American Unity have adopted as our slogan "by any means necessary" and we feel we are justified. Whenever someone is treating you in a criminal, illegal, or immoral way, why, you are well within your rights to use anything at your disposal to bring an end to that unjust, illegal, and immoral condition. If we do it like that, we will find that we will get more respect and will be further down the road toward freedom, toward recognition and respect as human beings. But as long as we dillydally and try to appear that we're more moral by taking a beating without fighting back, people will continue to refer to us as very moral and well disciplined persons, but at the same time we will be as far back a hundred years from now as we are today. So I believe that fighting those who fight us is the best course of action in any situation.

Again, if the Government doesn't want Negroes fighting anyone who is fighting us, then the Government should do its job; the Government shouldn't put the weight on us. If the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi is carrying on criminal activities to the point of murdering black people, then I think if black people are men, human beings, the same as anybody else, you and I should have the right to do the same thing in defense of our lives and our property that all other human beings on this earth do in defense of their lives and in defense of their property, and that is to talk the language that the Klan understands.

So I must emphasize, we are dealing with a powerful enemy, and again, I am not anti-American or un-American. I think there are plenty of good people in America, but there are also plenty of bad people in America and the bad ones are the ones who seem to have all the power and be in these positions to block things that you and I need. Because this is the situation, you and I have to preserve the right to do what is necessary to bring an end to that situation, and it doesn't mean that I advocate violence, but at the same time I am not against using violence in self-defense. I don't even call it violence when it's self-defense, I call it intelligence.

So what impact or effect does the African Revolution have upon you and me? Number one, prior to 1959, many of us didn't want to be identified

with Africa in any way, not even indirectly or remotely. The best way to curse one of us out was to call us an African; we'd get insulted. But if you've noticed, since 1959 and in more recent years, that's changed. It's changing among us subconsciously faster than we even realize.

The reason for this change is that prior to 1959 the African image was not created by Africans. The image of Africa was created by European powers. These Europeans joined with America and created a very negative image of Africa and projected this negative image abroad. They projected Africa as a jungle, a place filled with animals, savages, and cannibals. The image of Africa and the Africans was made so hateful that 22 million of us in America of African ancestry actually shunned Africa because its image was a hateful, negative image. We didn't realize that as soon as we were made to hate Africa and Africans, we also hated ourselves. You can't hate the root and not hate the fruit. You can't hate Africa, the land where you and I originated, without ending up hating you and me.

And the man knew that. We began to hate African features. We hated the African nose and the African lips and the African skin and the African hair. We hated the hair so much we even put lye on it to change its looks. We began hating ourselves. And you know, they accuse us of teaching hate. What is the most inhuman or immoral: a man that teaches you to hate your enemies or a man that skillfully maneuvers you into hating yourself? Well, I think teaching a man to hate himself is much more criminal than teaching him to hate someone else. Look at you—who taught you to hate yourself? If you say we're hate teachers, you tell me who taught you to hate so skillfully, so completely, until we have been maneuvered today so that we don't even want to be what we actually are. We want to be somebody else, we want to be someone else, we want to be something else. Many of us want to be somewhere else.

Then after 1959, as Africans began to get independence, they began to change the image of the African. They got into a position to project their own image abroad. The image began to swing from negative to positive and to the same degree that the African image began to change from negative to positive, the Afro-American's image also began to change from negative to positive. His behavior and objectives began to change from negative to positive to the same degree that the behavior and the objectives of the African changed from negative to positive. They had a direct bearing upon the attitude that we here in America began to develop toward each other

and also toward the man, and I don't have to say what man.

There were elements in the State Department that began to worry about this change in image. As Africa became militant and uncompromising, you and I became militant and uncompromising, and even the most bourgeois Uncle Tom Afro-American was happy when he heard about the Mau Maus. Yeah, he was happy when he heard it. He wouldn't say so openly because it wasn't a status symbol to identify with it in some quarters. In other quarters, it was. But all of this uncompromising and militant action on the part of the Africans created a tendency among our people in this country to be the same way, but many of us didn't realize it. It was an unconscious effect, but it had its effect.

That racist element in the State Department became worried about this. And you are out of your mind if you don't think that there's a racist element in the State Department. I'm not saying that everybody in the State Department is a racist, but I'm saying they sure got some in there and they got them in powerful positions. And this is the element that became worried about the changing Negro mood and the changing Negro behavior. Especially if that mood and behavior became one of violence, and by violence they only mean when a black man protects himself against the attack of the white man.

When it comes time for a black man to explode, they call it violence, but white people can be exploding against black people all day long and it's never called violence. 1 have even had some of you come to me and ask if I'm for violence. I'm the victim of violence and you're the victim of violence. In fact, you've been so victimized by it, you can't recognize it for what it is today.

The fear was that the changing image of the African would have a tendency to change your and my image much too much, and they knew you and I tended to identify with Africa where we didn't formerly do so. Their fear was that sympathy and that identity would eventually develop into sort of an allegiance for African hopes and aspirations above and beyond America's hopes and aspirations. So they had to do something to create a division between the Afro-American and the African so that you and I and they could not get together and coordinate our efforts and make faster progress than we had been making up to that time.

They don't mind you struggling for freedom as long as you struggle according to their rules. As long as you let them tell you how to struggle, they go for your struggle. But as soon as you come to one of them who is supposed to be for your freedom and tell him you're for freedom by any means necessary, he gets away from you. He's for his freedom by any means necessary, but he'll never go along with you to get your freedom by any means necessary.

United States history is that of a country that does whatever it wants to by any means necessary, to look out for its interest by any means necessary, but when it comes to your and my interest, then all of the means become limited. And we can't go along with that. We say what's good for the goose is good for the gander. If we are going to be non-violent, then let America become non-violent. Let her pull her troops out of Saigon and pull her troops out of the Congo and pull back all her troops everywhere and then we will see that she is a non- violent country, that we're living in a non-violent society. But until they get non-violent themselves, you're out of your mind to get non-violent. That's all I say on that.

I'm for peace, but I don't see how any black people can be at peace before the war is over, and you haven't even won a battle yet. If I have to follow a general who is fighting for my freedom and the enemy begins to pin peace medals on him before I've gotten my freedom, I'm afraid I'll have to find another general because its impossible for a general to be at peace when his people don't get no peace. It is impossible to give out peace medals when the people who are oppressed don't have any peace.

The only man who has peace is the man at the top. And I don't think that black people should be at peace in any way; there should be no peace on earth for anybody until there's peace also for us.

As the African nations began to get very nationalistic, very militant, and very uncompromising in their search for freedom, the European powers found they couldn't stay on the African continent any longer. It's like someone in a football game or a basketball game: When he's trapped or boxed in, he doesn't throw the ball away, but he has to pass it to someone who's in the clear. And this is the same thing the Europeans did.

The Africans didn't want them anymore, so they had to pass the ball to one of their partners who was in the clear and that partner was Uncle Sam.

Uncle Sam caught the ball and he's been carrying it ever since. All you have to do is go to the African continent, travel from one end of it to the other, and you'll find out that the American position and influence has only replaced the position and influence of the former colonial powers and they did it very skillfully.

They knew that no non-African could stay on that continent against the will of the African, so they had to use a better, more subtle method. They had to make friends with the African. They had to make the African think they were there to help them, so they started pretending like they wanted to help you and me over here. They came up with all these pretty slogans about integration which they haven't produced yet.

They came up with slogans about this kind of program and that kind of program, but when you analyze it very closely, you find that they haven't produced it yet. It hasn't produced what it was supposed to produced. It's so hard for them to produce results that when they get that much of it, it makes headlines.

The law was handed down by the Supreme Court. They said you could go to any school you want, but when you get out there and get ready to go to a school like the law says, the law is the one busting you upside your head, or turning the water hose on you, or the cattle prod, so this kind of shook the Afro-American up. He wondered whether the Supreme Court was really in a position to say what the law of the land was supposed to be. They passed a law they could not enforce. And I don't mean they couldn't enforce it in Mississippi, I mean they couldn't enforce it in New York City. They couldn't even desegregate the schools in New York City, so how in the world are they going to enforce it in Louisiana, Mississippi, and some of these other places?

These were token moves, designed to make you and me cool down just a little while longer by making us think that an honest effort was being made to get a solution to the problem. And then as they began to appear as if they were for the black man in this country, abroad they were blown up. Especially the United States Information Service. Its job abroad, especially in the African continent, is to make the Africans think that you and I are living in paradise, that our problems have been solved, that the Supreme Court desegregation decision put all of us in school, that the passage of the Civil Rights Bill last year solved all of our problems, and that now that

Martin Luther King, Jr., has gotten the peace prize, we are on our way to the promised land of integration.

I was over there when all of this happened and I know how they used it. They don't use it in an objective, constructive way; they use it to trick and fool the African into thinking that most of their time is spent in loving you and me and trying to solve your and my problem with honest methods, and that they were getting honest results.

So I would like to say in my conclusion why we in the Organization of Afro-American Unity feel that we just can't sit around and rely upon the same objectives and strategies that have been used in the past.

If you study the so-called progress of the Afro-American, go back to 1939, just before the war with Hitler, most of our people were dishwashers, waiters, and shoeshine boys. It didn't make any difference how much education we had. We worked downtown in those hotels as bellhops and on the railroad as waiters and in Grand Central Station as redcaps. Prior to 1939, we knew what our position was going to be even before we graduated from school.

In those days our people couldn't even work in a factory. In Michigan where all of the factories were, they were primarily shining shoes and working at other menial tasks. Then when Hitler went on a rampage, America was faced with a manpower shortage. This is the only time you and I got a break. Some of you are too young to remember it, and some of you are so old you don't want to remember it.

They let us in the defense plants, and we began to get jobs as machinists for the first time. We got a little skill, made a little more money. Then we were in a position to live in a little better neighborhood. When we moved to a little better neighborhood, we had a little better school to go to and got a little better education. This is how we came out of it; not through someone's benevolence and not through the efforts of organizations in our midst. It was the pressure that Uncle Sam was under. The only time that man has let the black man go one step forward has been when outside pressure has been brought to bear upon him. It has never been for any other reason. World pressure, economic pressure, political pressure, military pressure:

When he was under pressure, he let you and me have a break. So the point

that I make is that it has never just been on our own initiative that you and I have made any steps forward. And the day that you and 1 recognize this, then we see the thing in its proper perspective because we cease looking just to Uncle Sam and Washington, D.C., to have the problems solved and we cease looking just within America for allies in our struggle against the injustices.

When you find people outside America who look like you getting power, my suggestion is that you tum to them and make them your allies. Let them know that we all have the same problem, that racism is not an internal American problem, but an international problem. Racism is a human problem and a crime that is absolutely so ghastly that a person who is fighting racism is well within his rights to fight against it by any means necessary until it is eliminated.

When you and I can start thinking like that and we get involved in some kind of activity with that kind of liberty, I think we'll get some ends to some of our problems almost overnight.

# At the Audubon Ballroom (Dec. 13, 1964)

Brothers and sisters: We're very happy to see so many of you out on such a foggy night. We hope that we haven't kept you too long, but a very good friend of mine, and a very good friend of yours, is on his way here and I didn't want to have too much to say in front of him. He's a person whose actions in the past have actually spoken for themselves. He's a master of revolution. We're living in a revolutionary world and in a revolutionary age, but you and I have never met a real dyed-in-the-wool black revolutionary before. So tonight we want to unveil one.

Also, I should explain that one of the reasons that the meeting started late was that we had a movie (right now I'm wrestling with this American mic), we had a movie that we wanted to show on the Congo, which I believe you would have enjoyed and would also have set the tone for what our guest will have to say when he arrives. Due to technical difficulties, which are to be expected in a highly technical society that's kind of running out of gas, we couldn't show the movie. But we will show it at a later date. (Either this microphone is way off or I'm getting weak.)

The purpose of our meeting tonight, as was announced, was to show the relationship between the struggle that is going on on the African continent and the struggle that's going on among the Afro-Americans here in this country. I, for one, would like to impress, especially upon those who call themselves leaders, the importance of realizing the direct connection between the struggle of the Afro-American in this country and the struggle of our people all over the world. As long as we think—as one of my good brothers mentioned out of the side of his mouth here a couple of Sundays ago— that we should get Mississippi straightened out before we worry about the Congo, you'll never get Mississippi straightened out. Not until you start realizing your connection with the Congo.

We have to realize what part our struggle has in the over-all world struggle. Secondly, we need allies; and as long as you and I think that we can only get allies from the Bronx, or allies, you know, from up on the Grand Concourse, I mean where you don't live; as long as you and I think that's the only source or area from which we and I think that's the only source or

area from which we an get allies, our source of allies is limited. But when we realize how large this earth is and how many different people there are on it, and how closely they resemble us, then when we turn to them for some sort of help or aid or to form alliances, then we'll make a little faster progress.

Before our visitor gets here, I think it's important to show the importance of keeping an open mind. You'll be surprised how fast, how easy it is for someone to steal your and my mind. You don't think so? We never like to think in terms of being dumb enough to let someone put something over on us in a very deceitful and tricky way. But you and I are living in a very deceitful and tricky society, in a very deceitful and tricky country, which has a very deceitful and tricky government. All of them in it aren't tricky and deceitful, but most of them are. And any time you have a government in which most of them are deceitful and tricky, you have to be on guard at all times. You have to know how they work this deceit and how they work these tricks. Otherwise you'll find yourself in a bind.

One of the best ways to safeguard yourself from being deceived is always to form the habit of looking at things for yourself, listening to things for yourself, thinking for yourself, before you try and come to any judgment. Never base your impression of someone on what someone else has said. Or upon what someone else has written. Or upon what you read about someone that somebody else wrote. Never base your judgment on things like that. Especially in this kind of country and in this kind of society which has mastered the art of very deceitfully painting people whom they don't like in an image that they know you won't like. So you end up hating your friends and loving their enemies.

An example: I was flying from Algiers to Geneva about three or four weeks ago, and seated beside me on the airplane were a couple of Americans, both white, one a male and the other a female. One was an interpreter who worked in Geneva for the United Nations, the other was a girl who worked in one of the embassies in some part of Algeria. We conversed for about forty or forty- five minutes and then the lady, who had been looking at my briefcase, said, "May I ask you a personal question?" And I said, "Yes." Because they always do anyway. She said, "What kind of last name do you have that begins with X?" I said, "That's it, X." So she said, "X?" "Yes." "Well, what is your first name?" I said, "Malcolm." So she waited for about ten minutes and then she said, "You're not Malcolm X." And I said, "Yes, I'm

Malcolm X. Why, what's the matter?" And she said, "Well, you're not what I was looking for."

What she was looking for was what the newspapers, the press, had created. She was looking for the image that the press had created. Somebody with some horns, you know, about to kill all the white people—as if he could kill all of them, or as if he shouldn't. She was looking for someone who was a rabble-rouser, who couldn't even converse with people with blue eyes, you know, someone who was irrational, and things of that sort. I take time to point this out, because it shows how skillfully someone can take a newspaper and build an image of someone so that before you even meet them, you'll run. You don't even want to hear what they have to say, you don't even know them, all you know is what the press has had to say, and the press is white. And when I say the press is white, I mean it is white. And it's dangerous.

The FBI can feed information to the press to make your neighbor think you're something subversive. The FBI—they do it very skillfully, they maneuver the press on a national scale; and the CIA maneuvers the press on an international scale. They do all their dirt with the press. They take the newspapers and make the newspapers blow you and me up as if all of us are criminals, all of us are racists, all of us are drug addicts, or all of us are rioting. This is how they do it. When you explode legitimately against the injustices that have been heaped upon you, they use the press to make it look like you're a vandal. If you were a vandal, you have a right to be a vandal.

They master this imagery, this image-making. They give you the image of an extremist, and from then on anything you do is extreme. You can pull a baby out of the water and save it from drowning—you're still an extremist, because they projected this image of you. They can create an image of you as a subversive and you can go out and die fighting for the United States—you're still subversive, because the press has made you a subversive. They can paint the image of you as someone irresponsible, and you can come up with the best program that will save the black man from the oppression of the white man and—when I say oppression, that's where oppression comes from, the white man. There are some oppressive black people, but they're only doing what the white man has taught them.

When I say that, I'm not blanketly condemning all whites. All of them don't

oppress. All of them aren't in a position to. But most of them are, and most of them do. The press is so powerful in its image-making role, it can make a criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. This is the press, an irresponsible press. It will make the criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. If you aren't careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.

If you aren't careful, because I've seen some of you get caught in that bag, you run away hating yourself and loving the man—while you are catching hell from the man. You let the man maneuver you into thinking that it's wrong to fight him when he's fighting you. He's fighting you in the morning, fighting you in the noon, fighting you at night and fighting you all in between, and you still think it's wrong to fight him back. Why? The press. The newspapers make you look wrong. As long as you take a beating, you're all right. As long as you get your head busted, you're all right. As long as you let his dogs fight you, you're all right. Because that's the press. That's the image-making press. That thing is dangerous if you don't guard yourself against it. It'll make you love the criminal, as I say, and make you hate the one who's the victim of the criminal.

A good example of what the press can do with its images is the Congo, the area of Africa that our guest, that's on his way, is going to talk to us about tonight. Right now, in the Congo, defenseless villages are being bombed, black women and children and babies are being blown to bits by airplanes. Where do these airplanes come from? The United States, the U-n-i-t-e-d S-t-a-t- e-s. Yes, and you won't write that. You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian. As long as they're being piloted by anti-Castro Cubans, that makes it all right. Because Castro's a villain, and anybody who's against him, whatever they do, that's humanitarian. You see how tricky they are? American planes, anti-Castro Cuban pilots, dropping bombs on African villages that have no defense against bombs, and blowing black women to bits. When you drop a bomb, you don't look to see where it explodes.

They're doing the same thing as when they dropped it on the Japanese at Hiroshima. They don't even think about dropping it on Congolese. And you, running around here getting all upset because a few white hostages

die, you're out of your minds, out of your minds. They take the press with their ability to control you with image-making, and they make mass murder, cold-blooded murder, look like a humanitarian project. All these thousands of black people dying, butchered, and you have no compassion in your hearts whatsoever for them, because the victim has been made to look like he's the criminal and the criminal has been made to look like he's the victim. Why, you and I should go on a rampage. I mean on a rampage—intelligently.

Let's just take it one step farther before our guest arrives, to show you how they use this image-making through the press. I'm not condemning the whole press, because some of them are all right; but most of them aren't. Take Tshombe, there's a man that you should never let set foot in America. That man is the worst African that was ever born. He's a cold-blooded murderer. He murdered Patrice Lumumba, the rightful prime minister of the Congo. And what happened there at the time? They used their press to give Tshombe a good image. Yes, the American press. They take this man who's a murderer, a cold-blooded murderer—didn't murder just somebody, murdered the prime minister—and they go and use their press to make this man acceptable to the world.

He'll never be acceptable to the world. The world is not that dumb, not that easily fooled. Now, some of us in this country may be dumb, but not all of us, just some of us. And those that haven't been fooled will do whatever is necessary to keep that man from setting foot on this continent. He should be afraid to come here. He should think a long time before he comes here. Why? Because they told you and me we came from the Congo. Isn't that what they told you? I mean, isn't that what they taught us in school? So we came from the Congo. We're savages and cannibals and all that kind of stuff from the Congo; they've been teaching me all my life I'm from the Congo. I love the Congo. That's my country. And that's my people that your airplanes are killing over there.

They take Tshombe and they prop him up with American dollars. They glorify his image with the American press. What's the first thing he does? Now, Tshombe's a murderer, he has been hired by the United States to rule the Congo. Yes, that's all it boils down to. You can put it in a whole lot of pretty language, but we don't want pretty language for a nasty situation. He's a murderer, who has been hired by the United States government and is being paid with your tax dollars by the United States government.

And to show you what his thinking is—a hired killer—what's the first thing he did? He hired more killers. He went out and got the mercenaries from South Africa. And what is a mercenary? A hired killer. That's all a mercenary is. The anti-Castro Cuban pilots, what are they? Mercenaries, hired killers. Who hired them? The United States. Who hired the killers from South Africa? The United States; they just used Tshombe to do it. Just like they do with us in this country. They get a Negro and hire him and make him a big shot—so he's a voice of the community—and then he tells all of them to come on in and join the organization with us, and they take it over. Then they give him peace prizes and medals and things. They will probably give Tshombe the peace prize next year for the work that he's doing. I expect them to, he'll be the Nobel Peace Prize winner next year. Because he's doing a good job. But for who? For the man.

So these mercenaries come in, and again, what makes these mercenaries acceptable? The press. The press doesn't refer to them as hired killers. The press doesn't refer to them as murderers. The press refers to the brothers in Stanleyville, who are defending their country, as rebels, savages, cannibals. You know, brothers, the press has a grave responsibility, and it also has the responsibility sometimes as an accessory. Because if it allows itself to be used to make criminals look like victims and victims look like criminals, then the press is an accessory to the same crime. They are permitting themselves to be used as a weapon in the hands of those that are actually guilty.

I cite this tonight, before our guest comes—and I was told ten minutes ago that he should be here in ten minutes—I cite this to show you that, just as they do it on an international level, they also do it with us. Anytime black people in this country are not able to be controlled by the man, the press immediately begins to label those black people as irresponsible or as extremists. They put all these old negative labels up there, and you and I do the same thing—we draw back from it. Not because we know anything about them. But we draw back because of the image of them that the man has created.

And if you notice everyone who takes a firm, uncompromising stand against the man—when I say the man, you know what I'm talking about. I'm talking about the man that lynches, the man that segregates, the man that discriminates, the man that oppresses and exploits, the man that won't let you and me have quality education facilities here in Harlem. That man,

whoever he is, that's who I'm talking about. I have to talk about him like this, because if I talk about him any closer, they'll call me a racist. And I'm not a racist. I'm not against somebody because of their race, but I'm sure against them because of what they're doing; and if they're doing wrong, we should stop them, and by any means necessary.

If you'll notice, as long as the blacks in the Congo were being slaughtered on a mass scale, there was no outcry. But as soon as the lives of a few whites were involved, the whole world became in an uproar. What caused the world to become involved in an uproar? The press. The press made it appear that 2,000 white people are being held hostage. And they started crying in big headlines if any of them were killed. Now the Africans didn't kill any of them, the brothers there in Stanleyville didn't kill any of them until the paratroopers landed. If the paratroopers hadn't invaded their property, nobody would have been killed. They hadn't killed them up to that point. And many people say it wasn't the brothers in Stanleyville that killed them; the paratroopers and mercenaries started shooting at everybody.

You think I'm spoofing? I was in London last Sunday, and in the Daily Express a white writer—I must say white, because if I don't specify that it is a white man writing this, you'd think that I wrote it, or some black man wrote it. Look what he says here in the Daily Express, which is a far from left newspaper, far from liberal. It's written by Walter Partington from Stanleyville. Just after the paratroopers had dropped, he says, there was "a dusk strike by cannon-firing T-28s flown by Cuban mercenaries"—these are airplanes, flown by Cuban mercenaries; think of it, hired killers from Cuba. Hired by whom? The Americans. All of you living in our country are going to pay for the sins that it has committed.

They "blew up the rebels' warehouse headquarters and killed the mortar crew... yet more Chinese-made mortar shells are still arriving." See, they throw this Chinese thing in there to make you prejudiced. They don't know whether they're Chinese mortars, but this is how the press does it. It always has words to justify their destruction of the people they're destroying. "At 7 a.m. troops with Belgian mercenary armor and the Congo Army's 'Diablos' (Black Devils) paratroops roared into the gunpowder-keg native city of Belge. The troops spotted rebels preparing to open fire from a house"—now, pick up on this—"and smashed their way in, battering down doors and dragging out men, women and children." Now, there weren't rebels

in the house, these were just black Congolese in the house. And to justify going in and dragging them out and murdering them on the spot, they've got to call them rebels.

This is the kind of operation that's going on in the Congo, and you don't hear these Negro leaders saying anything about it. I know you don't like me to use the word Negro, but when I use it, that's what I'm talking about, knee-grow leaders—because that's what they are. These aren't Afro-American leaders, these are Negro leaders. N-E-G-R, capital O.

"A Belgian colonel snatched the camera from Express photographer Reginald Lancaster and said: 'You are both under house arrest and we will deport you on the next plane.'" Why didn't they want pictures taken? They didn't want pictures taken of what they were doing. "The column moved on and by noon 10,000 men, women and children were crushed neck to neck under a blazing sun and ringed by Congo Army troops armed with tommy guns. To protect them from the trigger-happy Congo Army there were white bandages around 10,000 heads. For this is a black and white city." Think about this: "Anyone without the bandage is usually shot." The bandage distinguishes those already screened or about to be given the treatment, and there are mounds of dead bodies everywhere to indicate those found wanting. Meaning, any Congolese without the bandage around his head was shot on sight, indiscriminately. And this is being written by a white reporter who is not pro-Congolese at all—he's just telling the story as it actually is. Mass murder, wholesale murder of black people by the white people who are using some black mercenaries.

"I saw one mercenary... gun down four Congolese who burst out of the bush near the airport as I landed. They may or may not have been Simbas. All died. Yet men like Lieutenant John Peters from Wightman Road, Harringay, London, are capable of strong compassion. Today two starving dogs seized No. 7 Commandos' pet Nigger, a little black kid goat."

This white mercenary had a little black goat that he named "Nigger." That's what they do, anything black they name it nigger. They named you nigger, didn't they? I see one coming right now. Here comes my nigger, Dick Gregory. Say, Dick, come on up here. We're going to get Dick investigated. I heard Dick on the Les Crane Show the other night talking about niggers. Say, Dick, look what it says here, here's my name, just look at it [holding up a copy of Gregory's book, Nigger]. Come on, I'm going to get him

investigated. Get him, brother, don't let him get away. He's going to lose all his jobs now. You won't get another booking—you'll have to work in Harlem the rest of your life.

Look what it says: "Today, two starving dogs seized No. 7 Commandos' pet Nigger, a little black kid goat. When we got there, Nigger was dying and John Peters shot him. He turned away and covered his eyes." Here's a white mercenary that has been killing so many Congolese they had to stop him up; with no compassion at all, he shot them down. But as soon as his little black goat was bitten by some dogs, he cried. He had more feeling—this is a white man, an Englishman—had more feeling in his heart for a dead goat that was black than he had for all those stacks and stacks and stacks of Congolese who looked just like you and me and Dick Gregory.

So I say, brothers and sisters, it's not a case of worrying about what's going on in Africa before we get things straight over here. It's a case of realizing that the Afro-American problem is not a Negro problem, or an American problem, but a human problem, a problem for humanity. When you realize that, when you look at your and my problem in the context of the entire world and see that it is a world problem, and that there are other people on this earth who look just like you do who also have the same problem, then you and I become allies and we can put forth our efforts in a way to get the best results.

As I announced earlier, Dick, I told them that a friend of mine from Africa who is a real dyed-in-the- wool human revolutionary was on his way here. Then you walked in; they thought I was talking about you. Well, Dick wasn't the one I was talking about, but Dick is a revolutionary. And Dick is a dyed-in-the-wool African; he doesn't want to be, but he is. I don't mean dyed-in-the-wool, I mean African. Dick is one of the foremost freedom fighters in this country. I say that in all sincerity. Dick has been on the battlefront and has made great sacrifices by taking the stand that he has. I'm quite certain that it has alienated many of the people who weren't alienated from him before he began to take this stand. Whenever you see a person, a celebrity, who is as widely known and as skilled in his profession as Dick, and at the same time has access to almost unlimited bookings which provide unlimited income, and he will jeopardize all of that in order to jump into the frontlines of the battle, then you and I will have to stand behind him. I want Dick also to hear our brother who's coming, but before he gets here, I think Dick had better talk to us. Come on, Dick. Dick

Gregory—without the cigarette.

[Dick Gregory speaks.]

I'm very thankful that Dick has been able to come out with us tonight. As I said, he is a freedom fighter, you see him on the forefront of the battle lines. And in this country, wherever a black man is, there is a battle line. Whether it's in the North, South, East or West, you and I are living in a country that is a battle line for all of us. And tonight, I'm more than honored with the presence of a person who has been credited with being responsible for correcting the governmental system in an area of this earth where the system wasn't so good prior to the efforts put forth by him.

Many of you have heard of the island called Zanzibar. Zanzibar was famous for its headquarters as a slave-trading post; in fact, many of us probably passed through there on our way to America 400 years ago. And it was on this island some time last year, I think it was, that the government was overturned when the African element on the island got fed up with the situation that existed.

Overnight they did what was necessary to bring about a change. So today Zanzibar is free. And as soon as it got its freedom, it got together with Tanganyika, where President Nyerere is. And the combination of Zanzibar and Tanganyika recently became known as the Republic of Tanzania: two countries that united and are one of the most militant and uncompromising when it comes to the struggle for freedom for our people on the African continent, as well as over here and anywhere else on this earth.

Most of you know that my purpose for going to Cairo for the summit conference was to try and get the heads of the African states to realize that they had 22 million brothers and sisters here in America who were catching hell; and that they could put forth a great effort and give us a boost, if they would let the world know that they were on our side and with us in our struggle against this racism that we've been victimized by in this country for so long. The press tried to make it appear that the African countries, the African heads of state, were in no way concerned with the plight of the Afro- American. But at that conference, toward the end of it, all of the African heads of state got together, and they did pass a resolution thoroughly condemning the continued practice of racism against the Afro-

Americans in this country and thoroughly supporting the struggle of the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country for human rights.

And I'm proud to state that the one who was responsible for bringing that resolution forth and getting it agreed upon by the other African heads of state was probably the last one that you and I would expect to do it, because of the image that he's been given in this country. But the one who came forth and suggested that the African summit conference pass a resolution thoroughly condemning the mistreatment of Afro-Americans in America and also thoroughly supporting the freedom struggle for human rights of our people in this country was President Julius Nyerere. I was honored to spend three hours with him, when I was in Dar es Salaam and Tanganyika, shortly before it became known as Tanzania, for about seven days. The one who made it possible for me to see him is with us here tonight.

When the revolution took place on Zanzibar, you and I read about it in this country. They tried to make it appear that it was something that was Chinese or Soviet, or anything but what it was. They tried again to build that image that would make you and me react to it negatively. And the one the Western press said was the guiding hand behind that successful revolution is with us on the platform tonight. I have the greatest honor to introduce to you at this time the minister of cooperatives and commerce from Tanzania, a man who is very closely associated with President Julius Nyerere, the one who was responsible for bringing freedom to the people on the island of Zanzibar and linking themselves up with Tanganyika and developing it into the Republic of Tanzania. He's known as Sheik Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu.

And before he comes forth: He's just left a dinner with another very good friend of ours, and I say a very good friend of ours. I want to point this out to you, I don't let anybody choose my friends. And you shouldn't let anybody choose your friends. You and I should practice the habit of weighing people and weighing situations and weighing groups and weighing governments for ourselves. And don't let somebody else tell us who our enemies should be and who our friends should be.

I love a revolutionary. And one of the most revolutionary men in this country right now was going to come out here along with our friend, Sheik Babu, but he thought better of it. But he did send this message. It says:

"Dear brothers and sisters of Harlem, I would have liked to have been with you and Brother Babu, but the actual conditions are not good for this meeting. Receive the warm salutations of the Cuban people and especially those of Fidel, who remembers enthusiastically his visit to Harlem a few years ago. United we will win."

This is from Che Guevara. I'm happy to hear your warm round of applause in return, because it lets the man know that he's just not in a position today to tell us who we should applaud for and who we shouldn't applaud for. And you don't see any anti-Castro Cubans around here—we eat them up.

Let them go and fight the Ku Klux Klan, or the White Citizens Council. Let them spend some of that energy getting their own house in order. Don't come up to Harlem and tell us who we should applaud for and shouldn't applaud for. Or there will be some ex-anti- Castro Cubans.

So, brothers and sisters, again at this time, a very good friend of mine. I'm honored to call him my friend. He treated me as a brother when I was in Dar es Salaam. I met his family, I met his children—he's a family man. Most people don't think of revolutionaries as family men. All you see him in is his image on the battle line. But when you see him with his children and with his wife and that atmosphere at home, you realize that revolutionaries are human beings too. So here is a man who's not only a revolutionary, but he's a husband—he could be yours; he's a father—he could be yours; he's a brother—he could be yours. And I say he is ours. Sheik Babu.

[Babu speaks.]

Brothers and sisters, we're going to dismiss in five minutes. We want to thank His Excellency, Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu, for taking the time to come up this evening to give us a good clear picture of how our people back home feel about us. It is very important, as he pointed out—please give us five minutes before you go, we'll let you go in five minutes—it's very important for you and me to realize that our people on the African continent are genuinely interested and concerned with the troubles of our people on this continent. It is important that we know that, and then our battle strategy, our plan of battle, will be much different. As long as we think we're over here in America isolated and all by ourselves and underdogs, then we'll always have that hat-in-hand begging attitude that

the man loves to see us display. But when we know that all of our people are behind us—as he said, almost 500 million of us—we don't need to beg anybody. All we need to do is remind them what they did to us; that it's time for them to stop; that if they don't stop, we will stop them. Yes, we will stop them.

You may say, "Well, how in the hell are we going to stop them? A great big man like this?" Brothers and sisters, always remember this. When you're inside another man's house, and the furniture is his, curtains, all those fine decorations, there isn't too much action he can put down in there without messing up his furniture and his windows and his house. And you let him know that when he puts his hands on you, it's not only you he puts his hands on, it's his whole house, you'll burn it down. You're in a position to—you have nothing to lose. Then the man will act right. He won't act right because he loves you or because he thinks you will, you know, not act right. He will only act right when you let him know that you know he has more to lose than you have. You haven't anything to lose but discrimination and segregation.

Next Sunday night, and we will start on time next Sunday night and end on time and we want all of you to be sure and be out, we're going deeper into the Congo question. The Organization of Afro-American Unity intends to spell out its own program in regards to how we feel we can best take advantage of the political potential of the black man in this country and also how we can work with other groups to make sure that quality education is returned to Harlem.

Also, I believe, brothers and sisters, and I say with all my heart, we should start a defense fund in Harlem. We should start a fund in Harlem so that we can offer a reward for whoever gets the head of that sheriff in Mississippi who murdered those civil-rights workers in cold blood. You may think I'm out of my mind. Anytime you have a government that will allow the sheriff, not only one sheriff but some sheriffs and their deputies, to kill in cold blood men who are doing nothing other than trying to ascertain the rights for people who have been denied their rights, and these workers are murdered, and the FBI comes up with all of that pretty-sounding language, like they're going to arrest them and then do nothing but turn them loose—why, then it's time for you and me to let them know that if the federal government can't deal with the Klan, then you and I can deal with the Klan. This is the only way you are going to stop it.

The only way you're going to stop the Ku Klux Klan is stop it yourself.

As Dick Gregory said, the government can't stop it because the government has infiltrated the Klan and it has infiltrated the government. You and I have got to stop it ourselves. So let's put a reward on the head of that sheriff, a reward, a dollar, for whoever gets to him first. I know what they're going to do—if something happens, they're going to blame me for it. I'll take the blame.

# Harvard Law School Forum (December 16, 1964)

I first want to thank the Harvard Law School Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening, more especially to speak on a very timely topic—"The African Revolution and Its Impact on the American Negro." I probably won't use the word "American Negro," but substitute "Afro-American." And when I say Afro-American, I mean it in the same context in which you usually use the word Negro. Our people today are increasingly shying away from use of that word. They find that when you're identified as Negro, it tends to make you catch a whole lot of hell that people who don't use it don't catch.

In the present debate over the Congo, you are probably aware that a new tone and a new tempo, almost a new temper, are being reflected among African statesmen toward the United States. And I think we should be interested in and concerned with what impact this will have upon Afro-Americans and how it will affect America's international race relations. We know that it will have an effect at the international level. It's already having such an effect. But I am primarily concerned with what effect it will have on the internal race relations of this country—that is to say, between the Afro-American and the white American.

When you let yourself be influenced by images created by others, you'll find that oftentimes the one who creates those images can use them to mislead you and misuse you. A good example: A couple of weeks ago I was on a plane with a couple of Americans, a male and a female sitting to my right. We were in the same row and had a nice conversation for about thirty-five to forty minutes. Finally the lady looked at my briefcase and said, "I would like to ask you a personal question," and I knew what was coming. She said, "What kind of last name could you have that begins with X?" I said, "Malcolm." Ten minutes went by, and she turned to me and said, "You're not Malcolm X?" You see, we had a nice conversation going, just three human beings, but she was soon looking at the image created by the press. She said so: "I just wouldn't believe that you were that man," she said. I had a similar experience last week at Oxford. The Oxford Union had arranged a debate. Before the debate I had dinner with four students. A girl student looked kind of crosseyed, goggle-eyed and otherwise, and

finally just told me she wanted to ask me a question. (I found out she was a conservative, by the way, whatever that is.) She said, "I just can't get over your not being as I had expected." I told her it was a case of the press carefully creating images.

Again I had a similar experience last night. At the United Nations a friend from Africa came in with a white woman who is involved with a philanthropic foundation over there. He and I were engaged in conversation for several minutes, and she was in and out of the conversation. Finally I heard her whisper to someone off to the side. She didn't think I was listening. She said-she actually said this—"He doesn't look so wild, you know." Now this is a full-grown, so-called "mature" woman. It shows the extent to which the press can create images. People looking for one thing actually miss the boat because they're looking for the wrong thing. They are looking for someone with horns, someone who is a rabble-rouser, an irrational, antisocial extremist. They expect to hear me say that Negroes should kill all the white people—as if you could kill all the white people! In fact, if I had believed what they said about the people in Britain, I never would have gone to Oxford. I would have let it slide. When I got there I didn't go by what I had read about them. I found out they were quite human and likable. Some weren't what I had expected.

Now I have taken time to discuss images because one of the sciences used and misused today is this science of image making. The power structure uses it at the local level, at the national level, at the international level. And oftentimes when you and I feel we've come to a conclusion on our own, the conclusion is something that someone has invented for us through the images he has created.

I'm a Muslim. Now if something is wrong with being Muslim, we can argue, we can "get with it." I'm a Muslim, which means that I believe in the religion of Islam. I believe in Allah, the same God that many of you would probably believe in if you knew more about Him. I believe in all of the prophets: Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad. Most of you are Jewish, and you believe in Moses; you might not pick Jesus. If you're Christians, you believe in Moses and Jesus. Well, I'm Muslim, and I believe in Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. I believe in all of them. So I think I'm "way up on you."

In Islam we practice prayer, charity, fasting. These should be practiced in all religions. The Muslim religion also requires one to make the pilgrimage

to the Holy City of Mecca. I was fortunate enough to make it in April, and I went back again in September. Insofar as being a Muslim is concerned, I have done what one is supposed to do to be a Muslim. Despite being a Muslim, I can't overlook the fact that I'm an Afro-American in a country which practices racism against black people. There is no religion under the sun that would make me forget the suffering that Negro people have undergone in this country. Negroes have suffered for no reason other than that their skins happen to be black. So whether I'm Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist or agnostic, I would still be in the front lines with Negro people fighting against the racism, segregation, and discrimination practiced in this country at all levels in the North, South, East, and West. I believe in the brotherhood of all men, but I don't believe in wasting brotherhood on anyone who doesn't want to, practice it with me. Brotherhood is a two-way street. I don't think brotherhood should be practiced with a man just because his skin is white. Brotherhood should hinge upon the deeds and attitudes of a man. I couldn't practice brotherhood, for example, with some of those Eastlands or crackers in the South who are responsible for the condition of our people.

I don't think anyone would deny either that if you send chickens out of your barnyard in the morning, at nightfall those chickens will come home to roost in your barnyard. Chickens that you send out always come back home. It is a law of nature. I was an old farm boy myself, and I got in trouble saying this once, but it didn't stop me from being a farm boy. Other people's chickens don't come to roost on your doorstep, and yours don't go to roost on theirs. The chickens that this country is responsible for sending out, whether the country likes it or not (and if you're mature, you look at it "like it is"), someday, and someday soon, have got to come back home to roost.

Victims of racism are created in the image of racists. When the victims struggle vigorously to protect themselves from violence of others, they are made to appear in the image of criminals; as the criminal image is projected onto the victim. The recent situation in the Congo is one of the best examples of this. The headlines were used to mislead the public, to create wrong images. In the Congo, planes were bombing Congolese villages, yet Americans read that American-trained anti-Castro Cuban pilots were bombing rebel strongholds. These pilots were actually dropping bombs on villages with women and children. But because the tags "American-trained" and "anti-Castro Cubans" were applied, the

bombing was legal. Anyone against Castro is all right. The press gave them a "holier than thou" image. And you let them get away with it because of the labels. The victim is made the criminal. It is really mass murder, murder of women, children, and babies. And mass murder is disguised as a humanitarian project. They fool nobody but the people of America. They don't fool the people of the world, who see beyond the images.

Their man in the Congo is Tshombe, the murderer of the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo. No matter what kind of language you use, he's purely and simply a murderer. The real Prime Minister of the Congo was Patrice Lumumba. The American government-your and my government-took this murderer and hired him to run the Congo. He became their hired killer. And to show what a hired killer he is, his first act was to go to South Africa and to hire more killers, paying them with American dollars. But he is glorified because he is given the image of the only one who could bring stability to the Congo. Whether he can bring stability or not, he's still a murderer. The headlines spoke of white hostages, not simply hostages, but white hostages, and of white nuns and priests, not simply nuns and priests, but white nuns and priests. Why? To gain the sympathy of the white public of America. The press had to shake up your mind in order to get your sympathy and support for criminal actions. They tricked you. Americans consider forty white lives more valuable than four thousand black lives. Thousands of Congolese were losing their lives. Mercenaries were paid with American dollars. The American press made the murderers look like saints and the victims like criminals. They made criminals look like victims and indeed the devil look like an angel and angels like the devil.
A friend of mine from Africa, who is in a good position to know, said he believed the United States government is being advised by her worst enemy in the Congo, because an American citizen could not suggest such insane action—especially identifying with Tshombe, who is the worst African on earth.

You cannot find an African on earth who is more hated than Tshombe. It's a justifiable hatred they have toward him. He has won no victory himself. His Congolese troops have never won a victory for him. Every victory has been won by white mercenaries, who are hired to kill for him. The African soldiers in the Congo are fighting for the Stanleyville government. Here Tshombe is a curse. He's an insult to anyone who means to do right, black or white. When Tshombe visited Cairo, he caused trouble. When he visited Rome last week, he caused trouble, and the same happened in Germany.

Wherever Tshombe goes, trouble erupts. And if Tshombe comes to America, you'll see the worst rioting, bloodshed, and violence this country has ever seen. Nobody wants this kind of man in his country.

What effect does all this have on Afro-Americans? What effect will it have on race relations in this country? In the U.N. at this moment, Africans are using more uncompromising language and are heaping hot fire upon America as the racist and neocolonial power par excellence. African statesmen have never used this language before. These statesmen are beginning to connect the criminal, racist acts practiced in the Congo with similar acts in Mississippi and Alabama. The Africans are pointing out that the white American government—not all white people—has shown just as much disregard for lives wrapped in black skin in the Congo as it shows for lives wrapped in black skin in Mississippi and in Alabama. When Africans, therefore, as well as we begin to think of Negro problems as interrelated, what will be the effect of such thinking on programs for improved race relations in this country? Many people will tell you that the black man in this country doesn't identify with Africa. Before 1959, many Negroes didn't. But before 1959, the image of Africa was created by an enemy of Africa, because Africans weren't in a position to create and project their own images. The image was created by the imperial powers of Europe.

Europeans created and popularized the image of Africa as a jungle, a wild place where people were cannibals, naked and savage in a countryside overrun with dangerous animals. Such an image of the Africans was so hateful to Afro-Americans that they refused to identify with Africa. We did not realize that in hating Africa and the Africans we were hating ourselves. You cannot hate the roots of a tree and not hate the tree itself. Negroes certainly cannot at the same time hate Africa and love themselves. We Negroes hated the American features: the African nose, the shape of our lips, the color of our skin, the texture of our hair. We could only end up hating ourselves. Our skin became a trap, a prison; we felt inferior, inadequate, helpless. It was not an image created by Africans or by Afro-Americans, but by an enemy.

Since 1959 the image has changed. The African states have emerged and achieved independence. Black people in this country are crying out for their independence and show a desire to make a fighting stand for it. The attitude of the Afro-American cannot be disconnected from the attitude of the African. The pulse beat, the voice, the very life-drive that is reflected in

the African is reflected today here among the Afro-Americans. The only way you can really understand the black man in America and the changes in his heart and mind is to fully understand the heart and mind of the black man on the African continent; because it is the same heart and the same mind, although separated by four hundred years and by the Atlantic Ocean. There are those who wouldn't like us to have the same heart and the same mind for fear that that heart and mind might get together. Because when our people in this country received a new image of Africa, they automatically united through the new image of themselves. Fear left them completely. There was fear, however, among the racist elements and the State Department. Their fear was of our sympathy for Africa and for its hopes and aspirations and of this sympathy developing into a form of alliance. It is only natural to expect us today to turn and look in the direction of our homeland and of our motherland and to wonder whether we can make any contact with her.

I grew up in Lansing, Michigan, a typical American city. In those days, a black man could have a job shining shoes or waiting tables. The best job was waiting tables at the country club, as is still the case in most cities. In those days, if a fellow worked at the State House shining shoes, he was considered a big shot in the town. Only when Hitler went on the rampage in 1939, and this country suffered a manpower shortage, did the black man get a shot at better jobs. He was permitted a step forward only when Uncle Sam had his back to the wall and needed him. In 1939, '40, and '41, a black man couldn't even join the Army or Navy, and when they began drafting, they weren't drafting black soldiers but only white. I think it was well agreed upon and understood: if you let the black man get in the Army, get hold of a gun, and learn to shoot it, you wouldn't have to tell him what the target was. It was not until the Negro leaders (and in this sense I use the word Negro purposely) began to cry out and complain—"If white boys are gonna die on the battlefields, our black boys must die on the battlefields tool"—that they started drafting us. If it hadn't been for that type of leadership, we never would have been drafted. The Negro leaders just wanted to show that we were good enough to die too, although we hadn't been good enough to join the Army or Navy prior to that time.

During the time that Hitler and Tojo were on the rampage, the black man was needed in the plants, and for the first time in the history of America, we were given an opportunity on a large scale to get skills in areas that were closed previously to us. When we got these skills, we were put in a

position to get more money. We made more money. We moved to a better neighborhood. When we moved to a better neighborhood, we were able to go to a better school and to get a better education, and this put us into a position to know what we hadn't been receiving up to that time. Then we began to cry a little louder than we had ever cried before. But this advancement never was out of Uncle Sam's goodwill. We never made one step forward until world pressure put Uncle Sam on the spot. And it was when he was on the spot that he allowed us to take a couple of steps forward. It has never been out of any internal sense of morality or legality or humanism that we were allowed to advance. You have been as cold as an icicle whenever it came to the rights of the black man in this country. Excuse me for raising my voice, but I think it's time. As long as my voice is the only thing I raise, I don't think you should become upset!

Because we began to cry a little louder, a new strategy was used to handle us. The strategy evolved with the Supreme Court desegregation decision, which was written in such tricky language that every crook in the country could sidestep it. The Supreme Court desegregation decision was handed down over ten years ago. It has been implemented less than ten percent in those ten years. It was a token advancement, even as we've been the recipients of "tokenism" in education, housing, employment, everything. But nowhere in the country during the past ten years has the black man been treated as a human being in the same context as other human beings. He's always being patronized in a very paternalistic way, but never has he been given an opportunity to function as a human being. Actually, in one sense, it's our own fault, but I'll get to that later on. We have never gotten the real thing.

Heck, I'll get to it right now. The reason we never received the real thing is that we have not displayed any tendency to do the same for ourselves which other human beings do: to protect our humanity and project our humanity. I'll clarify what I mean. Not a single white person in America would sit idly by and let someone do to him what we black men have been letting others do to us. The white person would not remain passive, peaceful, and nonviolent. The day the black man in this country shows others that we are just as human as they in reaction to injustice, that we are willing to die just as quickly to protect our lives and property as whites have shown, only then will our people be recognized as human beings. It is inhuman, absolutely subhuman, for a man to let a dog bite him and not fight back. Let someone club him and let him not fight back, or let

someone put water hoses on his women, his mother and daughter and babies and let him not fight back then he's subhuman. The day he becomes a human being he will react as other human beings have reacted, and nobody will hold it against him.

In 1959, we saw the emergence of the Negro revolt and the collapse of European colonialism on the African continent. Our struggle, our initiative, and our militancy were in tune with the struggle and initiative and militancy of our brothers in Africa. When the colonial powers saw they couldn't remain in Africa, they behaved as somebody playing basketball. He gets the basketball and must pass it to a teammate in the clear. The colonial powers were boxed in on the African continent. They didn't intend to give up the ball. They just passed it to the one that was in the clear, and the one that was in the clear was the United States. The ball was passed to her, and she picked it up and has been running like mad ever since. Her presence on the African continent has replaced the imperialism and the colonialism of Europeans. But it's still imperialism and colonialism. Americans fooled many of the Africans into thinking that they weren't an imperialist power or colonial power until their intentions were revealed, until they hired Tshombe and put him back to kill in the Congo. Nothing America could have done would have ever awakened the Africans to her true intentions as did her dealings with this murderer named Tshombe.

America knew that Africa was waking up in '59. Africa was developing a higher degree of intelligence than she reflected in the past. America, for her part, knew she had to use a more intelligent approach. She used the friendly approach: the Peace Corps, Crossroads. Such philanthropic acts disguised American imperialism and colonialism with dollar-ism. America was not honest with what she was doing. I don't mean that those in the Peace Corps weren't honest. But the Corps was being used more for political purposes than for moral purposes. I met many white Peace Corps workers while on the African continent. Many of them were properly motivated and were making a great contribution. But the Peace Corps will never work over there until the idea has been applied over here.

Of course the Civil Rights Bill was designed supposedly to solve our problem. As soon as it was passed, however, three civil rights workers were murdered. Nothing has been done about it, and I think nothing will be done about it until the people themselves do something about it. I, for one, think the best way to stop the Ku Klux Klan is to talk to the Ku Klux Klan

in the only language it understands, for you can't talk French to someone who speaks German and communicate. Find out what language a person speaks, speak their language, and you'll get your point across. Racists know only one language, and it is doing the black man in this country an injustice to expect him to talk the language of peace to people who don't know peaceful language. In order to get any kind of point across our people must speak whatever language the racist speaks.

The government can't protect us. The government has not protected us. It is time for us to do whatever is necessary by any means necessary to protect ourselves. If the government doesn't want us running around here wild like that, then I say let the government get up off its whatever it's on, and take care of it itself. After the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, they killed the Negro educator Pitt in Georgia. The killers were brought to court and then set free. This is the pattern in this country, and I think that white people (I use the word white people because it's cut short; it gets right to the point) are doing us an injustice. If you expect us to be nonviolent, you yourselves aren't. If someone came knocking on your door with a rifle, you'd walk out of the door with your rifle. Now the black man in this country is getting ready to do the same thing.

I say in conclusion that the Negro problem has ceased to be a Negro problem. It has ceased to be an American problem and has now become a world problem, a problem for all humanity. Negroes waste their time confining their struggle to civil rights: In that context the problem remains only within the jurisdiction of the United States. No allies can help Negroes without violating United States protocol.

But today the black man in America has seen his mistake and is correcting it by lifting his struggle from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. No longer does the United States government sit in an ivory tower where it can point at South Africa, point at the Portuguese, British, French, and other European colonial powers. No longer can the United States hold twenty million black people in second-class citizenship and think that the world will keep a silent mouth. No matter what the independent African states are doing in the United Nations, it is only a flicker, a glimpse, a ripple of what this country is in for in the future, unless a halt is brought to the illegal injustices which our people continue to suffer every day.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, to which I belong, is a peaceful

organization based on brotherhood. Oh yes, it is peaceful. But I believe you can't have peace until you're ready to protect it. As you will die protecting yours, I will die protecting mine. The OAAU is trying to get our problem before the United Nations. This is one of its immediate projects on the domestic front. We will work with all existing civil rights organizations. Since there has been talk of minimizing demonstrations and of becoming involved in political action, we want to see if civil rights organizations mean it.

The OAAU will become involved in every move to secure maximum opportunity for black people to register peacefully as voters. We believe that along with voter registration, Afro-Americans need voter education. Our people should receive education in the science of politics so that the crooked politician cannot exploit us. We must put ourselves in a position to become active politically. We believe that the OAAU should provide defense units in every area of this country where workers are registering or are seeking voting rights, in every area where young students go out on the battlefront, which it actually is. Such self-defense units should have brothers who will not go out and initiate aggression, but brothers who are qualified, equipped to retaliate when anyone imposes brutally on us, whether it be in Mississippi, Massachusetts, California, or New York City. The OAAU doesn't believe it should permit civil rights workers to be murdered.

When a government can't protect civil rights workers, we believe we should do it. Even in the Christian Bible it says that he who kills with the sword shall be killed by the sword, and I'm not against it. I'm for peace, yet I believe that any man facing death should be able to go to any length to assure that whoever is trying to kill him doesn't have a chance. The OAAU supports the plan of every civil rights group for political action, as long as it doesn't involve compromise. We don't believe Afro-Americans should be victims any longer. We believe we should let the world know, the Ku Klux Klan know, that bloodshed is a twoway street, that dying is a two-way street, that killing is a two-way street. Now I say all this in as peaceful a language as I know.

There was another man back in history whom I read about once, an old friend of mine whose name was Hamlet, who confronted, in a sense, the same thing our people are confronting here in America. Hamlet was debating whether "To be or not to be"—that was the question. He was

trying to decide whether it was "nobler in the mind to suffer, peacefully, the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" or whether it was nobler "to take up arms" and oppose them. I think his little soliloquy answers itself. As long as you sit around suffering the slings and arrows and are afraid to use some slings and arrows yourself, you'll continue to suffer. The OAAU has come to the conclusion that it is time to take up whatever means necessary to bring these sufferings to a halt.

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Alan Dershowitz: The floor will be open for questions.

Question: Mr. X, do you feel that the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King has in any way helped the Negro cause in the United States?

Malcolm X: Black people in this country have no peace and have not made the strides forward that would in any way justify receiving a reward by any of us. The war is not won nor has any battle been won. But I have no comment to make about my good friend, Dr. King.

Question: Sir, I would like to know the difference between a white racist and a black racist, besides the fact that they are white and black.

Malcolm X: Usually the black racist has been produced by the white racist. And in most cases, black racism is in reaction to white racism. If you analyze it very closely, you will find that it is not black racism. Black people have shown fewer tendencies toward racism than any people since the beginning of history. I cannot agree with my brother here who says that Negroes are immoral; that's what I get out of what he said. It is the whites who have committed violence against us.

Question: I am one of the whites who agrees with you one hundred percent. You pointed out that the majority of Negro people voted for Johnson, and then he invaded the Congo, something which Goldwater did not even advocate. What do you propose that black people should do in future elections?

Malcolm X: First our people should become registered voters. But they should not become actively involved in politics until we have also gotten

a much better understanding of the game of politics in this country. We go into politics in a sort of gullible way, where politics in this country is cold-blooded and heartless. We need a better understanding of the science of politics as well as becoming registered voters. And then we should not take sides either way. We should reserve political action for the situation at hand, in no way identifying with either political party (the Democrats or the Republicans) or selling ourselves to either party. We should take political action for the good of human beings; that will eliminate the injustices. I for one do not think that the man presently in the White House is morally capable of taking the kind of action necessary to eliminate these things.

Question: Mr. X, your idea of an Afro-American is a very hard lump to swallow. James Baldwin, in describing a conference of African writers and politicians which took place in Paris in 1956, reported that the conference had difficulty in defining an African personality common to all countries in Africa and to the American Negroes. The members of the conference, including James Baldwin, began to realize that there was a big rift between American Negroes and the people from Africa. The American Negro has a totally different set of values and ideas from that of the African. Therefore, if you still talk about the Afro-American in which the only connection is the color of the skin, this is a racist concept. Why emphasize Afro-American, which is a racist concept and a reactionary concept, instead of something more positive?

Malcolm X: I do not think that anything is more positive than accepting what you are. The Negro in America tries to be more American than anyone else. The attempt has created a person who is actually negative in almost everything he reflects. We are just as much African today as we were in Africa four hundred years ago, only we are a modern counterpart of it. When you hear a black man playing music, whether it is jazz or Bach, you still hear African music. The soul of Africa is still reflected in the music played by black men. In everything else we do we still are African in color, feeling, everything. And we will always be that whether we like it or not.

# Malcolm X on The Power of Africa (Audubon Ballroom, December 20, 1964)

Asalaam Alaikum. I suppose I should take time to explain what I mean when I say "Asalaam Alaikum." Actually, it's an expression that means "peace," and it's one that is always given to one's brother or to one's sister. It only means "peace be unto you." So, when I say "Asalaam Alaikum" or "Salaam Alaikum" and others reply, "Alaikum Salaam," why, they're just returning the peace. It means we're all at peace with one another, as brothers and sisters.

Now, brothers and sisters, first I want to thank those of you who have taken the time to come through that snow, which almost turned me back myself, and come out where we can try and put our heads together and get a better understanding of what is going on, what we've been through and what we're all concerned about. As Sister Sharon has already pointed out, and I think she did so beautifully, during recent years our people have been struggling for some kind of relief from the conditions we're confronted by.

When you go back over the period of struggle, I think it would be agreed that we've gone through different patterns of struggle, that we've struggled in different ways. Each way that we tried never produced what we were looking for. If it had been productive, we would have continued along that same way. We've tried probably more different methods than any people. But at the same time, I think we've tried more wrong methods than any other people, because most others have gotten more freedom than we have. Everywhere you look, people get their freedom faster than we do. They get more respect and recognition faster than we do. We get promises, but we never get the real thing. And primarily because we have yet to learn the proper tactic or strategy or method to bring freedom into existence.

I think that one of the things that has caused our people in this country to try so many methods is that times have changed so rapidly. What would be proper ten years ago would not have been proper seven years ago, or five years ago, or three years ago. Times change so quickly that if you and I don't keep up with the times, we'll find ourselves with an umbrella in our hand, over our head, when the sun is out. Or we'll find ourselves standing in the rain, with the umbrella inside the door. If we don't keep up with

what's going on, we will not be able to display the type of intelligence that will show the world we know what time it is and that we know what is happening around us.

Several persons have asked me recently, since I've been back, "What is your program?" I purposely, to this day, have not in any way mentioned what our program is, because there will come a time when we will unveil it so that everybody will understand it. Policies change, and programs change, according to time. But objective never changes. You might change your method of achieving the objective, but the objective never changes. Our objective is complete freedom, complete justice, complete equality, by any means necessary. That never changes. Complete and immediate recognition and respect as human beings, that doesn't change, that's what all of us want. I don't care what you belong to, you still want that recognition and respect as a human being. But you have changed your methods from time to time on how you go about getting it. The reason you change your method is that you have to change your method according to time and conditions that prevail. And one of the conditions that prevails on this earth right now, that we know too little about, is our relationship with the freedom struggle of people all over the world.a

Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that we're a minority. By thinking we're a minority, we struggle like a minority. We struggle like we're an underdog. We struggle like all of the odds are against us. This type of struggle takes place only because we don't yet know where we fit in the scheme of things. We've been maneuvered out of a position where we could rightly know and understand where we fit into the scheme of things. It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. Not just look around in Harlem or New York, or Mississippi, or America, we have got to look all around this earth. We don't know where we stand until, we know where America stands. You don't know where you stand in America until you know where America stands in the world. We don't know where you and I stand in this context, known to us as America, until we know where America stands in the world context. When you and I are inside of America and look at America, she looks big and bad and invincible. Oh, yes, and when we approach her in that context, we approach her as beggars, with our hat in our hands. As Toms, actually, only in the twentieth century sense, but still as Toms. While if we understand what's going on this earth and what's going on in

the world today, and fit America into that context, we find out she's not so bad, after all; she's not very invincible. And when you find out she's not invincible, you don't approach her like you're dealing with someone who's invincible.

As a rule, up to now, the strategy of America has been to tuck all of our leaders up into her dress, and besiege them with money, with prestige, with praise, and make them jump, and tell them what to tell us. And they always tell us we're the underdog, and that we don't have a chance, and that we should do it nonviolently and carefully; otherwise, we'll get hurt or we'll get wasted. We don't buy that.

Number one, we want to know what are we? How did we get to be what we are? Where did we come from? How did we come from there? Who did we leave behind? Where was it that we left them behind, and what are they doing over there where we used to be? This is something that we have not been told. We have been brought over here and isolated—you know the funniest thing about that: they accuse us of introducing "separation" and "isolation." No one is more isolated than you and I. There's no system on earth more capable of thoroughly separating and isolating a people than this system that they call the democratic system; and you and I are the best proof of it, the best example of it. We were separated from our people, and have been isolated here for a long time.

So thoroughly has this been done to us that now we don't even know that there is somebody else that looks like we do. When we see them, we look at them like they're strangers. And when we see somebody that doesn't look anything like us, we call them our friends. That's a shame. It shows you what has been done to us. Yes, I mean our own people—we see our people come here who look exactly like we do, our twins, can't tell them apart, and we say, "Those are foreigners." Yet we're getting our heads busted trying to snuggle up to somebody who not only doesn't look like us, but doesn't even smell like us.

So you can see the importance of these meetings on Sunday nights during the past two or three weeks, and for a couple more weeks. It is not so much to spell out any program; you can't give a people a program until they realize they need one, and until they realize that all existing programs aren't programs that are going to produce productive results. So what we would like to do on Sunday nights is to go into our problem, and

just analyze and analyze and analyze; and question things that you don't understand, so we can at least try and get a better picture of what faces us. I, for one, believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action.

When these "leaders" create programs, you get no action. The only time you see them is when the people are exploding. Then the leaders are shot into the situation and told to control things. You can't show me a leader that has set off an explosion. No, they come and contain the explosion. They say, "Don't get rough, you know, do the smart thing." This is their role' they're there just to restrain you and me, to restrain the struggle, to keep it in a certain groove, and not let it get out of control. Whereas you and I don't want anybody to keep us from getting out of control. We want to get out of control. We want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there.

Listen to the last part of what I said: I didn't just say we want to smash anything that gets in our way. I said we want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there. You see, I had to give you the whole thing, because when you read it, you'll hear we're going to smash up everybody. No, I didn't say that. I said we'll smash up anything that gets in the way that doesn't belong there. I mean that. If it doesn't belong there, it's worthy to be smashed. This country practices that power. This country smashes anything that gets in its way. It crushes anything that gets in its way. And since we're Americans, they tell us, well, we'll do it the American way. We'll smash anything that gets in our way.

This is the type of philosophy that we want to express among our people. We don't need to give them a program, not yet. First, give them something to think about. If we give them something to think about, and start them thinking in a way that they should think, they'll see through all this camouflage that's going on right now. It's just a show the result of a script written by somebody else. The people will take that script and tear it up and write one for themselves. And you can bet that when you write the script for yourself, you're always doing something different than you'd be doing if you followed somebody else's script.

So, brothers and sisters, the thing that you and I must have an understanding of is the role that's being played in world affairs today,

number one, by the continent of Africa; number two, by the people on that continent; number three, by those of us who are related to the people on that continent, but who, by some quirk in our own history, find ourselves today here in the Western hemisphere. Always bear that in mind that our being in the Western hemisphere differs from anyone else, because everyone else here came voluntarily. Everyone that you see in this part of the world got on a boat and came here voluntarily; whether they were immigrants or what have you, they came here voluntarily. So they don't have any real squawk, because they got what they were looking for. But you and I can squawk because we didn't come here voluntarily. We didn't ask to be brought here. We were brought here forcibly, against. our will, and in chains. And at no time since we have been here, have they even acted like they wanted us here. At no time. At no time have they even tried to pretend that we were brought here to be citizens. Why, they don't even pretend. So why should we pretend?

Look at the continent of Africa today and see what position it occupies on this earth, and you realize that there's a tussle going on between East and West. It used to be between America and the West and Russia, but they're not tussling with each other any more. Kennedy made a satellite out of Russia. He put Khrushchev in his pocket; yes, he did, lost him his job. The tussle now is between America and China. In the camp of the West, America is foremost. Most other Western nations are satellites to America. England is an American satellite. All of them are satellites, perhaps with the exception of France. France wants America to be her satellite. You never can tell what the future might bring. Better nations than this have fallen, if you read history. Most of the European Communist nations are still satelliting around Russia. But in Asia, China is the center of power.

Among Asian countries, whether they are communist, socialist, you don't find any capitalist countries over there too much nowadays. Almost every one of the countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America, who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education, before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated, into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better education and better food and better clothing.

None of them are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't. You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist. He's got to get it from somewhere other than himself, and that's where he gets it, from somewhere or someone other than himself. So, when we look at the African continent, when we look at the trouble that's going on between East and West, we find that the nations in Africa are developing socialistic systems to solve their problems. There's one thing that Martin Luther King mentioned at the Armory the other night, which I thought was most significant. I hope he really understood what he was saying. He mentioned that while he was in some of those Scandinavian countries he saw no poverty. There was no unemployment, no poverty. Everyone was getting education, everyone had decent housing, decent whatever they needed to exist. But why did he mention those countries on his list as different?

This is the richest country on earth and there's poverty, there's bad housing, there's slums, there's inferior education. And this is the richest country on earth. Now, you know, if those countries that are poor can come up with a solution to their problems so that there's no unemployment, then instead of you running downtown picketing city hall, you should stop and find out what they do over there to solve their problems. This is why the man doesn't want you and me to look beyond Harlem or beyond the shores of America. As long as you don't know what's happening on the outside, you'll be all messed up dealing with this man on the inside. I mean what they use to solve the problem is not capitalism. What they are using to solve their problem in Africa and Asia is not capitalism. So what you and I should do is find out what they are using to get rid of poverty and all the other negative characteristics of a rundown society.

Africa is strategically located, geographically between East and West; it's the most valuable piece of property involved in the struggle between East and West. You can't get to the East without going past it, and can't get from the East to West without going past it. It sits right there between all of them. It sits snuggled into a nest between Asia and Europe; it can reach either one. None of the natural resources that are needed in Europe that they get from Asia can get to Europe without coming either around Africa, over Africa, or in between the Suez Canal which is sitting at the tip of Africa. She can cut off Europe's bread. She can put Europe to

sleep overnight, just like that. Because she's in a position to; the African continent is in a position to do this. But they want you and me to think Africa is a jungle, of no value, of no consequence. Because they also know that if you knew how valuable it was, you'd realize why they're over there killing our people. And you'd realize that it's not for some kind of humanitarian purpose or reason.

Also, Africa as a continent is important because of its tropical climate. It's so heavily vegetated you can take any section of Africa and use modern agricultural methods and turn that section alone into the breadbasket for the world. Almost any country over there can feed the whole continent, if it only had access to people who had the technical know-how to bring into that area modern methods of agriculture. It's rich. A jungle is only a place that's heavily vegetated, the soil is so rich and the climate is so good that everything grows, and it doesn't grow in season, it grows all the time. All the time is the season. That means it can grow anything, produce anything.

Added to its richness and its strategic position geographically is the fact of the existence of the Suez Canal and the Strait of Gibraltar. Those two narrow straits can cut off from Europe anything and everything Europe needs. All of the oil that runs Europe goes through the Suez Canal, up the Mediterranean Sea to places like Greece and Italy and Southern Spain and France and along through there; or through the Strait of Gibraltar and around on into England. And they need it. They need access through the Suez. When Nasser took over the Suez, they almost died in Europe. It scared them to death, why? Because Egypt is in Africa, in fact, Egypt is in both Africa and Asia...Before the Suez Canal was built, it was all one, you couldn't really make a distinction between Africa and Asia. It was all one. When President Nasser took the Suez Canal, that meant that for the first time the Suez Canal was under the complete jurisdiction of an African nation, and it meant that other nations had to cater to this African nation if they wanted to survive, if they didn't want their oil and other sources of supply cut off. Immediately this had an effect on European attitudes and European economic measures. They began to try and devise new means, new routes, to get the things that they needed.

Another reason the continent is so important is because of its gold. It has some of the largest deposits of gold on earth, and diamonds. Not only the diamonds you put on your. finger and in your ear, but industrial diamonds, diamonds that are needed to make machines, machines that can't function

or can't run unless they have these diamonds. These industrial diamonds play a major role in the entire industrialization of the European nations, and without these diamonds their industry would fall.

You and I usually know of diamonds for rings, because those are the only diamonds we get close to, or the only diamonds within our line of thinking. We don't think in terms of diamonds for other uses. Or baseball diamonds, some of us only get that far.

Not only diamonds, but also cobalt. Cobalt is one of the most valuable minerals on this earth today, and I think Africa is one of the only places where it is found. They use it in cancer treatment, plus they use it in this nuclear field that you've heard so much about. Cobalt and uranium, the largest deposits are right there on the African continent. And this is what the man is after. The man is after keeping you over here worrying about a cup of coffee, while he's over there in your motherland taking control over minerals that have so much value they make the world go around. While you and I are still walking around over here, yes, trying to drink some coffee with a cracker. It's one of the largest sources of iron and bauxite and lumber and even oil, and Western industry needs all of these minerals in order to survive. All of these natural minerals are needed by the Western industrialists in order for their industry to keep running at the clip that it's been used to. Can we prove it? Yes. You know that France lost her French West African possessions, Belgium lost the Congo, England lost Nigeria and Ghana and some of the other English-speaking areas; France also lost Algeria, or the Algerians took Algeria.

As soon as these European powers lost their African possessions, Belgium had an economic crisis, the same year she turned the Congo loose. She had to rearrange her entire economy and her economic methods had to be revised, because she had lost possession of the source of most of her raw materials, raw materials that she got almost free, almost with no price or output whatsoever. When she got into a position where she didn't have access to these free raw materials anymore, it affected her economy. It affected the French economy. It affected the British economy. It drove all of these European countries to the point where they had to come together and form what's known as the European Common Market. Prior to that, you wouldn't hear anything about a European Common Market. Being the gateway to Southwest Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland, Swaziland, and South Africa, the Congo is a country on the African continent which

is so strategically located geographically that if it were to fall into the hands of a real dyed-in-the-wool African nationalist, he could then make it possible for African soldiers to train in the Congo for the purpose of invading Angola. When they invade Angola, that means Angola must fall, because there are more Africans than there are Portuguese, and they just couldn't control Angola any longer. And if the Congo fell into good hands, other than Tshombe, then it would mean. that Angola would fall, Southern Rhodesia would fall, Southwest Africa would fall and South Africa would fall. And that's the only way they would fall.

When these countries fall, it would mean that the source of raw material, natural resources, some of the richest mineral deposits on earth, would then be taken away from the European economy. And without free access to this, the economy of Europe wouldn't be worth two cents. All of your European countries would be of no more importance than a country like Norway, which is all right for Norwegians, but has no influence beyond that. It's just another country stuck up some place in the northern part, like Sweden and some of those places. Every European country would be just as insignificant as the smallest insignificant country in Europe right now if they lost the rest of Africa. Because the rest of Africa that's still colonized is the part of the African continent that's still backing up the European economy. And if the economy of Europe was to sink any farther, it would really wash away the American economy. American economy can never be any stronger than the European economy because both of them are one. It's one and the same economy.. They are brothers. I say this because it is necessary for you and me to understand what is at stake. You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't understand what is going on in the Congo. And you can't really be interested in what's going on in Mississippi if you're not also interested in what's going on in the Congo. They're both the same. The same interests are at stake. The same sides are drawn up, the same schemes are at work in the Congo that are at work in Mississippi. The same stake, no difference whatsoever.

Another frightening thing for this continent and the European continent is the fact that the Africans are trying to industrialize. One of the most highly industrialized African nations is Egypt. They have had a limited source of power up to now, but they are building a dam in upper Egypt, where the black Egyptians live. I was there, I took some pictures I'm going to show you some movies, probably on the first Sunday in January, a week from next Sunday. The Aswan Dam is something that everybody should see.

The Aswan is being built on the Nile in the heart of the desert, surrounded by mountains. One of the most outstanding things about this dam isn't so much its miraculous technical aspects, but the human aspects.
When you build a dam in an area where there's already vegetation, that's one thing. But this dam is being built in an area where there's no vegetation. Once this river is dammed, it will create a lake in the middle of the desert which will set up a water cycle, rain, you know, clouds, and all of that stuff, and it will turn the desert into a civilization, into a very fertile valley. In order for this artificial lake to be built in that way, from that dam, it washed away the homes of the Nubians, people who look just like you and I do, who have been living there for thousands of years. They had to replace them, they had to transplant them from where they were living for thousands of years to another area.

This in itself was an operation that would hold you spellbound if you could see all the aspects of it. It meant taking a people from one place and putting them in another place. The place where they had been was antiquated. Their methods, their customs, their homes were thousands of years old. But overnight these people, who lived that far in the past, were taken to new cities that had been built by the government. Modern cities, where they had modern schools, modern rooms in which to live, and modern hospitals. When you go into these new cities that are Nubian villages, the first thing you always see is a mosque. Their religion is Islam, they're Muslims.

The Egyptian government, the revolutionary government, differs from most revolutions in that it's one of the few revolutions that have taken place where religion has not been minimized. In most revolutions, religion is immediately de-emphasized. Eventually that revolution loses something. Always. But the thing about the Egyptian revolution was that it never de-emphasized the importance of religion. In these new cities, the first thing they build is a mosque, so people can practice their religion. Then they build schools so the people can be educated free; and then they build hospitals. They believe that the religious aspect keeps the people spiritually and morally balanced, and then everyone should have the best education and free hospitalization.

These new villages actually reflect the whole motive behind the Egyptian revolution. I found this quite interesting. I was there and could study it for two months. It's a balanced revolution. I go for revolution, but revolution

should always do something for the people and it should always keep them balanced. You don't find anybody that's more revolutionary than those people over there in Egypt; they're revolutionary, they're involved in every revolution that's going on on the African continent right now.

So the Aswan Dam creates enough additional power to make it possible to step up or speed up the industrialization of that particular African nation. And as their industrialization is stepped up, it means that they can produce their own cars, their own tractors, their own tools, their own machinery, plus a lot of other things. Not only Egypt, but Ghana too. Ghana is building a dam, they're damming the Volta River. There's the Volta High Dam, and it's being built for the purpose of increasing the power potential of Ghana, so that Ghana also can increase its industrial output.

As these African nations get in a position to increase their own power and to industrialize, what does it mean? It means that where they now are a market for American goods and America's finished products, and a market for European finished products, when they're able to finish their own products, they will be able to get their products cheaper because they're putting their own raw materials into the finished products. Now the raw materials are taken from Africa, shipped all the way to Europe, used to feed the machines of the Europeans, and make jobs for them, and then turned around and sold back to the Africans as finished products. But when the African nations become industrialized, they can take their own products and stick them in the machines and finish them into whatever they want. Then they can live cheaper. The whole system will be a system with a high standard of living but a cheaper standard of living.

This standard of living automatically will threaten the standard of living in Europe because it will cut off the European market. European factories can't produce unless they have some place to market the products. American factories can't produce unless she has some place to market her products. It is for this reason that the European nations in the past have kept the nations in Latin America and in Africa and in Asia from becoming industrial powers. They keep the machinery and the ability to produce and manufacture limited to Europe and limited to America. Then this puts America and the Europeans in a position to control the economy of all other nations and keep them living at a low standard.

These people are beginning to see that. The Africans see it, the Latin

Americans see it, the Asians see it. So when you hear them talking about freedom, they're not talking about a cup of coffee with a cracker. No, they're talking about getting in a position to feed themselves and clothe themselves and make these other things that, when you have them, make life worth living. So this is the way you and I have to understand the world revolution that's taking place right now.

When you understand the motive behind the world revolution, the drive behind the African and the drive behind the Asian, then you get some of that drive yourself. You'll be driving for real. The man downtown knows the difference between when you're driving for real and when you're driving not for real. As long as you keep asking about coffee, he doesn't have to worry about you; he can send you to Brazil. So these dams being set up over there in different parts of the continent are putting African nations in a position to have more power, to become more industrial and also to be self- sustained and self-sufficient.

In line with that: in the past it was the world bank, controlled again by Europeans and from Europe, that subsidized most of the effort that was being made by African nations and Asian nations to develop underdeveloped areas. But the African nations are now getting together and forming their own bank, the African bank. The details of it aren't as much in my mind as I would like them to be, but when I was in Lagos, Nigeria, they were having a meeting there. It was among African bankers and African nations, and the Organization of African Unity, which is the best thing that has ever happened on the African continent, had taken up as part of its program the task of getting all of the African nations to pool their efforts in creating an African bank, so that there would be an internal bank in the internal African structure to which underdeveloped African nations can turn for financial assistance in projects that they're trying to undertake that would be beneficial to the whole continent.

Politically, Africa as a continent, and the African people as a people, have the largest representation of any continent in the United Nations. Politically, the Africans are in a more strategic position and in a stronger position whenever a conference is taking place at the international level. Today, power is international, real power is international; today, real power is not local. The only kind of power that can help you and me is international power, not local power. Any power that's local, if it's real power, is only a reflection or a part of that international power. If you think

you've got some power, and it isn't in some way tied into that international thing, brother, don't get too far out on a limb.

If your power base is only here, you can forget it. You can't build a power base here. You have to have a power base among brothers and sisters. You have to have your power base among people who have something in common with you. They have to have some kind of cultural identity, or there has to be some relationship between you and your power base. When you build a power base in this country, you're building it where you aren't in any way related to what you build it on. No, you have to have that base somewhere else. You can work here, but you'd better put your base somewhere else. Don't put it in this man's hand. Any kind of organization that is based here can't be an effective organization. Anything you've got going for you, if the base is here, is not going to be effective. Your and my base must be at home, and this is not at home.

When you see that the African nations at the international level comprise the largest representative body and the largest force of any continent, why, you and I would be out of our minds not to identify with that power bloc. We would be out of our minds, we would actually be traitors to ourselves, to be reluctant or fearful to identify with people with whom we have so much in common. If it was a people who had nothing to offer, nothing to contribute to our well-being, you might be justified, even though they looked like we do; if there was no contribution to be made, you might be justified. But when you have people who look exactly like you, and you are catching hell, to boot, and you still are reluctant or hesitant or slow to identify with them, then you need to catch hell, yes. You deserve all the hell you get.

The African representatives, coupled with the Asians and Arabs, form a bloc that's almost impossible for anybody to contend with. The African-Asian-Arab bloc was the bloc that started the real independence movement among the oppressed peoples of the world. The first coming together of that bloc was at the Bandung conference. To show you the power of that bloc and the results that they've gotten and how well the Europeans know it: on the African continent, when I was there, one thing I noticed was the twenty-four-hour-a-day effort being made in East Africa to turn the African against the Asian; and in West Africa to turn the African against the Arab; and in parts of Africa where there are no Asians or Arabs, to turn the Muslim African against the Christian African. When you go over there

and study this thing, you can see that it is not something that's indigenous, it's not a divisive situation that's indigenous to the African himself. But someone realizes that the power of the oppressed black, brown, red and yellow people began at the Bandung conference, which was a coalition between the Arab and the Asian and the African, and how much pressure they've been able to put on the oppressor since then.

So, very shrewdly they have moved in. Now when you travel on the continent, you see the African in East Africa is being sicked on the Asian, there's a division taking place. And in West Africa he's being sicked on the Arab, there's a division taking place. And where the oppressor, this ingenious oppressor, diabolically ingenious, where he hasn't found an Asian to sic the African on, or an Arab to sic the African on, he uses the Muslim African against the Christian African. Or the one that believes in religion against the one that doesn't believe in religion. But the main thing he's doing is causing this division to in some way keep the African, the Arab and the Asian from beating up on him.

He's doing the same thing in British Guyana. He's got the black Guyanians down there fighting against the so-called Indians. He's got them fighting each other. They didn't fight each other when the British were there in full control. If you notice, as long as the place was an old-style colony, no fight. But as soon as the British are supposed to be moving away, the black one starts fighting the red one. Why? This is no accident. If they didn't fight before, they don't need to fight now. There's no reason for it. But their fighting each other keeps the man on top. The fact that he can turn one against the other keeps the man on top.

He does the same thing with you and me right here in Harlem. All day long. I turned on the radio last night. I heard them say, every hour on the hour, that James Farmer, the head of CORE, was going to Africa, Egypt and Israel. And they said the reason he was going was because he wanted to correct false statements made by black nationalist leader Malcolm X when he was over there. If I hadn't had this experience before, immediately I would have started blasting Farmer. But I called him up today. He said he didn't know what they were talking about. But why do they do it? They do it to make us fight each other. As long as we're fighting each other, we can't get at the man who should be fought against from the start. Do you understand? Once we see the strategy that they use at the international level, then we can better understand the strategy that they use at the

national and at the local level.

Lastly, I would like to point out my understanding of what I think is the position taken in African policy. Their policy, in a nutshell, is positive neutrality, non-alignment. They don't line up either way. Africa is for the Africans. And the Africans are for the Africans. The policy of the independent African states, by and large, is positive neutrality, non-alignment. Egypt is a good example. They take from East and West and don't take sides with either one. Nasser took everything Russia could give him, and then put all the communists in jail. Not that I mean the communists should necessarily have been put in jail. For the communist is a man, a capitalist is a man, and a socialist is a man. Well, if all of them are men, why should they be put in jail, unless one of them is committing a crime? And if being a communist or being a capitalist or being a socialist is a crime, first you have to study which of those systems is the most criminal. And then you'll be slow to say which one should be in jail.
I cite that as an example just to show what this positive neutrality means: If you want to help us, help us; we're still not with you. If you have a contribution to make to our development, do it. But that doesn't mean we're with you or against you. We're neutral. We're for ourselves. Whatever is good for us, that's what we're interested in. That doesn't mean we're against you. But it does mean we're for ourselves.

This is what you and I need to learn. You and I need to learn how to be positively neutral. You and I need to learn how to be non-aligned. And if you and I ever study the science of non-alignment, then you'll find out that there's more power in non-alignment than there is alignment. In this country, it's impossible for you to be aligned with either party. Either party that you align yourself with is suicide. Because both parties are criminal. Both parties are responsible for the criminal condition that exists. So you can't align yourself with a party.

What you can do is get registered so that you have power' political potential. When you register your political potential, that means your gun is loaded. But just because it's loaded, you don't have to shoot until you see a target that will be beneficial to you. If you want a duck, don't shoot when you see a bear; wait till you see a duck. And if you want a bear, don't shoot when see a duck; wait till you see a bear. Wait till you see what you want, then take aim and shoot!

What they do with you and me is tell us, "Register and vote." Don't register and vote, register! That's intelligent. Don't register and vote, you can vote for a dummy, you can vote for a crook, you can vote for another who'd want to exploit you. "Register" means being in a position to take political action any time, any place and in any manner that would be beneficial to you and me; being in a position to take advantage of our position. Then we'll be in a position to be respected and recognized. But as soon as you get registered, and you want to be a Democrat or a Republican, you are aligning. And once you are aligning, you have no bargaining power, none whatsoever. We've got a program we are going to launch, which will involve the absolute maximum registering of as many of our people as we can. But they will be registered as independents. And by being registered as independents, it means we can do whatever is necessary, wherever it's necessary, and whenever the time comes. Do you understand?

So, I say in my conclusion, we have a lady that I want to introduce you to, who I think is one of the best freedom fighters in America today. She's from Mississippi, and you've got to be a freedom fighter to even live in Mississippi. You've got to be a freedom fighter to live anywhere in this country, but especially Mississippi. This woman has been in the forefront of the struggle in Mississippi. I was on a program with her this afternoon. As I mentioned today, and you'll probably read about it tomorrow; they'll blow it up, and out of context, what we need in this country, and I believe it with all my heart, and with all my mind, and with all my soul, is the same type of Mau Mau here that they had over there in Kenya. Don't you ever be ashamed of the Mau Mau. They're not to be ashamed of. They are to be proud of. Those brothers were freedom fighters.

Not only brothers, there were sisters over there. I met a lot of them. They're brave. They hug you and kiss you, glad to see you. In fact, if they were over here, they'd get this problem straightened up just like that. I read a little story once, and Mau Mau proved it. I read a story once where someone asked some group of people how many of them wanted freedom. They all put up their hand. Think there were about 300 of them. Then the person says, "Well, how many of you are ready to kill anybody who gets in your way for freedom?" About fifty put up their hands. And he told those fifty, "You stand over here." That left 250 sitting who wanted freedom, but weren't ready to kill for it. So he told this fifty, "Now you wanted freedom and you said you'd kill anybody who'd get in your way. You see those 250? You get them first. Some of them are your own brothers and sisters and

mothers and fathers. But they're the ones who stand in the way of your freedom. They're afraid to do whatever is necessary to get it and they'll stop you from doing it. Get rid of them and freedom will come naturally."

I go for that. That's what the Mau Mau learned. The Mau Mau realized that the only thing that was standing in the way of the independence of the African in Kenya was another African. So they started getting them one by one, all those Toms. One after another, they'd find another Uncle Tom African by the roadside. Today they're free. The white man didn't even get involved, he got out of the way. That's the same thing that will happen here. We've got too many of our own people who stand in the way. They're too squeamish. They want to be looked upon as respectable Uncle Toms. They want to be looked upon by the white man as responsible. They don't want to be classified by him as extremist, or violent, or, you know, irresponsible. They want that good image. And nobody who's looking for a good image will ever be free. No, that kind of image doesn't get you free. You've got to take something in your hand and say, "Look, it's you or me." And I guarantee you he'll give you freedom then. He'll say, "This man is ready for it." I said something in your hand, I won't define what I mean by "something in your hand." I don't mean bananas.

So, we are honored to have with us tonight not only a freedom fighter, but some singers on that program today, I think they're all here; I asked them to come out tonight because they sang one song that just knocked me out. I'm not one who goes for "We Shall Overcome." I just don't believe, we're going to overcome, singing. If you're going to get yourself a .45 and start singing "We Shall Overcome," I'm with you. But I'm not for singing that doesn't at the same time tell you how to get something to use after you get through singing. I realize I'm saying some things that you think can get me in trouble, but, brothers, I was born in, trouble. I don't even care about trouble. I'm interested in one thing alone, and that's freedom, by any means necessary. So I'll bring you now the country's number one freedom-fighting woman.

[Mrs. Hamer speaks.]

Now you see why Mississippi is in trouble. And I hope that our brothers, especially our brothers here in Harlem, listened very well, very closely, to what I call one of this country's foremost freedom fighters. You don't have to be a man to fight for freedom. All you have to do is be an intelligent

human being. And automatically, your intelligence makes you want freedom so badly that you'll do anything, by any means necessary, to get that freedom. And I want Mrs. Hamer to know that anything we can do to help them in Mississippi, we're at their disposal. One of the things that we will definitely provide you with, because I think it's the only real help that you can get down there: You can let those hooded people know that, from here on in, when they start taking the lives of innocent black people, we believe in tit for tat. If I were to go home and find some blood on the leg of one of my little girls, and my wife told me that a snake bit the child, I'd go looking for the snake. And if I found the snake, I wouldn't necessarily take time to see if it had blood on its jaws. As far as I'm concerned the snake is the snake. So if snakes don't want someone hunting snakes indiscriminately, I say that snakes should get together and clean out their snakey house. If snakes don't want people running around indiscriminately chopping off the heads of snakes, my advice to snakes would be to keep their house in order. I think you well understand what I'm saying. Now those were twenty one snakes that killed those three brothers down there. Twenty-one of those are snakes. And there is no law in any society on earth that would hold it against anyone for taking the heads of those snakes.

Believe it, the whole world would honor you or honor anyone who did what the federal government refused to do. We should let them know that we believe in giving them what they deserve. There are brothers around the country right now, a lot of them, who feel like I do, a lot of them who feel like I do. I've even met white students who feel that way. When they tell me that they're liberal, I tell them, "Great, go get me one of those snake heads." I'm sincere about this. I think that there are many whites who are sincere, especially at the student level. They just don't know how to show their sincerity. They think that they're showing sincerity by going down there and encouraging our people to be nonviolent. That's not where it's at. Since they're white, they can get closer to whitey than we can. They can put on a sheet and walk right on into camp with the rest of them. I'm telling you how to do it: You're a liberal; get you a sheet. And get you something up under that sheet that you know how to use, and walk right on in that camp of sheeted people with the rest of them. And show how liberal you are. I'll come back and shake your hand all day long. I'll walk you around Harlem and tell everybody what a good white person you are. Because you've proved it. But I don't accept any nonviolent liberals. This doesn't mean that you've got to be violent; but it does mean that you can't be nonviolent.

# Malcolm X Introduces Fannie Lou Hamer (December 20, 1964)

Reverend Coles, Mrs. Hamer, honored guests, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies; also ABC and CBS and FBI and CIA.

I couldn't help but be very impressed at the outstart when the Freedom Singers were singing the song "Oginga Odinga" because Oginga Odinga is one of the foremost freedom fighters on the African continent. At the time he visited in Atlanta, Georgia, I think he was then the minister of home affairs in Kenya. But since Kenya became a republic last week, and Jomo Kenyatta ceased being the prime minister and became the president, the same person you are singing about, Oginga Odinga, is now Kenyatta's vice president. He's the number-two man in the Kenya government.

The fact that you would be singing about him, to me is quite significant. Two or three years ago, this wouldn't have been done. Two or three years ago, most of our people would choose to sing about someone who was, you know, passive and meek and humble and forgiving. Oginga Odinga is not passive. He's not meek. He's not humble. He's not nonviolent. But he's free.

Oginga Odinga is vice president under Jomo Kenyatta, and Jomo Kenyatta was considered to be the organizer of the Mau Mau; I think you mentioned the Mau Mau in that song. And if you analyze closely those words, I think you'll have the key to how to straighten the situation out in Mississippi. When the nations of Africa are truly independent—and they will be truly independent because they're going about it in the right way—the historians will give Prime Minister, or rather, President Kenyatta and the Mau Mau their rightful role in African history. They'll go down as the greatest African patriots and freedom fighters that that continent ever knew, and they will be given credit for bringing about the independence of many of the existing independent states on that continent right now. There was a time when their image was negative, but today they're looked upon with respect and their chief is the president and their next chief is the vice president.

I have to take time to mention that because, in my opinion, not only in Mississippi and Alabama, but right here in New York City, you and I can

best learn how to get real freedom by studying how Kenyatta brought it to his people in Kenya, and how Odinga helped him, and the excellent job that was done by the Mau Mau freedom fighters. In fact, that's what we need in Mississippi. In Mississippi we need a Mau Mau. In Alabama we need a Mau Mau. In Georgia we need a Mau Mau. Right here in Harlem, in New York City, we need a Mau Mau.

I say it with no anger; I say it with very careful forethought. The language that you and I have been speaking to this man in the past hasn't reached him. And you can never really get your point across to a person until you learn how to communicate with him. If he speaks French, you can't speak German. You have to know what language he speaks and then speak to him in that language.

When I listen to Mrs. Hamer, a black woman—could be my mother, my sister, my daughter—describe what they had done to her in Mississippi, I ask myself how in the world can we ever expect to be respected as men when we will allow something like that to be done to our women, and we do nothing about it? How can you and I be looked upon as men with black women being beaten and nothing being done about it, black children and black babies being beaten and nothing being done about it? No, we don't deserve to be recognized and respected as men as long as our women can be brutalized in the manner that this woman described, and nothing being done about it, but we sit around singing "We Shall Overcome."

We need a Mau Mau. If they don't want to deal with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, then we'll give them something else to deal with. If they don't want to deal with the Student Nonviolent Committee, then we have to give them an alternative. Never stick someone out there without an alternative or we waste our time. Give them this or give them that. Give them the choice between this or that.

When I was in Africa, I noticed some of the Africans got their freedom faster than others. Some areas of the African continent became independent faster than other areas. I noticed that in the areas where independence had been gotten, someone got angry. And in the areas where independence had not been achieved yet, no one was angry. They were sad—they'd sit around and talk about their plight, but they weren't mad. And usually, when people are sad, they don't do anything. They just cry over their condition.

But when they get angry, they bring about a change. When they get angry, they aren't interested in logic, they aren't interested in odds, they aren't interested in consequences. When they get angry, they realize the condition that they're in—that their suffering is unjust, immoral, illegal, and that anything they do to correct it or eliminate it, they're justified. When you and I develop that type of anger and speak in that voice, then we'll get some kind of respect and recognition, and some changes from these people who have been promising us falsely already for far too long.

So you have to speak their language. The language that they were speaking to Mrs. Hamer was the language of brutality. Beasts, they were, beating her—the two Negroes, they weren't at fault. They were just puppets. You don't blame the puppet, you blame the puppeteer. They were just carrying out someone else's orders. They were under someone else's jurisdiction. They weren't at fault; in a way they were, but I still won't blame them. I put the blame on that man who gave the orders. And when you and I begin to look at him and see the language he speaks, the language of a brute, the language of someone who has no sense of morality, who absolutely ignores law—when you and I learn how to speak his language, then we can communicate. But we will never communicate talking one language while he's talking another language. He's talking the language of violence while you and I are running around with this little chicken-picking type of language—and think that he's going to understand.

Let's learn his language. If his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun. Yes, I said if he only understands the language of a rifle, get a rifle. If he only understands the language of a rope, get a rope. But don't waste time talking the wrong language to a man if you want to really communicate with him. Speak his language—there's nothing wrong with that. If something was wrong with that language, the federal government would have stopped the cracker from speaking it to you and me.

I might say, secondly, some people wonder, well, what has Mississippi got to do with Harlem? It isn't actually Mississippi; it's America. America is Mississippi. There's no such thing as a Mason-Dixon Line—it's America. There's no such thing as the South—it's America. If one room in your house is dirty, you've got a dirty house. If the closet is dirty, you've got a dirty house. Don't say that that room is dirty but the rest of my house is clean. You're over the whole house. You have authority over the whole house; the entire house is under your jurisdiction. And the mistake that you and I make is letting these Northern crackers shift the weight to the Southern

crackers.

The senator from Mississippi is over the Judiciary Committee. He's in Washington, D.C., as Mrs. Hamer has pointed out, illegally. Every senator from a state where our people are deprived of the right to vote—they're in Washington, D.C., illegally. This country is a country whose governmental system is run by committees— House committees and Senate committees. The committee chairman occupies that position by dint of his seniority. Eastland is over the Judiciary Committee because he has more seniority than any other senator after the same post or on that committee; he's the chairman. Fulbright, another cracker, from Arkansas, is over the Foreign Relations Committee. Ellender, of Louisiana, is over the Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Russell, of Georgia, is over the Armed Services Committee.

And it goes right on down the line. Out of sixteen committees, ten of them are in the hands of Southern racists. Out of twenty congressional committees, thirteen are in the hands, or at least they were before the recent elections, in the hands of Southern racists. Out of forty-six committees that govern the foreign and domestic direction of this country, twenty-three are in the hands of Southern racists. And the reason they're in the hands of Southern racists is because in the areas from which they come, the black man is deprived of his right to vote.

If we had the ballot in that area, those racists would not be in Washington, D. C. There'd be some black faces there, there'd be some brown and some yellow and some red faces there. There'd be some faces other than those cracker faces that are there right now.

So, what happens in Mississippi and the South has a direct bearing on what happens to you and me here in Harlem. Likewise, the Democratic Party, which black people supported recently, I think, something like 97 per cent. All of these crackers—and that's what they are, crackers—they belong to the Democratic Party. That's the party they belong to—the same one you belong to, the same one you support, the same one you say is going to get you this and get you that. Why, the base of the Democratic Party is in the South. The foundation of its authority is in the South. The head of the Democratic Party is sitting in the White House. He could have gotten Mrs. Hamer into Atlantic City. He could have opened up his mouth and had her seated. Hubert Humphrey could have opened his mouth and had her

seated. Wagner, the mayor right here, could have opened up his mouth and used his weight and had her seated. Don't be talking about some crackers down in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia—all of them are playing the same game. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Cracker Party.

Now, I don't want to be stepping on toes or saying things that you didn't think I was going to say, but don't ever, ever, ever call me up here to talk about Mississippi. It's controlled right up here from the North. Mississippi is controlled from the North. Alabama is controlled from the North. These Northern crackers are in cahoots with the Southern crackers, only these Northern crackers smile in your face and show you their teeth and they stick the knife in your back when you turn around. You at least know what that man down there is doing and you know how to deal with him.

So all I say is this, this is all I say: when you start talking about one, talk about the others. When you start worrying about the part or the piece, worry about the whole. And if this piece is no good, the entire pie is no good, because it all comes out of the same plate. It's made up out of the same ingredients. Wagner is a Democrat. He belongs to the same party as Eastland. Johnson is a Democrat. He belongs to the same party as Eastland. Wagner was in Atlantic City, Ray Jones was in Atlantic City, Lyndon B. Johnson was in Atlantic City, Hubert Humphrey was in Atlantic City—the crackers that you voted for were in Atlantic City. What did they do for you when you wanted to sit down? They were quiet. They were silent. They said, "Don't rock the boat, you might get Goldwater elected... ."

I have this bit of suggestion. Find out what Wagner is going to do in behalf of this resolution, that you're trying to get through, before January 4. Find out in advance where does he stand on these Mississippi congressmen who are illegally coming up from the South to represent Democrats. Find out where the mayor of this city stands and make him come out on the record without dilly-dallying and without compromise. Find out where his friends stand on seating the Mississippians who are coming forth illegally. Find out where Ray Jones, who is one of the most powerful black Democrats in this city—find out where he stands. Before January 4. You can't talk about Rockefeller because he's a Republican. Although he's in the same boat right along with the rest of them.

So I say, in my conclusion, as Mrs. Hamer pointed out, the brothers and sisters in Mississippi are being beaten and killed for no reason other than

they want to be treated as first-class citizens. There's only one way to be a first-class citizen. There's only one way to be independent. There's only one way to be free. It's not something that someone gives to you. It's something that you take. Nobody can give you independence. Nobody can give you freedom. Nobody can give you equality or justice or anything. If you're a man, you take it. If you can't take it, you don't deserve it. Nobody can give it to you. So if you and I want freedom, if we want independence, if we want respect, if we want recognition, we obey the law, we are peaceful—but at the same time, at any moment that you and I are involved in any kind of action that is legal, that is in accord with our civil rights, in accord with the courts of this land, in accord with the Constitution—when all of these things are on our side, and we still can't get it, it's because we aren't on our own side.

We don't yet realize the real price necessary to pay to see that these things are enforced where we're concerned. And until we realize this, they won't be enforced where we're concerned. We have to let the people in Mississippi as well as in Mississippi, New York, and elsewhere know that freedom comes to us either by ballots or by bullets. That's the only way freedom is gotten. Freedom is gotten by ballots or bullets. These are the only two avenues, the only two roads, the only two methods, the only two means—either ballots or bullets. And when you know that, then you are careful how you use the word freedom. As long as you think we are going to sing up on some, you come in and sing. I watch you, those of you who are singing—are you also willing to do some swinging?

They've always said that I'm anti-white. I'm for anybody who's for freedom. I'm for anybody who's for justice. I'm for anybody who's for equality. I'm not for anybody who tells me to sit around and wait for mine. I'm not for anybody who tells me to turn the other cheek when a cracker is busting up my jaw. I'm not for anybody who tells black people to be nonviolent while nobody is telling white people to be nonviolent. I know I'm in the church, I probably shouldn't be talking like this—but Jesus himself was ready to turn the synagogue inside out and upside down when things weren't going right. In fact, in the Book of Revelations, they've got Jesus sitting on a horse with a sword in his hand, getting ready to go into action. But they don't tell you or me about that Jesus. They only tell you and me about that peaceful Jesus. They never let you get down to the end of the book. They keep you up there where everything is, you know, nonviolent. No, go and read the whole book, and when you get to Revelations, you'll find that even Jesus'

patience ran out. And when his patience ran out, he got the whole situation straightened out. He picked up the sword.

I believe that there are some white people who might be sincere. But I think they should prove it. And you can't prove it to me by singing with me. You can't prove it to me by being nonviolent. No, you can prove it by recognizing the law of justice. And the law of justice is "as ye sow, so shall ye reap." The law of justice is "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword." This is justice. Now if you are with us, all I say is, make the same kind of contribution with us in our struggle for freedom that all white people have always made when they were struggling for their own freedom. You were struggling for your freedom in the Revolutionary War. Your own Patrick Henry said "liberty or death," and George Washington got the cannons out, and all the rest of them that you taught me to worship as my heroes, they were fighters, they were warriors.

But now when the time comes for our freedom, you want to reach back in the bag and grab somebody who's nonviolent and peaceful and forgiving and long-suffering. I don't go for that—no. I say that a black man's freedom is as valuable as a white man's freedom. And I say that a black man has the right to do whatever is necessary to get his freedom that other human beings have done to get their freedom. I say that you and I will never get our freedom nonviolently and patiently and lovingly. We will never get it until we let the world know that as other human beings have laid down their lives for freedom—and also taken life for freedom—that you and I are ready and willing and equipped and qualified to do the same thing.

It's a shame that Mrs. Hamer came out here this afternoon where there are so few people. It's a shame. All of our people in Harlem should have heard her describe what they did to her down there. Because I think the people in Harlem are more capable of evening the score than people are anywhere else in this country. Yes, they are, and they need to hear her story. They need to know more, first hand, about what's happening down there, especially to our women. And then they need some lessons in tactics and strategy on how to get even. I, for one, will make the first contribution to any fund that's raised for the purpose of evening the score. Whenever someone commits murder, what do you do? You put out a "reward, wanted—dead or alive" for the murderer. Yes, learn how to do it. We've had three people murdered. No reward has been put on the head of the murderer. Don't just put a reward—put "dead or alive, dead or alive." And

let that Klan know that we can do it tit for tat, tit for tat. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

And if you all don't want to do it, we'll do it. We'll do it. We have brothers who are equipped, and who are qualified, and who are willing to—As Jesus said, "Little children, go thee where I send thee." We have brothers who can do that, and who will do that, and who are ready to do that. And I say that if the government of the United States cannot bring to justice people who murder Negroes, or people who murder those who are at the forefront fighting in behalf of Negroes, then it's time for you and me to retire quietly to our closets and devise means and methods of seeing that justice is executed against murderers where justice has not been forthcoming in the past.

I say in my conclusion that if you and I here in Harlem, who form the habit ofttimes of fighting each other, who sneak around trying to wait for an opportunity to throw some acid or some lye on each other, or sprinkle dust on each other's doorsteps—if you and I were really and truly for the freedom of our people, we wouldn't waste all of that energy thinking how to do harm to each other. Since you have that ingenuity, if you know how to do it, let me know; I'll give you some money and show you where to go, and show you who to do it to. And then you'll go down in history as having done an honorable thing.

So, Mrs. Hamer, we have another rally up at the Audubon tonight, at eight o'clock, where there'll be a lot of black people. I myself would like to have you tell them what you told us here this afternoon, so you are welcome to be my guest tonight if you will, at the Audubon. And those singers who sing about Oginga Odinga, if you haven't got anything else to do, you need to come up in Harlem and let some people hear you singing about Oginga Odinga and Kenyatta and Lumumba, and the next time you come to Harlem, you'll have a crowd out here. Thank you.

# Bernice Bass Interviews Malcolm X (December 27, 1964)

Bernice Bass: And now dear hearts, I think it important that we turn to our guest of honor at this time, Minister Malcolm X, the son of a Baptist minister. Good morning.

Malcolm X: How are you, Miss Bass?

Bass: Just fine, thank you. I suppose that's the question New York could ask you after your travels all over the African continent, Europe. We'd love to know exactly what you discovered and what you observed. Whether or not your viewpoints have changed any on the Afro-American questions.

Malcolm X: Well, I've done a lot of traveling and, I think over all, travel does broaden one's soul. If anything at all, that's probably the most important of what's happened to me during the past five or six months. I was fortunate to be able to spend, I think it was, two months in the Middle East and another two months in the African countries. And I think I visited Egypt, Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, and then Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, what was then Zanzibar and Tanganyika and is now Tanzania, also Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea, and Algiers, or rather Algeria. Then in Europe: Geneva, Paris, and London.

Bass: We who have not traveled have to rely solely on our communications media for the news that we get. What is disturbing and confusing, really, coming out of the African continent, is there unity among the African leaders there? Is there a cohesive effort or is it a divisive thing that has been reported so faithfully in the press, the American press.

Malcolm X: The Western press tries to make it appear that there is a division among Africans. In any bloc or group that has a common objective, you will find disagreements. But overall there's unity. I think—during World War II, America had her allies, and their common objective was to gain victory over a common enemy, but even within that body of allies, there were differences.

Bass: Just as there are today in NATO.

Malcolm X: Certainly, today. But usually Western powers think that they have a priority on the right to differ among themselves. Because when blocs that are other than Western show signs of being able to differ—or differences pop up, the Western press uses this to try and make it appear that they are savage, backward, not able to govern—things of that sort.

Bass: That's something I wanted to ask you about. I've noticed in the last couple of weeks all of the references to the Congo crisis, when they talked about the debate in the United Nations they have talked about going back to savagery, tribal practices, this kind of thing. And yet they have in Italy the fact that they have eighteen ballots cast just this week alone trying to elect a premier. They have also—before de Gaulle rose to power, they had a new premier of France every month. And no one considered that backward, and yet these were examples of civilization, culture, and so forth. How do the African delegates in this country and the African leaders in their own countries feel about this kind of characterization?

Malcolm X: Well the—I think this is one of the mistakes the West is making in its efforts to try and win the Africans on their side. The Africans, probably more so than ever before, are beginning to see the deceit and the double standard of measurement that's used when their own case is involved. And how it differs from that when the African case is involved. And this has gone a long ways toward making Africans question the motive of Western powers, including the United States.

It's not an accident that in the United Nations during this present session, for the first time during the nineteen or twenty years that the UN has been in existence, we find African foreign ministers who are openly accusing the United States of being an imperialist power and of practicing racism. In the past, these labels were always confined to the European colonial powers. But never was the United States itself singled out and labeled, identified as an imperialist power. Neither was the case of Black people in this country ever linked with what was happening to people on the African continent. And if there's any drastic departure from past procedures that have been reflected already in the present UN session, it's the tendency on the part of African representatives one after another all to link what's happening in the Congo with what's happening in Mississippi.

And for the first time, too, since the UN has been in existence, we have representatives of foreign governments referring to the releasing of the

twenty-one assassins of the civil rights workers. This was mentioned in the United Nations Security Council debate this week. And so all of this is a sign, or reflects the tendency on the part of Africans to identify completely with what is happening to the Black man in this country. And they also realize that there's an increasing tendency on the part of our people in this country to identify with what's going on or happening to our people on the African continent. And never are our people given the real picture.

One thing I will say for James Farmer, with whom I was in a discussion earlier this week. He is going to Africa. One radio report—I was riding home in my car one night, and I heard a radio newscaster say that James Farmer was going to Africa to counteract the false conceptions that I had given during my trip. Well, I called Farmer the next day. First I was in—I was irked, I was irritated, I was very angry. But then I began to remember what the press had done to me and done to others in trying to divide and conquer, and I called Mr. Farmer. And he said he knew absolutely nothing about what this particular newscaster had reported. And then I had a personal conversation with him a little later on, which I found to be very intelligent and very objective on his part. And he explained then that he was going to take a fact-finding trip to Africa, and visit many of these places. And he had done so under the auspices of the Big Six to find out—they want to know for themselves the African story. And whether or not the news of Africa is being properly reported in this country. Which I think is a very progressive move on the part of those people who have been set up to lead Black people in this country.

Bass: Was this an outgrowth of—I think they've had two meetings—all of the Big Six in Washington, members of the State Department, and so forth, and African representatives—in the attempt to bridge the gap?

Malcolm X: Because those who are invited are able to see that the problem of the Black people in this country is not an isolated problem. It's not a Negro problem or an American problem. It's part of the world problem. It's a human problem.

Bass: May I ask you this—can I interrupt you a moment to ask you this: I'm concerned over the habit that the communications media has picked up of identifying Black people in Africa as Negroes and then Black people here as Negroes....

Malcolm X: Well, that's because at one time Africa, the word African, was used in this country in a derogatory way. But now, since Africa has gotten—it's getting its independence and there are so many independent African states. The image of the African has changed from negative to positive. And the white man in this country does not like to give us anything positive that we can identify with. And since he can't stop the independence movement of the people on that continent, he's trying to change the label. Trying to change that which they call themselves to put them in the same category with us. But I don't think they'll be very successful at that.

Bass: Well, how do the African delegates in this country and the people, the leaders, how do they feel about it?

Malcolm X: They don't accept the word Negro at all. No one accepts the word Negro but our people in this country, and it's only because we've been mistaught, misguided, misled, and misinformed.

Bass: We've reached a very good point at which to pause in order to identify both the program and the station. By this time you know this is "Community Corner" here in New York City and your hostess for this period as she has been for the last three-and-a-half years is Bernice Bass and our guest here is the son of a Baptist minister, the Honorable Minister Malcolm X....

Malcolm X: I never accept the term "honorable."

Bass: That's a beautiful title.

Malcolm X: Well, I'll tell you. Most people I've seen really end up misusing it, and I'd rather just be your Brother Malcolm.

Bass: I've got a big family, but I can always use additional. I hope my mother will not be disturbed about it—but I find most people are honorable, whether they wear the title or not. We have a few brothers who aren't. Getting back to what you saw when you were in Africa, how are the countries developing and how—when you hear all this business about the tremendous amount of aid that the United States is giving all of these countries. Are they developing? What plans do they have?

Malcolm X: Yes, one of the countries developing the most swiftly is Egypt. Egypt's development is tremendous and also Ghana. Ghana, probably, and Egypt are the forefront. Ghana is a remarkable country, a remarkably progressive country. And I think that it might even interest you, and by the way, it might interest you to know that one of the most progressive moves Ghana has made is to start establishing, installing, a television network. And I was taken through this television studio and plant by Mrs. Du Bois, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois's wife, who is the director of television in Ghana. She—to my knowledge, she's the only Black director of television in Africa. I may be wrong, but the only one I know of is she. And she's a woman, and she's an Afro-American, and I think that should make Afro-American women mighty proud.

She's one of the most intelligent women I've ever met, and not only is she the director of television, but she took me on a tour of Tema, which is a new industrial city. It's a new city that has been set up by President Nkrumah which has the most advanced type of machinery and everything else in it. And one of the things that exists in this city is the publishing plant—the most modern publishing plant on the African continent. The machines are tremendous, and it can reproduce any type of magazine, book, or newspaper in the best form and of the best quality. And there are many other aspects of the Ghanaian life that I found to be quite progressive.

I was saying—if I may continue—I was in a hotel in Cairo, the Shepheard's Hotel in Cairo, and there was a group of students that had traveled the African continent from a certain college here in this country. And Africa was their last stop before embarking for the States. I was in conversation with some of them in the lobby of the Shepheard's and they were conveying some of their impressions. And they were greatly enthused over Senghor in Senegal, collectively. And they were, at the same time, disillusioned with Nkrumah in Ghana, collectively. They had a tendency to criticize and condemn Nkrumah, but at the same time pat Senghor of Senegal on the back. Later on in the conversation, while they were pointing out the negative conditions that existed in Senegal—how Dakar had poverty, beggars, and things of that sort—and at the same time they were speaking of the actions of beggars and the progressiveness of the Ghanaian people and how they all looked industrious and seemed to be making a contribution to the whole overall forward movement—progressive movement forward.

So I answered that. These were students. How could they say that Senghor was such a great president and at the same time speak of the negative conditions that his people were in and also turn around and say that they have criticisms for Nkrumah? They have to admit that the negative conditions didn't exist in Nkrumah's country. So, what I gather from this, that their yardstick of measurement for leadership was not what the leader was doing for his people and his country, but the attitude that that particular leader had toward this country and the attitude that this country had toward that leader.

They weren't using a real yardstick to measure that person's abilities. So I thought I would throw this in because to me it was quite indicative of the entire attitude of the power structure here toward the African countries and African leaders. If African leaders are manipulated—if they can be manipulated by the power structure here, no matter how negative the conditions remain in that particular leader's country, this power structure turns its propaganda machine for the benefit, for the benefit of that African leader. But by the same token, if it's an African leader that they can't manipulate and use as a puppet, then they turn their propaganda machine upon that particular leader and make him appear as a dictator or some type of monstrosity and misinform and mislead the American public this way.

Bass: May I ask you—one of the points that you have not yet made in regard to that problem is the fact that the Ghanaian women there seem to be emerging on the scene at all levels.

Malcolm X: One thing I noticed in both the Middle East and Africa, in every country that was progressive, the women were progressive. In every country that was underdeveloped and backward, it was to the same degree that the women were undeveloped, or underdeveloped, and backward.

Bass: What you're saying is the women are actually playing a part there, in Africa ?

Malcolm X: Well, no, I'm saying this: that it's noticeable that in these type of societies where they put the woman in a closet and discourage her from getting a sufficient education and don't give her the incentive by allowing her maximum participation in whatever area of the society where she's

qualified, they kill her incentive. And killing her incentive, she kills the incentive in her children. And the man himself has no competition so he doesn't develop to his fullest potential. So in the African countries where they opt for mass education, whether it be female or male, you find that they have a more valid society, a more progressive society. And Ghana is one of the best examples of this. Egypt was also another example of this.

Bass: Well, certainly. I remember when the White Paper came out issued by Kwame Nkrumah on this business of polygamy. There was a great deal of talk, discussion back and forth, and I remember I interviewed a young lady from the Ghanaian embassy here and—is polygamy—was it there or did you get a chance to notice it?

Malcolm X: Well, how would you know? I didn't have any yardstick that I could use to determine...

Bass: I thought in conversation, not actual...

Malcolm X: Well, their conversation differs from the conversation over here. They aren't so inclined to talk about their...

Bass: Personal lives...

Malcolm X: ...as is the case in this society.

Bass: Well, isn't that funny. Now, I'm thinking of [name unintelligible], I think, from here at the United Nations from Nigeria. He stirred a great deal of controversy when he came out in favor of polygamy when he was speaking before a women's group pressing for women's rights at the United Nations.

Malcolm X: Well, he stirred up even more controversy this time by pressing for United States' right to drop bombs on defenseless African villages.

Bass: Well, I'm telling you—you've been talking about Ghana. How does Ghana compare to Nigeria in terms of development, in terms of their handling of national affairs and that sort of thing?

Malcolm X: Well, the Nigerian people are great. You never can find any people anywhere in Africa more hospitable and brotherly and who will

welcome you more warmly than the people in Nigeria. But by the same token the United States influence in Nigeria has turned it almost into a colony. And there are conditions that exist in Nigeria that are very explosive. They're getting ready to have elections this week, which could turn Nigeria into another Congo.

Nigeria is one of the richest countries on the African continent—one of the most beautiful of the African countries. But by the same token you'll find beggars there, you find poverty there. You don't find new cities. You find beggars and poverty in Lagos, which you don't see in Ghana.

I don't in any way condemn or criticize the Nigerian people. I think Nigeria's problems stem primarily from the over-exertion on the part of outside interests. The United States presence in Nigeria is far beyond what it should be, and its influence is far beyond what it should be.

I might say, Miss Bass, in most of the African countries that are the most pro-American or the most inseparably interwoven into the American way of thought, you find that the conditions, economic conditions, of those countries are usually the worst.

Bass: Like Liberia.

Malcolm X: Well name whichever you like. But you'd be surprised. The countries that are identified with America the most are the ones that are the most backward and the ones that have the most problems.

Bass: Now the ones that are the most progressive, they are most closely identified with what power?

Malcolm X: Well, they're more closely identified with themselves. I don't think that one can—there's a tendency here in America again, to try and project any African nation that isn't on America's apron strings as linked with some other power. But the Africans themselves want to be Africans. They don't want to be identified with any of the what's known as European philosophies or Occidental or Western philosophies. They want what's good for Africa. They want to take out of any other philosophy that which they can adopt to their own needs and to their own development. But to be identified with either the Communist bloc or the capitalist bloc, I don't think you'll find any African country or African leader who will buy that—

he's for Africa.

And during the five weeks that I was there, I took some excellent movies, by the way, which I'm going to show at the Audubon Ballroom this time Friday night. I took movies in Egypt that were—I think no one else has them. I'll just say that they're unique—exclusives, yes. I was at the 23rd of July independence celebration in Egypt when Haile Selassie, President Nkrumah, all of the heads of state were there. And they were watching President Nasser's display of weaponry that is unequaled on the African continent. You've got to see these films to see the massive military might that President Gamal Abdel Nasser has developed there in Egypt. Then you can see why he's in a position to openly state that he will support the Congo freedom fighters, and you can also see why it caused so much concern here in the West.

Bass: But now I'd ask you—at the same time he announced his intention to do that, he's also stepping up his request for aid from the United States to the tune of 35 to 40 billion dollars in surplus food.

Malcolm X: President Nasser took all of the aid that was forthcoming from Russia to build the Aswan Dam and turned around and put the Communists in jail in his country. Which shows he doesn't take aid for those countries to tell him what he can do. If they're interested in objectively contributing to the development of his country and his people, then he takes the aid. He'll take American aid with no strings attached. But if there are strings attached, he does exactly what he says in the paper, he tells them to go jump in the lake.

Bass: Well, that's interesting. Except that—you begin to wonder when it's done on an international level, not just with Nasser but all the others, too. Practical reality tells you, you can't get something for nothing. And when they come after you for money or aid or what have you, what are they giving in return? I can't understand...

Malcolm X: You've got to consider that these Western powers are in the economic position of strength that exists in their countries today only because of their past exploitation of these same areas. They're not giving aid, they're only returning some of what was taken.

Bass: But in business, you don't do this. You know what I mean. What

you're saying anyhow talking about a moral right and I agree...

Malcolm X: I don't talk moral...

Bass: But I'm talking about a practical business standpoint. I have amassed so many billions of dollars. You are now struggling. You are asking for a loan. I can or cannot give...

Malcolm X: One of the reasons I'm struggling is because you took from me the...

Bass: Ah ha.

Malcolm X: ...the billions of dollars that you have.

Bass: You know, somebody once said—not talking about the international scene—but they once said that if all the wealth in the world were divided equally, in a matter of years or in a specified amount of time, most of the people who had the wealth previously would have it again.

Malcolm X: That's because most of them who have it are more shrewd at thievery and those other things that bring it about.

Bass: Now, when all these other countries begin to get as prosperous as the Western powers, will they then be accused of having gotten that way through thievery or will theirs be shrewdness and cunning?

Malcolm X: Well, you see these people—look at in terms of business. In business it's called profit sharing. And...

Bass: I wonder...

Malcolm X: If you check today's New York Times, they're saying the Egyptian situation with Gamal AbJel Nasser—in the Sunday Times it was—Arnold Toynbee, he is supposed to be one of the brains in this era, he says, and I quote: "Dr. Toynbee regards the Middle East as an area of growing importance. Nasser has been tactless in his dealings with other Arab leaders, but he is the first ruler to do anything for the Egyptian peasants. The pyramids were built for the rulers of Egypt, but the Aswan High Dam for the good of the people. Nasser will continue to be a big force

in the Arab world; I myself rather like and admire him. I've noticed quite a prejudice against Nasser in this country, Americans seem to assume that he is a dictator, a bad man. I don't agree with that." This is Toynbee.

Bass: Yes, I know. He used to say about two or three years ago, in talking about Martin Luther King—said that in his opinion, his espousal of nonviolence was perhaps one of the savings of Christianity in the Western world.

Malcolm X: It probably would be the savings of Christianity in the Western world, even if it wasn't the savings of the Negroes...

Bass: No, he didn't say Negroes. He said Christianity. I'd like to know about the impact of the various American missionaries, all the religious feeling, on the African continent. I find that in other reports that have come in, that Islam, the religion of Islam, seems to be making great strides and Christianity is not doing very well there, and I wonder, why?

Malcolm X: This is true. The religion of Islam has spread rapidly in Africa and is still spreading quite rapidly in Africa. It's a very powerful force. And the religion of Christianity has run into what you might call a stone wall. There's a tendency on the part of our people in that area to link Christianity with the European colonial powers that have dominated and exploited these past years. And Islam is a religion that's won more acceptance. It s easier to fit, it fits right in to the nature of one's everyday life. In fact it's a natural religion. It's a religion that's easier to practice.

Bass: Well! let me see—and I'm trying to remember now—who was it who said one of the missionaries was talking about his impressions of Africa—I've forgotten what country it was involved at the time—that when he got there he was surprised to find other missionaries who were teaching the natives Christianity, insisting on the natives coming through the back door while their white compatriots came through the front door. And this new white missionary to Africa found this a bit strange, since they were all reading the same Bible.

Malcolm X: Well, this is why Islam is spreading. Islam has no color bar in it at all. Islam has no—there's nothing in Islam that teaches one to judge a man by the color of his skin. No matter what color you are in Islam—you're a Muslim, you're a brother

Bass: That's interesting, hearing you say that, in view of some of your former statements...

Malcolm X: Well, notice all of my former statements were prefaced by "the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches thus and so." They weren't my statements, they were his statements, and I was repeating them.

Bass: Parroting them. The same thing you accuse Judge Thurgood Marshall of doing once upon a time.

Malcolm X: And now the parrot has jumped out of the cage.

Bass: Well, that's interesting, we're going to see what else he does. Good morning....

Caller: I'm calling from Manhattan. I would like to ask: Why do the Arabs discriminate against the Black man? And especially I read about the Sudan where they attacked and killed Negroes just because they were black.

Bass: Perhaps Minister Malcolm X can answer that.

Malcolm X: My own—when I was in East Africa, I noticed that there was a strong feeling among the Africans along the East African coast against the Asians. When I went to West Africa, I noticed that there was a strong feeling among the Africans against the Arabs. And in parts of Africa where there were neither Asians or Arabs, I noticed a strong feeling among Africans—if they were Muslim, it was against Africans who were Christian, or if they were Christian, it was against Africans who were Muslim.

And when you study the divisive forces at work on the African continent today, you'll find that these divisive forces are not indigenous to the African or the African continent, but they are coming from outside. And the powers that have ruled Africa in the past are aware that the real independence of Africa began to take its impetus from the Bandung Conference, which was a forging together of the Asian-Arab-African bloc. And this bloc, with no nuclear weapons or weapons of modern warfare, were able to gain a great deal toward independence against the European powers, because of their numerical strength, their unity.

So these powers realize that they've been pushed against the wall during recent years and the only weapon that they have against this force that has been pushing them against the wall is divide and conquer—the tactic that they've always used. So that, if I may finish, so that in every area where you find people who have been colonized and oppressed today striving toward freedom, you find that whereas in the past they got along, today they're fighting each other. Just like in British Guyana—it's the Asians against the Black man. And this is not indigenous trouble that stems from the people themselves. It's instigated by outside forces. And then it's blown up to give the impression that the fight that's going on among them or between them is something other than what it actually is.

Bass: May I ask you this—now you say this is not indigenous to the African continent and then of course, you just mentioned British Guyana. But if you look at history, don't you find that all continents or all groups of people in a wide geographical area usually come up with differences within themselves—Canada for instance, the United States. It's not just Africa alone.

Malcolm X: Certainly. But when these differences come up and they are normal, or natural...

Bass: Hold on just a minute.

Malcolm X: ...you'll find that they usually take a different pattern than that which is developing on the African continent or in British Guyana. Because if the Asians and the Blacks in British Guyana could live so much in harmony together when the British were there, you tell me why now that the British are being pushed out, or they're being threatened with being pushed out, that all of a sudden the power that could push them out—instead of pushing them out begins to fight among themselves. This is not an accident. And the same pattern is developing in different parts of the world. It's divide and conquer.

Bass: Does that answer your question, sir?

Caller: Ma'am, for clearness' sake you should also talk about the Arabs. I think for clearness' sake you should also mention the Arab role in—as slave traders and the hatred that would stem from that.

Bass: Did you hear that, Minister Malcolm X? Now we're going to hang up, but he's going to answer that.

Malcolm X: I don't condone slavery, no matter who it's carried on by. And I think that—I don't condone slavery no matter who carries it on. And I think that every power that has participated in slavery of any form on this earth, in history, has paid for it, except the United States. All of your European powers that colonized, your—the part that the Arabs played in the enslavement of Africans, all of them who played a part have lost their empire, lost their power, lost their position, except the United States. The United States was the recipient of the slaves, and she's the only one up till now who has yet to pay.

Bass: Do you want—what's your prognosis for the future as regards the United States, as we get ready to leave our breathless listening audience?

Malcolm X: The Bible, in the Book of Revelations, says he that leads into captivity shall go into captivity. This is in the thirteenth chapter, the one that the preacher thought didn't exist. It says he who leads into captivity shall go into captivity. He who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword. This is justice. So I don't think that any power can enslave a people and not look forward to having that justice come back upon itself.

Bass: Well, Minister Malcolm X, thank you for visiting. We need to have you back time and time and time again so that we can eventually touch on some of the points of interest that intrigue our listening audience. Now we don't want our listeners to forget that you are going to be showing movies taken on your trip at the Audubon Ballroom at what time?

Malcolm X: At eight o'clock Sunday night, the Audubon Ballroom.

Bass: At eight o'clock Sunday night, here in New York City. Minister Malcolm X himself.

# Claude Lewis Interviews Malcolm X (December, 1964)

Claude Lewis: I notice you're growing a beard. What does that mean? Is it a symbol of anything?

Malcolm X: It has no particular meaning, other than it probably reflects a change that I've undergone and am still undergoing.

Lewis: Then will you shave it off one day?

Malcolm X: Certainly. I might leave it on forever, or I might shave it off in the morning. I'm not dogmatic about anything. I don't intend to get into any more straitjackets.

Lewis: What do you mean, any more straitjackets?

Malcolm X: I don't intend to let anybody make my mind become so set on anything that I can't change it according to the circumstances and conditions that I happen to find myself in.

Lewis: I see. You've been traveling a good deal recently. Can you tell me a little bit about the experiences relative to your movement? Where you've been and...

Malcolm X: Well I was in Cairo, in Mecca, Arabia; in Kuwait, in Beirut, Lebanon; Khartoum, Sudan; Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, Nairobi in Kenya, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam in what is now Tanzania and Lagos, Nigeria; Accra in Ghana, Monrovia in Liberia and Conakry in Guinea, and Algiers in Algeria. And during my tour of those various cities, or countries, I spent an hour and a half with President Nasser in Egypt; I spent three hours with President Nyerere president of Tanganuika or Tanzania; I spent several days with Jomo Kenyatta and in fact I flew with Jomo Kenyatta and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda from Tanganyika, from Dar es Salaam to Kenya. I saw Azikwe and I had an audience with Azikwe; also with President Nkrumah and I lived three days in Sekou Toure's house in Conakry. And I cite this to show that everywhere I went I found people at all levels of government and out of government with open minds, open

hearts, and open doors.

Lewis: I see. How long was the trip?

Malcolm X: I was away almost five months.

Lewis: And do you think you've learned very much?

Malcolm X: Oh yes, I've learned a great deal because in each country that I visited, I spoke with people at all levels. I had an open mind. I spoke with heads of state, I spoke with their ministers, I spoke with cabinet members, I spoke with kings; I was the guest of State again when I re-visited Saudi Arabia, I spoke with members of King Faisal's family—I don't know how many foreign ministers I spoke with in the Middle East and in Africa and all of them discussed our problems quite freely.

Lewis: The Negro problem in America?

Malcolm X: Oh yes, yes!

Lewis: Did they seem to know much about it?

Malcolm X: Oh yes. Not only did they seem to know much about it, but they were very sympathetic with it. In fact, it's not an accident that in the United Nations during the debate on the Congo problem in the Security Council, that almost every one of the African foreign ministers tied in what was happening in the Congo with what's happening in Mississippi.

Lewis: Do you think this changes the minds of any of the Mississippians here in this country?

Malcolm X: Well, the Mississippian—it's not a case of changing the mind of the Mississippian as much as it's a case of changing the mind of the Americans. The problem is not a Mississippi problem, it's an American problem.

Lewis: Do you think that it's getting any better, the situation here?

Malcolm X: No! It'll never get any better until our people in this country learn how to speak the same language that the racists speak. If a man

speaks French, you can't talk to him in German. In order to communicate, you have to use the same language he's familiar with. And the language of the racist in the South is the language of violence. It's the language of brutality, and power and retaliation.

Lewis: You think this is what the Negro should subscribe to?

Malcolm X: The Negro should—if he's going to communicate—subscribe to whatever language the people use that you're trying to communicate with. And when you're dealing with racists, they only know one language. And if you're not capable of adopting that language or speaking that language, you don't need to try and communicate with those racists.

Lewis: Dr. Martin Luther King, the other night, was honored in Harlem after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. And he said, if I can quote him, "If blood must flow on the streets, brothers, let it be ours."

Malcolm X: I was sitting in the audience. I heard him say that.

Lewis: What do you think of that statement?

Malcolm X: I think that if there's going to be a flowing of blood, that it should be reciprocal. The flow of blood should be two ways. Black people shouldn't be willing to bleed, unless white people are willing to bleed. And black people shouldn't be willing to be nonviolent, unless white people are going to be nonviolent.

Lewis: Well, do you think the majority of Americans are nonviolent?

Malcolm X: No. If the majority of Americans were nonviolent, America couldn't continue to exist as a country. Is America nonviolent in the Congo, or is she nonviolent in South Vietnam? You can't point to a place where America's nonviolent. The only people that they want to be nonviolent are American Negroes. We're supposed to be nonviolent. When the world becomes nonviolent, I'll become nonviolent. When the white man becomes nonviolent, I'll become nonviolent.

Lewis: I've heard talk recently about Negroes getting money together and hiring a mafia to take care of some of the murderers.

Malcolm X: You don't need to hire a mafia but units should be trained among our people who know how to speak the language of the Klan and the Citizens Council. And at any time any Ku Klux Klan inflicts any kind of brutality against any Negro, we should be in a position to strike back. We should not go out and initiate violence against white indiscriminately, but we should absolutely be in a position to retaliate against the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. Especially, since the government seems to be incapable or unwilling to curtail the activities of the Klan.

Lewis: Can you tell me a little bit about your new program, if you have a new program?

Malcolm X: We're not unveiling our new program until January. But I will say this, that the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which I'm the chairman of, intends to work with any group that's trying to bring about maximum registration of Negroes in this country. We will not encourage Negroes to become registered Democrats or Republicans. We feel that the Negro should be an independent, so that he can throw his weight either way. He should be nonaligned. His political philosophy should be the same as that of the African, absolute neutrality or nonalignment. When the African makes a move, his move is designed to benefit Africa. And when the Negro makes a move, our move should be designed to benefit us; not the Democratic party or the Republican party or some of these machines. So, our program is to make our people become involved in the mainstream of the political structure of this country but not politically naive. We think that we should be educated in the science of politics so that we understand the very workings of it, what it should produce, and who is responsible when that which we are looking for doesn't materialize.

Lewis: Do you tell people what they want to hear, essentially?

Malcolm X: I tell them what I've got on my mind to tell them, whether they like it or not. And I think that most people would have to agree. I don't think anybody could ever accuse me of telling people just what they want to hear. Because most of them don't want to hear what I'm saying, especially white people.

Lewis: Do you think the Negro can succeed in America through the vote?

Malcolm X: Well, independence comes only by two ways; by ballots or

by bullets. Historically you'll find that everyone who gets freedom, they get it through ballots or bullets. Now naturally everyone prefers ballots, and even I prefer ballots but I don't discount bullets. I'm not interested in either ballots or bullets, I'm interested in freedom. I'm not interested in the means, I'm interested in the objective. So I believe that black people should get free by ballot or bullets. If we can't use ballots to get free, we should use bullets. Yes, yes, I believe that black people should be just as quick to use bullets as ballots. The white man has not given us anything. It's not something that is his to give. He is not doing us a favor when he permits us a few liberties. So I don't think we should approach it like that; I don't think we should approach our battle like we're battling a friend. We're battling an enemy. Anybody who stands in the way of the black man being free is an enemy of the black man, and should be dealt with as an enemy.

Lewis: Would you say there are some blacks in that group?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. A lot of black people in that group. But they are not independent, they're puppets. You don't worry about the puppet, you worry about the puppeteer.

Lewis: You've been threatened; do you take those threats lightly?

Malcolm X: I don't take anything lightly. I don't take life lightly. But I never worry about dying. I don't see how a Negro can start worrying about dying at this late date. But I think that Negro organizations that talk about killing other Negroes should first go and talk to somebody about practicing some of their killing skill on the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council.

Lewis: What do you think of Dr. King?

Malcolm X: He's a man. He's a human being that is trying to keep Negroes from exploding, so white folk won't have too much to worry about.

Lewis: Would you say that he's getting in the way of Negro progress?

Malcolm X: Of Negro what?

Lewis: Progress?

Malcolm X: Well the Negro will never progress nonviolently.

Lewis: What were your thoughts when King was receiving the award last week?

Malcolm X: Well, to me it represented the fact that the struggle of the Negro in this country was being endorsed at the international level and that it was looked upon as a problem that affects the peace of the world. And it was looked upon as a human problem or a problem for humanity, rather than just a Mississippi problem or an American problem.
To me, King getting that Nobel Peace Prize—it wasn't King getting it—it represented the awareness on the part of the world that the race problem in America could upset the peace of the world. And this is true. If King can get—see I don't think that King got the prize because he had solved our people's problem, cause we still got the problem. He got the Peace Prize, and we got the problem. And so I don't think he should have gotten the medal for that. On the other hand, if Negroes can get it nonviolently, good.

Lewis: Are you in favor of that?

Malcolm X: I'm not in favor of anything that doesn't get the solution. But if Negroes can get freedom nonviolently, good. But that's a dream. Even King calls it a dream. But I don't go for no dream. And the only way that you can think Negroes can get it nonviolently, is dream. But when you get out here and start facing the reality of it, Negroes are the victims of violence every day. So I'd rather get violent, right along with the white man.

Lewis: Have you ever received an award of any kind for your work?

Malcolm X: No...Yes, I've received an award. Whenever I walk the street and I see people ready to get with it. That's my reward. Whenever people come out, they know in advance what I'm going to talk about. And if they show any sign of interest in it or agreement with it, that's my reward. And when they show that they're fed up with this slow pace, you know, that's my reward.

Lewis: When King received his medal, did you sort of wish that it was yours?

Malcolm X: I don't want the white man giving me medals, If I'm following a general, and he's leading me into battle, and the enemy begins to give him

awards, I get suspicious of him. Especially if he gets the peace award before the war is over.

Lewis: You don't propose that Negroes leave the U.S.?

Malcolm X: I propose that we have the right to do whatever is necessary to bring about an answer to our problem. And whatever is necessary, if it's necessary to leave to get a solution then we should leave. If we can get a solution staying here, then we should stay. The main thing we want is a solution.

Lewis: Well, do you think things have changed very much since you grew up?

Malcolm X: They've changed in this sense. If you're a butler for a poor white man, you're a butler and you live but so well and you eat but so well. But if your master becomes rich, you begin to eat better and you begin to live better, but you're still a butler. And the only change that has been made in this society—we occupied a menial position twenty years ago. Our position hasn't changed. Our condition has changed somewhat, but our position hasn't changed. And the change that has been brought about, has been only to the extent that this country has changed. The white man got richer, we're living a little better. He got more power, we got a little more power, but we're still at the same level in his system. You understand what I'm saying?

Lewis: Oh yes. Oh yes.

Malcolm X: Our position has never changed. If you sit at the back of the plane and it's going a hundred miles an hour, and you're on the back of the plane, well it can start going a thousand miles an hour; you're going faster, but you're still at the back of the plane. And that's the same way with the Negro in this society, we started out at the rear and we're still in the rear. Society is going faster, but we're still in the rear. And we think we've made progress because they've made progress.

Lewis: Why do you stay in America? Wouldn't it be easier for you to...

Malcolm X: I was offered some good positions in several countries that I went to. Good positions, that would solve my problems personally. But I

feel pretty much responsible for much of the action and energy that has been stirred up among our people for rights and for freedom. And I think I'd be wrong to stir it up and then run away from it myself.

Lewis: Do you expect further riots next year?

Malcolm X: Yes. I expect that the miracle of 1964 was the degree of restraint that Negroes displayed in Harlem. The miracle of 1964 was the ability of the Negroes to restrain themselves and contain themselves. Because there is no place where Negroes are more equipped and capable of retaliation than right here in Harlem.

Lewis: Can you give me a capsule opinion of some of the following people? Adam Clayton Powell.

Malcolm X: Powell is actually the most independent black politician in America. He's in a better position to do more for black people than any other politician...

Lewis: Is he doing it?

Malcolm X: ...and the reason that he's in that position is because he's in an area where people support him. They support him, whereas many other Negro politicians don't get that type of support. People in Harlem are just independent-minded. They just vote for a black man, whether the machine likes it or not. So Powell is in a tremendous position. And with his position also goes responsibility. I think that he should see his responsibilities with the same clarity that he sees his powerful position.

Lewis: What about Roy Wilkins?

Malcolm X: Well, I heard Roy at the rally the other night that he was three-fourths or one-fourth Scandinavian. And he seemed to be lost in that Scandinavian dream somewhat, that night.

Lewis: Martin Luther King, well—we've talked about him.

Malcolm X: Well, every time I hear Martin he's got a dream, And I think the Negro leaders have to come out of the clouds, and wake up, and stop dreaming and start facing reality.

Lewis: Do you ever think of Whitney Young?

Malcolm X: Whitney seems to be more down to earth, but he doesn't spend enough time around Negroes. He seems to be down to earth; he's a young man for one thing. But not enough Negroes know him. When I say he needs to be around Negroes, not enough Negroes know Whitney Young. Whitney Young could walk around Harlem all day long and probably no more than five people would know who he was. And he's supposed to be one of our leaders. So he should make himself more known to those who are following him.

Lewis: Where are you headed from here? Where do you think your future lies?

Malcolm X: I think one of the most sincere of those Big Six is James Farmer. You missed asking me about him. I think James Farmer seems to... he seems sincere. And I get the impression when I watch Farmer that he could be another Mandela. Mandela, you know, was a man who advocated nonviolence in South Africa, until he saw that it wasn't getting anywhere and then Mandela stepped up and had to resort to tactical violence. Which showed that Mandela was for the freedom of his people. He was more interested in the end than he was the means. Whereas many of the Negro leaders are more straight-jacketed by the means rather than by the end.

Lewis: Where are you headed? What do you suppose your future is from here?

Malcolm X: I have no idea.

Lewis: You have no idea?

Malcolm X: I have no idea. I'm for freedom. I can capsulize how I feel. I'm for the freedom of the twenty-two million Afro-Americans by any means necessary. By any means necessary. I'm for freedom. I'm for a society in which our people are recognized and respected as human beings and I believe that we have the right to resort to any means necessary to bring that about. So when you ask me where I'm headed, how can I say? I'm headed in any direction that will bring us some immediate results. Nothing wrong with that!

Lewis: I think it's going to take a tremendous public relations job to change your image. And you may not be interested in changing your image, but everybody else is. I agree with a lot that you say, but I don't see how people can sign up with you.

Malcolm X: They don't need to sign up. The most effective part of the trees are the roots. And they're signed up with the tree but you don't ever see them. They're always beneath the ground. And the reason that you never see me worry about my image is because that image puts me in a better position than anybody else. Because I'm able to walk through the street or anywhere else and really find out where people are at. In a silent sort of way, I know where they are, in a silent sort of way. I think that the sympathies are deeply rooted, many of them. Plus also it puts me in a position wherever I go, people know where I stand in advance. And doors that would normally be closed for American Negroes, I don't find them closed for me anywhere. It doesn't make any difference. Anywhere.

Lewis: So you're saying because of your outspokenness, your honesty...

Malcolm X: People know where I stand. They know where I stand. And you see I'm not standing in an unjust position. This is the thing. Whatever I say I'm justified. If I say the Negroes should get out of here right tomorrow and go to war, I'm justified. Really! It may sound extreme, but you can't say it's not justified. If I say right now that we should go down and shoot fifteen Ku Klux Klansmen in the morning, you may say well that's insane, but you can't say that I'm not justified. This is what I mean. I think that the stand that I'm taking is justified. Many others might not take it.

Lewis: What I'm trying to do is find out if there is a new Malcolm X?

Malcolm X: Well, there is a new one in the sense that, perhaps in approach. My travels have broadened my scope, but it hasn't changed me from speaking my mind. I can get along with white people who can get along with me. But you don't see me trying to get along with any white man who doesn't want to get along with me. I don't believe in that. Now you got to get another religion.

Lewis: When you get old and retire...

Malcolm X: I'll never get old.

Lewis: What does that mean?

Malcolm X: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You'll find very few people who feel like I feel that live long enough to get old. I'll tell you what I mean and why I say that. When I say by any means necessary, I mean it with all my heart, and my mind and my soul. But a black man should give his life to be free, but he should also be willing to take the life of those who want to take his. It's reciprocal. And when you really think like that, you don't live long. And if freedom doesn't come to your lifetime, it'll come to your children. Another thing about being an old man, that never has come across my mind. I can't even see myself old.

Lewis: Well, how would you like to be remembered by your black brothers and sisters around the world—twenty years from now?

Malcolm X: Sincere. In whatever I did or do, even if I make mistakes, they were made in sincerity. If I'm wrong, I'm wrong in sincerity. I think that the best a person can be—he can be wrong, but if he's sincere you can put up with him. But you can't put up with a person who's right, if he's insincere. I'd rather deal with a person's sincerity, and respect a person for their sincerity than anything else. Especially when you're living in a world that's so hypocritical. This is an era of hypocrisy. The times that we live in can rightfully be labeled, the Era of Hypocrisy. When the white folks pretend that they want Negroes to be free, and Negroes pretend to white folks that they really believe that white folks want them to be free. All Era of Hypocrisy, brother. You fool me and I fool you. This is the game that the white man and the Negro play with each other. You pretend that you're my brother and I pretend that I really believe you're my brother.

Lewis: Do you think there are going to be more killings and more bombings in Mississippi and Alabama?

Malcolm X: In the North as well as the South. There might be even more in the North because I'll tell you one of the dangers of Martin Luther King. King himself is probably a good man, means well and all that. But the danger is that white people use King. They use King to satisfy their own fears. They blow him up. They give him power beyond his actual influence. Because they want to believe within themselves that Negroes

are nonviolent and patient, and long suffering and forgiving. White people want to believe that so bad, 'cause they're so guilty. But the danger is, when they blow up King and fool themselves into thinking that Negroes are really nonviolent, and patient, and long suffering, they've got a powder keg in their house. And instead of them trying to do something to defuse the powder keg, they're putting a blanket over it, trying to make believe that this is no powder keg; that this is a couch that we can lay on and enjoy. So that's it. Whatever I do, whatever I did, whatever I've said, was all done in sincerity. That's the way I want to be remembered because that's the way it is.

# Speech to Civil Rights Workers from Mississippi (Jan. 1, 1965)

I was approached, I think we were at the United Nations, and I met Mrs. Walker, about two or three weeks ago, and she said that a group of students were coming up from McComb, Mississippi, and wanted to know if I would meet with you and speak with you. I told her frankly that it would be the greatest honor that I ever had experienced. Because I have never been in the state of Mississippi, number one—not through any fault of my own, I don't think—but it's been my great desire to either go there or meet someone from there.

To not take too much of your time, I would like to point out a little incident that I was involved in a short while ago that will give you somewhat of an idea of why I am going to say what I am.

I was flying on a plane from Algiers to Geneva about four weeks ago, with two other Americans. Both of them were white—one was a male, the other was a female. And after we had flown together for about forty minutes, the lady turned to me and asked me—she had looked at my briefcase and saw the initials M and X—and she said, "I would like to ask you a question. What kind of last name could you have that begins with X?"

So I told her, "That's it: X."

She was quiet for a little while. For about ten minutes she was quiet. She hadn't been quiet at all up to then, you know. And then finally she turned and she said, "Well, what's your first name?"

I said, "Malcolm."

She was quiet for about ten more minutes. Then she turned and she said, "Well, you're not Malcolm X?"

But the reason she asked that question was, she had gotten from the press, and from things that she had heard and read, she was looking for something different, or for someone different.

The reason I take time to tell you this is, one of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn how to do is see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. But if you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of going and searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you'll be walking west when you think you're going east, and you'll be walking east when you think you're going west. So this generation, especially of our people, have a burden upon themselves, more so than at any other time in history. The most important thing we can learn how to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and then come to a decision for yourself. You'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your own friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today—that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it, then you'll always be maneuvered into actually—You'll never fight your enemies, but you will find yourself fighting your own self.

I think our people in this country are the best examples of that. Because many of us want to be nonviolent. We talk very loudly, you know, about being nonviolent. Here in Harlem, where there are probably more Black people concentrated than any place else in the world, some talk that nonviolent talk too. And when they stop talking about how nonviolent they are, we find that they aren't nonviolent with each other. At Harlem Hospital, you can go out here on Friday night, which—today is what, Friday? yes—you can go out here to Harlem Hospital, where there are more Black patients in one hospital than any hospital in the world—because there's a concentration of our people here—and find Black people who claim they're nonviolent. But you see them going in there all cut up and shot up and busted up where they got violent with each other.

So my experience has been that in many instances where you find Negroes always talking about being nonviolent, they're not nonviolent with each

other, and they're not loving with each other, or patient with each other, or forgiving with each other. Usually, when they say they're nonviolent, they mean they're nonviolent with somebody else. I think you understand what I mean. They are nonviolent with the enemy. A person can come to your home, and if he's white and he wants to heap some kind of brutality upon you, you're nonviolent. Or he can come put a rope around your neck, you're nonviolent. Or he can come to take your father out and put a rope around his neck, you're nonviolent. But now if another Negro just stomps his foot, you'll rumble with him in a minute. Which shows you there's an inconsistency there.

So I myself would go for nonviolence if it was consistent, if it was intelligent, if everybody was going to be nonviolent, and if we were going to be nonviolent all the time. I'd say, okay, let's get with it, we'll all be nonviolent. But I don't go along—and I'm just telling you how I think—I don't go along with any kind of nonviolence unless everybody's going to be nonviolent. If they make the Ku Klux Klan nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. If they make the White Citizens' Council nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. 18 But as long as you've got somebody else not being nonviolent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any kind of nonviolent talk. I don't think it is fair to tell our people to be nonviolent unless someone is out there making the Klan and the Citizens' Council and these other groups also be nonviolent.

Now I'm not criticizing those here who are nonviolent. I think everybody should do it the way they feel is best, and I congratulate anybody who can be nonviolent in the face of all that kind of action that I read about in that part of the world. But I don't think that in 1965 you will find the upcoming generation of our people, especially those who have been doing some thinking, who will go along with any form of nonviolence unless nonviolence is going to be practiced all the way around.

If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the Black community, then we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if just Black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless.

Now to try and give you a better understanding of our own position, I guess you have to know something about the Black Muslim movement, which is supposed to be a religious movement in this country, which was extremely militant, vocally militant, or militantly vocal. The Black Muslim movement was supposed to be a religious group. And because it was supposed to be a religious group, it never involved itself in civic matters, so it claimed. And by not getting involved in civic matters, what it did, being militant, it attracted the most militant Negroes, or Afro-Americans, in this country, which it actually did. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most dissatisfied, impatient, and militant Black people in this country.

But when it attracted them, the movement itself, by never involving itself in the real struggle that's confronting Black people in this country, in a sense has gotten maneuvered into a sort of a political and civic vacuum. It was militant, it was vocal, but it never got into the battle itself.

And though it professed to be a religious group, the people from the part of the world whose religion it had adopted didn't recognize them or accept them as a religious group. So it was also in a religious vacuum. It was in a vacuum religiously, by claiming to be a religious group and by having adopted a religion which actually rejected them or wouldn't accept them. So religiously it was in a vacuum. The federal government tried to classify it as a political group, in order to maneuver it into a position where they could label it as seditious, so that they could crush it because they were afraid of its uncompromising, militant characteristics. So for that reason, though it was labeled a political group and never took part in politics, it was in a political vacuum. So the group, the Black Muslim movement itself, actually developed into a sort of a hybrid, a religious hybrid, a political hybrid, a hybrid-type organization.

Getting all of these very militant Black people into it, and then not having a program that would enable them to take an active part in the struggle, it created a lot of dissatisfaction among its members. It polarized into two different factions—one faction that was militantly vocal, and another faction that wanted some action, militant action, uncompromising action. Finally the dissatisfaction developed into a division, the division developed into a split, and many of its members left. Those who left formed what was known as the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, which is authentically a religious organization that is affiliated with and recognized by all of the

official religious heads in the Muslim world. This was called the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, whose offices are here.

But this group, being Afro-American or being Black American, realized that although we were practicing the religion of Islam, still there was a problem confronting our people in this country that had nothing to do with religion and went above and beyond religion. A religious organization couldn't attack that problem according to the magnitude of the problem, the complexity of the problem itself. So those in that group, after analyzing the problem, saw the need, or the necessity, of forming another group that had nothing to do with religion whatsoever. And that group is what's named and is today known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity is a nonreligious group of Black people in this country who believe that the problems confronting our people in this country need to be reanalyzed and a new approach devised toward trying to get a solution. Studying the problem, we recall that prior to 1939 in this country, all of our people—in the North, South, East, and West, no matter how much education we had—were segregated. We were segregated in the North just as much as we were segregated in the South. And even right now, today, there's as much segregation in the North as there is in the South. There's some worse segregation right here in New York City than there is in McComb, Mississippi; but up here they're subtle and tricky and deceitful, and they make you think that you've got it made when you haven't even begun to make it yet.

Prior to 1939 our people were in a very menial position or condition. Most of us were waiters and porters and bellhops and janitors and waitresses and things of that sort. It was not until war was declared in Germany by Hitler, and America became involved in a manpower shortage in regards to her factories plus her army—it was only then that the Black man in this country was permitted to make a few strides forward. It was never out of some kind of moral enlightenment or moral awareness on the part of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam only let the Black man take a step forward when he himself had his back to the wall.

In Michigan, where I was brought up at that time, I recall that the best jobs in the city for Blacks were waiters out at the country club. And in those days if you had a job waiting table in the country club, you had it made. Or if you had a job at the State House. Having a job at the State House

didn't mean that you were a clerk or something of that sort—you had the shoeshine stand in the State House. Just by being in there where you could be around all these big politicians, that made you a big-shot Negro. You were shining shoes, but you were a big-shot Negro because you were around big-shot white people and you could bend their ear and get up next to them. And ofttimes in those days, you were chosen to be the voice of the Negro community.

Also right at this time, 1939 or '40, '41, they weren't drafting Negroes in the army or the navy. A Negro couldn't join the navy in 1940 or '41 in this country. He couldn't join. They wouldn't take a Black man in the navy. They would take him if they wanted and make him a cook. But he couldn't just go and join the navy. And he couldn't just go—I don't think he could just go and join the army. They weren't drafting him when the war first started.

This is what they thought of you and me in those days. For one thing, they didn't trust us. They feared that if they put us in the army and trained us on how to use rifles and other things, that we might shoot at some targets that they hadn't picked out. And we would have. Any thinking man knows what target to shoot at. And if a man doesn't, if he has to have someone else to choose his target, then he's not thinking for himself—they're doing the thinking for him.

So it was only when the Negro leaders—they had the same type of Negro leaders in those days that we have today—when the Negro leaders saw all the white fellows being drafted and taken into the army and dying on the battlefield, and no Negroes were dying because they weren't being drafted, the Negro leaders came up and said, "We've got to die too. We want to be drafted too, and we demand that you take us in there and let us die for our country too." This is what the Negro leaders said, back in 1940, I remember. A. Philip Randolph was one of the leading Negroes in those days who said it, and he's one of the Big Six right now; and this is why he's one of the Big Six right now. 19

They started drafting Negro soldiers then, and then they started letting Negroes get into the navy—but not until Hitler and Tojo and the foreign powers were strong enough to bring pressure upon this country, so that it had its back to the wall and it needed us. At that same time, they let us work in factories. Up until that time we couldn't work in the factories. I'm talking about the North as well as the South. And when they let us work

in the factories we began—at first when they let us in we could only be janitors. Then, after a year or so passed by, they let us work on machines. We became machinists, got a little skill. And as we got a little more skill, we made a little more money, which enabled us to live in a little better neighborhood. When we lived in a little better neighborhood, we went to a little better school, got a little better education, and could come out and get a little better job. So the cycle was broken somewhat.

But the cycle was not broken because of some kind of sense of moral responsibility on the part of the government. No, the only time that cycle was broken even to a degree was when world pressure was brought to bear upon the United States government and they were forced to look at the Negro—and then they didn't even look at us as human beings, they just put us into their system and let us advance a little bit farther because it served their interests. But they never let us advance a little bit farther because they were interested in our interests, or interested in us as human beings. Any of you who have a knowledge of history, sociology, political science, or the economic development of this country and its race relations, all you have to do is take what I'm telling you and go back and do some research on it and you'll have to admit that this is true.

It was during the time that Hitler and Tojo were able to make war with this country and put pressure upon them that Negroes in this country advanced a little bit. At the end of the war with Germany and Japan, then Joe Stalin and Communist Russia were a threat. And during that period we made a little bit more advances.

Now the point that I'm making is this: Never at any time in the history of our people in this country have we made advances or advancement, or made progress in any way just based upon the internal good will of this country, or based upon the internal activity of this country. We have only made advancement in this country when this country was under pressure from forces above and beyond its control. Because the internal moral consciousness of this country is bankrupt. It hasn't existed since they first brought us over here and made slaves out of us. They trick up on the confirmation and make it appear that they have our good interests at heart. But when you study it, every time, no matter how many steps they take us forward, it's like we're standing on a—what do you call that thing?—a treadmill. The treadmill is moving backwards faster than we're able to go forward in this direction. We're not even standing still—we're walking

forward, at the same time we're going backward.

I say that because the Organization of Afro-American Unity, in studying the process of this so-called progress during the past twenty years, realized that the only time the Black man in this country is given any kind of recognition, or shown any kind of favor at all, or even his voice is listened to, is when America is afraid of outside pressure, or when she's afraid of her image abroad. We could see that as long as we sat around and carried on our struggle at a level or in a manner that involved only the good will of the internal forces of this country, we would continue to go backward, there would be no real meaningful changes made. So the Organization of Afro-American Unity saw that it was necessary to expand the problem and the struggle of the Black man in this country until it went above and beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.

For the past fifteen years the struggle of the Black man in this country was labeled as a civil rights struggle, and as such it remained completely within the jurisdiction of the United States. You and I could get no kind of benefits whatsoever other than that which would be forthcoming from Washington, D.C. Which meant, in order for it to be forthcoming from Washington, D.C., all of the congressmen and the senators would have to agree to it.

But the most powerful congressmen and the most powerful senators were from the South. And they were from the South because they had seniority in Washington, D.C. And they had seniority because our people in the South, where they came from, couldn't vote. They didn't have the right to vote.

So when we saw that we were up against a hopeless battle internally, we saw the necessity of getting allies at the world level or from abroad, from all over the world. And so immediately we realized that as long as the struggle was a civil rights struggle, was under the jurisdiction of the United States, we would have no real allies or real support. We decided that the only way to make the problem rise to the level where we could get world support was to take it away from the civil rights label, and put in the human rights label.

It is not an accident that the struggle of the Black man in this country for the past ten or fifteen years has been called a struggle for civil rights. Because as long as you're struggling for civil rights, what you are doing is asking these racist segregationists who control Washington, D.C.—and

they control Washington, D.C., they control the federal government through these committees—as long as this thing is a civil rights struggle, you are asking it at a level where your so-called benefactor is actually someone from the worst part of this country. You can only go forward to the degree that they let you.

But when you get involved in a struggle for human rights, it's completely out of the jurisdiction of the United States government. You take it to the United Nations. And any problem that is taken to the United Nations, the United States has no say-so on it whatsoever. Because in the UN she only has one vote, and in the UN the largest bloc of votes is African; the continent of Africa has the largest bloc of votes of any continent on this earth. And the continent of Africa, coupled with the Asian bloc and the Arab bloc, comprises over two-thirds of the UN forces, and they're the dark nations. That's the only court that you can go to today and get your own people, the people who look like you, on your side—the United Nations.

This could have been done fifteen years ago. It could have been done nineteen years ago. But they tricked us. They got ahold of our leaders and used our leaders to lead us right back to their courts, knowing that they control their courts. So the leaders look like they're leading us against an enemy, but when you analyze the struggle that we've been involved in for the past fifteen years, the good or the progress that we've made is actually disgraceful. We should be ashamed to even use the word "progress" in the context of our struggle.

So there has been a move on—and I will conclude in a moment—there has been a move on to keep the Negro thinking in this country that he was making strides in the civil rights field, only for the purpose of distracting him and not letting him know that were he to acquaint himself with the structure of the United Nations and the politics of the United Nations, the aim and the purpose of the United Nations, he could lift his problem into that world body. And he'd have the strongest stick in the world that he could use against the racists in Mississippi.

But one of the arguments against getting you and me to do this has always been that our problem is a domestic problem of the United States. And as such, we should not think to put it at a level where somebody else can come and mess with United States domestic affairs. But you're giving Uncle

Sam a break. Uncle Sam's got his hands in the Congo, in Cuba, in South America, in Saigon. Uncle Sam has got his bloody hands in every continent and in everybody else's business on this earth. But at the same time, when it comes to taking forceful action in this country where our rights are concerned, he's always going to tell you and me, "Well, these are states' rights." Or he'll make some kind of off-the-wall alibi that's not a bona fide alibi—not because it's an alibi, but to justify his inactivity where your and my rights are concerned.

We were successful when we realized that we had to bring this to the United Nations. We knew that we had to get support, we had to get world support, and that the most logical part of the world to look in for support is among people who look just like you and me.

I was fortunate to be able to take a tour of the African continent during the summer—the Middle East and Africa. I went to Egypt, then to Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, and then to Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, and Algeria. I found while I was traveling on the African continent—I had already detected it in May—that someone has very shrewdly planted the seeds of division on this continent to make the Africans not show genuine concern with our problem, just as they plant seeds in your and my minds so that we won't show concern with the African problem. They try and make you and me think that we're separate, and the two problems are separate.

When I went back this time and traveled to those different countries, I was fortunate enough to spend an hour and a half with Nasser in Egypt, which is a North African country; and three hours with President Nyerere in Tanganyika, which has now become Tanzania, which is an East African country; and with Prime Minister Obote, Milton Obote, in Uganda, which is also an East African country; and with Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, which is another East African country; and with President Azikiwe in Nigeria, President Nkrumah in Ghana, and President Sékou Touré in Guinea.

I found that in every one of these African countries, the head of state is genuinely concerned with the problem of the Black man in this country, but many of them thought that if they opened their mouths and voiced concern, that they would be insulted by the American Negro leaders. Because one head of state in Asia voiced his support of the civil rights struggle and a couple of the Big Six had the audacity to slap his face and

say they weren't interested in that kind of help—which in my opinion is asinine. So that the African leaders only had to be convinced that if they took an open stand at the governmental level and showed interest in the problem of Black people in this country, that they wouldn't be rebuffed.

And today you'll find in the United Nations—and it's not an accident—that every time the Congo question or anything on the African continent is being debated in the Security Council, they couple it with what's going on, or what is happening to you and me, in Mississippi and Alabama and these other places. In my opinion, the greatest accomplishment that was made in the struggle of the Black man in America in 1964 toward some kind of real progress was the successful linking together of our problem with the African problem, or making our problem a world problem. Because now, whenever anything happens to you in Mississippi, it's not a case of just somebody in Alabama getting indignant, or somebody in New York getting indignant. Whatever happens in Mississippi today, with the attention of the African nations drawn toward Mississippi at a governmental level, then the same repercussions that you see all over the world when an imperialist or foreign power interferes in some section of Africa, you see repercussions, you see the embassies being bombed and burned and overturned. Nowadays, when something happens to Black people in Mississippi, you will see the same repercussions all over the world.

I wanted to point this out to you, because it is important for you to know that when you're in Mississippi you're not alone. But as long as you think you're alone, then you take a stand as if you're a minority or as if you're out-numbered, and that kind of stand will never enable you to win a battle. You've got to know that you've got as much power on your side as that Ku Klux Klan has on its side. And when you know that you've got just as much power on your side as the Klan has on its side, you'll talk the same kind of language with that Klan as that Klan is talking with you.

I'll say one more thing, and then I'll conclude.

When I say the same kind of language, I should explain what I mean. See, you can never get good relations with anybody that you can't communicate with. You can never have good relations with anybody that doesn't understand you. There has to be an understanding. Understanding is brought about through dialogue. Dialogue is communication of ideas. This can only be done in a language, a common language. You can never

talk French to somebody who speaks only German and think you're communicating. Neither of them—they don't get the point. You have to be able to speak a man's language in order to make him get the point.

Now, you've lived in Mississippi long enough to know what the language of the Ku Klux Klan is. They only know one language. If you come up with another language, you don't communicate. You've got to be able to speak the same language they speak, whether you're in Mississippi, New York City, or Alabama, or California, or anywhere else. When you develop or mature to the point where you can speak another man's language on his level, that man gets the point. That's the only time he gets the point. You can't talk peace to a person who doesn't know what peace means. You can't talk love to a person who doesn't know what love means. And you can't talk any form of nonviolence to a person who doesn't believe in nonviolence. Why, you're wasting your time.

So I think in 1965—whether you like it, or I like it, or we like it, or they like it, or not—you will see that there is a generation of Black people born in this country who become mature to the point where they feel that they have no more business being asked to take a peaceful approach than anybody else takes, unless everybody's going to take a peaceful approach.

So we here in the Organization of Afro-American Unity, we're with the struggle in Mississippi 1,000 percent. We're with the efforts to register our people in Mississippi to vote 1,000 percent. But we do not go along with anybody telling us to help nonviolently. We think if the government says that Negroes have a right to vote, and then when Negroes go out to vote some kind of Ku Klux Klan is going to put them in the river, and the government doesn't do anything about it, it's time for us to organize and band together and equip ourselves and qualify ourselves to protect ourselves. And once you can protect yourself, you don't have to worry about being hurt. That's it.

* * *

So we're going to have a few minutes now for you to ask questions on all that that has been said, and all that hasn't been said.

Yes, sir.

Question: Could you please say something on the Freedom Democratic Party?

Malcolm X: Yes. We support the Freedom Democratic Party. We have a statement that we're making in support. We had a rally last Sunday night—no, a week ago Sunday night, to which we invited Mrs. Hamer. She spoke and explained the position of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and we support it. To give you an example of why we support this, it has as much effect on New York City as it does in Mississippi.

But by the same token, I must point out that those who are depriving you of your rights in Mississippi aren't all in Mississippi. You got these New York Democrats who are just as much responsible. The mayor of this city is a Democrat. The senator, you've heard of him, Robert Kennedy, he's a Democrat. The president of the country is a Democrat. The vice president is a Democrat. Now don't you tell me anything about a Democrat in Mississippi who is depriving you of your rights, when the power of the Democratic Party is in Washington, D.C., and in New York City, and in Chicago, and some of these northern cities.

In New York City Negroes can already vote. When you make known in the city of New York the position of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and why it was necessary to form that party, and what that party is trying to do toward ousting these illegal representatives from Mississippi, then the Negroes in New York City know what it's all about. We want to know, where does Wagner stand, since he's one of the most powerful and influential leaders of the Democratic Party in the United States. And we want to know where the senator, Robert Kennedy, stands, since he's also one of the most powerful and influential leaders of the Democratic Party in the United States. And we've got a Negro who's the assistant to the mayor in this city. We want to know where he stands. Plus you got Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, who professes to drool at the mouth over Negroes, to let you know where they stand before January 4.

When you get that kind of action off some of these northern Democrats, then you'll get some action in Mississippi. You don't have to worry about that man in Mississippi. The power of the Democratic Party are these people up here who hold all the power in the North. So we're with you, but we want to go all the way.

See, as a Muslim, I don't get my religion involved in my politics, because they clash. They don't clash, but when you go into something as a Muslim, you've got a whole lot of Negroes who are Christians, who aren't broad-minded enough, so you get into a religious argument, and it doesn't pay.

So I don't enter into this struggle as a Muslim, inasmuch as I enter into it as a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. And the stand that the Organization of Afro-American Unity takes is that we get into it without compromising.

You compromise when you're wrong. You don't have to compromise when you're right. Why, you're right. They're not giving you something. This is yours. If you were born in this country, nobody's doing you any favor when they let you vote or when they let you register. They're only recognizing you as a human being and recognizing your right as a human being to exercise your right as a citizen. So they're not doing you any favors.

As long as you approach this thing like somebody has done you a favor, or that you're dealing with a friend, you never can fight that fight. Because when they deal with you, they're not dealing with you like they're dealing with a friend. They look at you like you're an enemy. Now you have to look at them just as if they're an enemy. And once you know what it is you're dealing with, you can deal with that thing. But you can't deal with them with love. Why, man, if there was any love with them, if there was any love in them, you wouldn't have any fight in Mississippi. There's no love there. You have to realize that there's no love there, and then you don't be looking for it, and go ahead and fight them.

When you go to vote or register and someone gets in your way, you're supposed to answer them in the same way that they answer you. When you answer them that way, you get a little dialogue. And if you don't have enough of them down there to do it, we'll come down there and help you do it. Because we are tired of this old runaround that our people have been given in this country.

For a long time they accused me of not getting involved in politics. They should've been glad I didn't get involved in politics, because anything I get in, I'm in it all the way. Now if they say that we don't take part in the Mississippi struggle, we will organize brothers here in New York who know how to handle these kinds of affairs, and they'll slip into Mississippi like

Jesus slipped into Jerusalem.

This doesn't mean that we're against white people, but we sure are against the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Councils. Anything that looks like it's against us, we're against it.

Excuse me for raising my voice, but this thing, you know, it gets me upset. Even being involved in a discussion in a country that's supposed to be a democracy. Imagine that, in a country that's supposed to be a democracy, supposed to be for freedom and all of that kind of stuff that they tell you when they want to draft you and put you in the army and send you to Saigon to fight for them. And then you've got to turn around and all night long discuss how you're going to just get a right to register and vote without being murdered. Why, that's the most hypocritical governmental half-truth that has ever been invented since the world was the world.

Malcolm X: Yes, ma'am.

Question: The question I have is what does the Afro-American Unity do?

Malcolm X: First, Afro-American means us.

Question: I know what it means, I just want to know: What does it do?

Malcolm X: How do you mean?

Question: What kind of struggles, what does it do?

Malcolm X: Well, first, it was patterned after the OAU. The OAU is the Organization of African Unity. And the reason we patterned our organization after theirs was they had trouble on the African continent similar to ours. Meaning that there were many independent countries that were so divided against each other that they couldn't come together in a united effort and resolve any of their problems. So some of the more mature African politicians were able to work behind the scenes and get a common understanding, out of which materialized the Organization of African Unity, the purpose of which was to get all African leaders to see the necessity of de-emphasizing their areas of disagreement and emphasizing their areas of agreement, where they had common interests.

This led to the Organization of African Unity being formed, and today they work together in unity and harmony, although there are diverse philosophies, diverse personalities. All of these differences exist; still they can unite together for a common objective. So studying their problems, and seeing that their problems were similar to ours, we formed ours after the letter and spirit of that OAU, only with an OAAU.

Our first objective is—our first step was to find an area of agreement among Afro-Americans. We found that you have the nationalists, you have the civil rights groups, you have all these diverse elements in the Black community. Some want separation, some want integration; some want this, some want that. So how are you going to find something that they all agree upon? You won't find the nationalists agree on civil rights, because they think it's a farce. You won't find the nationalists agree on integration, because they think it's a farce. They haven't seen anyplace where it has ever materialized. It's only a word, something that's played around, kicked around.

So we had to find something that both the nationalists and the integrationists would agree upon. And we found that all of them would agree on the necessity of our people in this country being respected and recognized as human beings. So instead of launching our struggle at the civil rights level that would cause a whole lot of argument, we launched it at the human rights level. And we know that anybody that's for civil rights has got to be for human rights, whether you're an integrationist or a separationist or what you are; you still have to be for human rights.

So our first platform was that we recognized the right of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere to exercise his right as a human being. Rights that he was born with, rights that no government has the power to give him. God makes you a human being, and God is the one who gives you your human rights, not a government, or some senators, or a judge, or some representatives. And so this is our stand. We are human beings, and our fight is to see that every Black man, woman, and child in this country is respected and recognized as a human being.

Our method is: any means necessary. That's our motto. We're not restricted to this, or confined to that. We reserve the right to use any means necessary to protect our humanity, or to make the world see that they respect us as human beings. Any means necessary.

When I say that, I don't mean anything illegal. The government—You're being treated criminally. The criminal is the one who's illegal. The one who's responsible for these criminal conditions, he's a criminal, he's illegal. And whatever you've got to do to stop this crime from being committed against you, as far as I'm concerned you're not illegal.

So that's our first step at the international level. And politically, we devise and support any program that's designed to give the Black man in this country an opportunity to participate as a citizen, a free citizen, in this political system and in this society. We will involve ourselves in programs of our own, or in anyone else's programs, as long as it doesn't involve any kind of compromise in its approach to getting our people in this country the rights to register and to vote in whichever direction they desire to.

Question: ...

Malcolm X: The voter registration?

Question: How important is it?

Malcolm X: We ourselves have our own voter registration drive in the areas where we are, plus we work with other civil rights groups who also have voter registration drives.

Question: ...

Malcolm X: No. Not as yet... keep it, what's the word, keep it to ourselves, we would keep it confidential. We will never let you know how many members we have.

Question: I'm not asking that.

Malcolm X: I learned that. I'm giving you some light without you asking. That's one thing I learned in the Black Muslim movement that I found most important: never let anybody know what they're dealing with—its size, its strength, its nothing. The reason for that is, I found, if you're in the jungle or in the woods and you hear something rustling in the bush, you don't know what kind of gun to reach for until you know what's making that noise. Because you might pull out a rabbit gun for an elephant, or you

might pull out an elephant gun for a rabbit, and you look foolish either way. It's not good to ever let too much of what you are come out above the ground. The most important part of the tree is the roots, and the roots always remain beneath the ground. That's where the tree gets its life. And the tree dies only when you put those roots up where the light is and it dries up.

So our membership—its nature, its caliber, its content, all of that—we keep it to ourselves. But you see here and there, wherever you find dissatisfied Negroes, if they're not our blood brothers, they're at least some relatives, some relation. If we're not blood brothers, we're at least related. Any more?

Question: We obviously can't say—

Malcolm X: You from Mississippi too?

Question: No, I'm not.

Malcolm X: I didn't think so. Keep on asking.

Question: Obviously you can't say what you do. I just was wondering what kind of—

Malcolm X: It's not a case of I can't say what we do. I told you that we involve ourselves in our own programs to get our people registered, as registered voters in this area and wherever else we are. And we work with any other group that's trying to get our people registered so that they can vote. This is in this political area or in the area of politics. Now what else did you want to know, since you don't seem to be satisfied?

Question: Well, maybe. Do you think—

Malcolm X: No, if that's not clear, ask me. I mean, if I didn't clarify your question, go ahead and dig into it a little deeper.

Question: No, I think that man from the other... don't vote either, which makes it look like—

Malcolm X: This is true, which shows you that the reluctance on the part of the Negro to vote isn't always because they don't have the right to.

The political history of our people in this country has been that usually you have political machines in most states and in most cities. And they select, as a rule, not Black people to run in the Black community who are intellectually capable to deal with politics as it is, but puppets that serve as their mouthpiece to control the politics of the community. The Black people in Harlem have witnessed this thing year in and year out and have seen how the politics of Harlem and other Negro communities have been pretty much controlled from outside.

So it's not that they're politically lethargic or dead, but they purposely have abstained. But when you give them something to point toward, or vote for, you'll find that they'll be just as active as they've been inactive.

It's the purpose of the OAAU to work among that element of inactive Black people, who have been politically inactive in this area. We intend to charge them and get them active out here, so that we can get a little action. Because those are the real activists. Those who haven't been involved in politics actively are the ones who get involved in physical action. They have not seen anything that's good be made to materialize through politics in the past, so they didn't resort to politics. They resorted to things physical, to methods physical, if you understand what I mean.

What we intend to do is try and harness their energy by giving them an understanding of politics, first. Because we don't think that anybody should get us registered as voters and not at the same time give us some education in regards to politics. We don't think that a voter registration program on its own is sufficient. But in line with any voter registration program among Negroes, there must be a voter education program to make our people enlightened in regards to the science of politics, so that they will know what politics is supposed to produce and what the politician is supposed to produce, what his responsibilities are. And then we can't be exploited.

But if you just get Negroes out here and register them, then what you're going to have are more Negroes whose political energy can be exploited by the big city political machines. We don't think that that will ever solve our problems. There has to be voter education as well as voter registration. Most of the Negro politicians don't want this, because those who have been politicians haven't really been trying to solve our problems, inasmuch as they've been getting the handouts from the machine for keeping us in check. When the people realize that, the people wake up.

One of the reasons, if I may add, that Negroes haven't been actively involved in politics is, when the Negro leader—when Negroes go out to try and make other Negroes get registered to vote, they have the wrong motives, usually—especially the politicians. The young students who are doing it today are a little different. But the politician, when he tries to get you registered to vote, he's not interested in making you enlightened so you can vote. He wants you to stay in the dark but register. Then maybe you'll vote for him, or vote for his party, or vote for what he's got going for him. He's not even interested in your condition. And this is why you find Negroes in Harlem haven't gotten involved.

But don't think that they can't get involved. You can get as many Negroes interested politically in Harlem overnight, but you've got to give him something, give him something that he will see will materialize. And I think that our people in this area are ready.

Question: ...

Malcolm X: Well, there wouldn't have to be necessarily any particular party to make them have something to look forward to, especially up around here. It takes something else to make these people in Harlem feel that they have something to look forward to.

Question: [Inaudible, asks about "political pressure" in Harlem]

Malcolm X: No, not particularly. Although, the only real power in this government is politics—and money. The only thing that people recognize is power and money. Power—that's all they recognize. That's why I say, in Mississippi you can love all you want. They don't recognize love, they recognize power. Power. You can love, look how long you've been loving, that's proof of it. You've been loving them like a blind—

Question: It's not love—

Malcolm X: Yeah, I understand, but—

Question: Don't let love...

Malcolm X: Brother, I will read the breakdown. You know, in various

counties now, you got more Negroes than you got whites. Negroes outnumber the whites. And you see, freedom comes only two ways. There's only two ways that a person gets freedom: either by the ballot or by bullets.

Question: [Inaudible, asks about "the riot you had here"]

Malcolm X: In Harlem?

Question: Yes.

Malcolm X: It wasn't a riot. That was a pogrom. You know what a pogrom is? How do you say that? Pogrom. Pogrom is what it was. Pogrom. That wasn't any riot, that was a pogrom. That was the police heaping brutality upon the people of the area. It was a set-up.

Question: Could I ask you, what was actually accomplished by this so-called riot?

Malcolm X: It wasn't a riot. There was a rumor passed on to us in May that the police in New York during the summer were going to try and provoke trouble, so that they could step in and crush the organizing and growth of militant groups that they were afraid, if they were allowed to grow, would get to the size that they could never be controlled.

If you study the characteristics of that so-called riot, every action on the part of the police in Harlem was designed to draw out groups that they felt were equipped and ready to do this thing. The tactics that the police used were designed to draw fire back. They were firing guns at people who didn't have guns. But they were firing to get somebody to fight, to shoot back. The police know you got just as many guns in Harlem as there are in Saigon right now. But none of the groups in Harlem that were equipped and qualified to strike back got involved. None of them got involved.

But the whole thing was set up to try and get them involved, so that they could be crushed while they were still in their embryonic, so-called embryonic stage. As you said, it goes beyond the Mississippi situation. But all of our problems are the same: wrong color.

Question: ..

Malcolm X: Whether it was the COFO?

Question: Right.

Malcolm X: Any program that's designed to get our people registered is good, especially in Mississippi. Because our people in Mississippi outnumber—there's a greater percentage of our people in the state of Mississippi than there is, probably, in any other state. If the people in Mississippi did have voting rights, what's his name—Eastland—wouldn't be in Washington, D.C. None of those powerful senators and congressmen who control the committees in Washington, D.C., would be there.

So any effort on the part of any group that gets our people in the state of Mississippi registered, that's good. But my only criticism is sending people on the front lines against well-armed enemies and telling them, "Don't fight." Why, that's insane. I can't go along with that. No.

When those three brothers were murdered down there, it was a drag, it's been a drag on the part of the civil rights groups, the way they've just taken that thing so easy. Hardly nothing has happened. They're telling everybody to be patient, be loving and long-suffering when the whole world is on your side. If you went on the rampage in Mississippi, wouldn't nobody hold it against you. Because the whole world knows that the people down there are the worst things on this earth.

So we go for the operation, but we don't go for sending anybody to a front line and telling them, don't protect themselves. No. Then, after one of your soldiers gets killed, everybody says, well, you're supposed to keep on loving anyway? No, I can't go along with that.

That's what split the Muslim movement. That's what caused the Black Muslim movement to be split. Some of our brothers got hurt and nothing was done about it. Those of us who wanted to do something about it were kept from doing something about it. So we split.

No, I don't go along with any kind of action that ties up my hands and then put me in the ring with Sonny Liston or Cassius Clay. No, don't tie my hands, unless you're going to tie up their hands too. Then it's fair.

You don't see the white man sending his people to war somewhere and

tying up their hands. No, and if those two hadn't been white, you wouldn't even have known that that happened in Mississippi, because they kill Negroes in Mississippi every day. Ever since we've been here.

I was over in Africa, brother, while all that was going on. And I read about it and I know that it tore the Africans up. Tore 'em up. Why, if you had thrown bombs right and left in Mississippi, you'd have had the world on your side.

I'm not telling you to throw bombs. I'm just telling you what would happen. If I told you that, if somebody started throwing bombs around here tomorrow, they'd blame me, put the blame on me. They would never give me credit, but they'd put the blame on me.

Only from Mississippi. Questions. Are you from Mississippi? Are there any other questions?

I hope that you don't think that I'm trying to incite you. But look here, just look at yourselves. Some of you all are teenagers, students. Now how do you think I feel—and I belong to a generation ahead of you—how do you think I feel having to tell you, "We, my generation, sat around like a knot on the wall while the whole world was actually fighting for what were its human rights"—and you've got to be born into a society where you still have that same fight. What did we do, who preceded you? I'll tell what we did: nothing. And don't you make the same mistake we made.

You tell me why a Black man in this society has to wait on the Supreme Court and a white man doesn't have to wait on the Supreme Court. Yet both of them are men. You tell me why the Congress and the Senate have got to make a Black man a human being, and the same Congress and Senate don't have to make a white man a human being, if they're both men. You tell why you need a presidential proclamation to get respect and recognition, and a white man doesn't need it, if we're both men.

I'll tell you why: we're not both men.

A man will die and fight for what is his right. And if he doesn't, if he's not ready to fight and die for what is his right, he's not a man. That's the only way you can look at it. And when you begin to look like you're going to... you get what belongs to a man.

But as long as you sit around here waiting on some court that is headed by a Ku Klux Klan judge, or waiting on a Senate that's controlled by a Ku Klux Klan senator, or a Congress that's controlled by a White Citizens' Council congressman, or a White House that's got just as much Klan influence in it as any other part of the country, why, no, you'll never be respected as a human being.

I must say this: I was in Africa, I was in Kenya. Five years ago, one of the men in Africa who had the worst image was Kenyatta. They tried to make you and me think that Kenyatta, Jomo Kenyatta, was a monster. I met Kenyatta. I flew from Tanganyika to Zanzibar to Kenya with Kenyatta, and everybody respects him. He's known there as the father of the country. The white man respects him and the Black man respects him. Five years ago they said he was a leader of the Mau Mau. And they tried to make him appear to be a monster. As long as he didn't have his own independence, he was a monster.

But today Kenyatta is so highly respected it's not an accident that when the brothers in Stanleyville had all these hostages in the Congo, and they wanted to try and save them, who did they choose to moderate the conference that took place between Ambassador Atwood and Tom Kanza in Nairobi? Jomo Kenyatta. The same man that this government and this society was labeling as a monster five years ago, now they turn to him when statesmanship is needed. He had a negative image five years ago because he wouldn't compromise. He was bringing freedom to his people by any means necessary. Now that his people have gotten their freedom, he's respected.

And this is the only way you'll get it. You get freedom by not being confined. You get freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom. You'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it. Then, when you get that kind of attitude, they'll label you as a "crazy Negro," or they'll call you a "crazy nigger"—they don't say Negro. They say, "That nigger's crazy." Or they'll call you an extremist or they'll call you a subversive, or seditious, or a Red, or a radical. But when you stay radical long enough, and get enough people to be just like you, you'll get your freedom. Then, after you get your freedom, they'll talk about what a great person you are, just like they do with Kenyatta. So if Lumumba had lived long enough and consolidated the Congo, they'd talk about him like a great

person, because he'd be free and independent.

So don't you run around here trying to make friends with somebody who's depriving you of your rights. They're not your friends. No, they're your enemies. Treat them like that and fight them, and you'll get your freedom. And after you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you. He will respect you.

I say that with no hate. I have no hate in me. I have no hate at all. I don't have any hate. But I've got some sense. I think I've got some sense. I'm not going to let somebody who hates me tell me to love him. I'm not that way-out. And you, young as you are, and because you start thinking, you're not going to do it either. The only time you're going to get in that kind of bag is if somebody puts you in there, somebody else, who doesn't have your welfare at heart.

I'm just going to take five more minutes, because Sharon Jackson reminded me of something which I think is very important. It's why at the beginning I mentioned, when I was on this plane, how I rode right next to this man and woman for an hour, and they didn't have the slightest idea who I was, because they were looking for somebody with horns. Usually white people think anybody who is not going to be cool and calm under their extreme brutality has got horns. So this is done by image making. People who make images use images to make you hate their enemies and love your own. No: hate their friends and love their enemies. They use images to do this.

One place they've done it is in the Congo. The Congo is where they told me and you we came from. All my life, when I was a little boy, they said we came out of Africa, and they made believe we came out of the Congo, because that was supposed to be the most savage part of Africa. So you know, we're probably more closely related to the brothers in the Congo than anybody else. And when you hear them talking about cannibals, they're talking about our cousins, about our brothers, you know. If you really want to believe it. But they aren't any more cannibalistic in the Congo than they are in the downtown, there in the Village. There's some real cannibals down there in the Village. They'll be eating up anything, you know.

In this country what they try and make it appear is that the people in the Congo are savages. And they do this very skillfully in order to justify their

being over there. Now when I was in Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam—I think it was in October—some American Negroes, Afro-Americans who live in Dar es Salaam, came to me and told me about this Congolese who was cussing them out. And I asked them, why...[gap in tape]...African village. Now you know a village has no air force. A village has no defense against bombs that are being dropped on it. And the pilot in the plane can't tell who the bomb is being dropped upon. It's just being dropped on a village.

So here you have American airplanes being flown by what they call "anti-Castro Cuban, American-trained pilots." Now you see how slick they are. The reason they say "American-trained pilots" is to make you automatically side with them, because they are American-trained. The reason they say they are anti-Castro Cuban pilots is because Castro's already a monster, and if somebody links these people, that they're against Castro, then whoever else they're against, it's all right. It's what you call a journalistic, psychological trick on your mind.

So now you have airplanes that are dropping bombs on Black women, Black children, and Black babies, blowing them to bits in the Congo. They justify it by making it appear to be a humanitarian project. And they get big Negroes in this country to talk to you and tell you that America is justified in doing it. You show me a big Negro and usually he's their big Negro. And his job is to make you and me think that no matter how much atrocity they are committing, that they are right. And they do it with these tricks.

How can you justify dropping a bomb on a village—not a civilization that has all the weapons of warfare, but a village? You don't need to drop a bomb on a village that doesn't even have rifles in it. But it shows you their complete lack of concern for life when that life is clothed in a black skin.

To show you again how merciless they are. They take Tshombe. Tshombe is a Black man, but he's a murderer. He murdered this man called Patrice Lumumba, in cold blood. And this government took Tshombe away from Spain. And this government did do it, because I know people who can tell you how certain high members of this country's State Department got on board a plane with a certain African leader and flew all the way almost to his country, trying to get this African leader to use his influence on other African leaders to make Tshombe acceptable to the people of the African continent. And this happened almost a year before they brought Tshombe

back down—to show you what a plot, what a conspiracy that they're involved in.

And here Tshombe is a killer, a murderer—of Patrice Lumumba. They put him over the government in Léopoldville, and then they used the press to give him an image of acceptability by saying he's the only one that can restore peace to the Congo. Imagine this, he's a murderer. It's like saying Jesse James is the only one can run the bank. Therefore you should let Jesse James run the bank; and the only reason the bank is in trouble is because Jesse James already was in the bank.

So just to go one step farther. They take Tshombe and give him enough money to go to South Africa and bring white mercenaries, hired killers, in to fight for him. A mercenary is someone who kills for pay. He doesn't kill because he's patriotic. He doesn't kill because he's loyal. He kills anything in sight for pay, and this is what America is using your tax dollars to support: a Black murderer who hires white murderers to shoot down his own people. Because America knows if she went in and did it, the world wouldn't go along with her.

And then, when these white murderers are heaping so much butchery upon the people in the Oriental province of the Congo, the brothers in the Oriental province are forced to start using some of the methods to keep these white mercenaries and white hired killers from wiping them out. So they shoot hostages. The only reason they held hostages was to keep America's mercenaries from dropping bombs on them. It's the only thing they could do. They held the hostages not because they were cannibals. And they didn't eat people like they're trying to say in the newspapers. Why would they wait to this late date to eat some white meat, when they been over there all those years? And they went in there at a time when they were probably more tasty than they are in times like this.

At the time the hostages were being held, the American government—rather the Congolese government from Stanleyville—sent an emissary, Tom Kanza, their foreign minister, to Kenya, and he was negotiating with Atwood, the ambassador to Kenya from America, at a meeting which Kenyatta was mediating. And at the time that this was going on, it was then that America dropped the paratroopers in Stanleyville. At no time did the Africans or the Congolese in any way harm any white hostages until those paratroopers were dropped. And I think it's America that harmed more

than one. If they were savages, there wouldn't have been a white hostage seen. How are you going to come out of the sky and save some hostages that are already in my hands, when I've got some machine guns? No. If you save some, it means that I'm human and I treated them in a humane way, because I didn't wipe them all out when I see your airplane coming.

So this old stuff you hear about the government trying to make you think that their being in the Congo is something humanitarian—it's the most criminal operation that has ever been carried on by a so-called civilized government since history was recorded! The United States was the one responsible there. And you will find that she will suffer over there, because the only way she can hold Tshombe in power is to send in more white troops. The Black troops don't fight for Tshombe. He needs white troops. And there are too many Black troops fighting against those white troops for them to win, for the white ones to win, which means more whites will have to be added to it and added to it and added to it.

And first thing you know they'll be hung up in the same kind of situation that they got themselves bogged down in South Vietnam right now. Because all the African nations combined will fight there in the Congo. You don't need a whole lot of heavy war machinery to fight a war nowadays. All you need is some darkness and a little lighting equipment. That equalizes things.

We got about three more minutes. Three more minutes. Well, I want to thank all of you for taking the time to come to Harlem and especially here. I hope that you have gotten a better understanding of us. I put it to you just as plain as I know how to put it; there's no interpretation necessary. And I want you to know that we're not in any way trying to advocate any kind of indiscriminate, unintelligent action. But we will go along with you in any kind of intelligent action that you are involved in to protect the lives and property of our people in this country. Any kind of action that you're ever involved in that's designed to protect the lives and the property of our mistreated people in this country, we're with you 1,000 percent. And if you don't feel that you are qualified to do it, we have some brothers who will slip in, as I said earlier, and help train you and show you how to equip yourself in such a manner to deal with these people who need to be dealt with.

And before you dismiss, let me see one of those... I would like to read you

this—it's brief—before you leave. It says:

"We applaud the efforts of James Farmer and the other civil rights groups to block the seating of the five illegal representatives from Mississippi when Congress convenes on January 4. We are pleased to see that Mr. Farmer and his civil rights colleagues are so dead earnest in backing the election challenges that have been initiated by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. As chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, I want to state emphatically that we support all uncompromising efforts made by all well-meaning people to unseat the illegal representatives from the state of Mississippi and any other area where our people are denied the right to vote simply because they have been born with dark skin.

"We also insist that since over 97 percent of the Black Americans supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy, and the Democratic Party in the recent elections, which is the most overwhelming support given by any minority group to one party and its candidates, I am challenging Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, and Robert Kennedy, to declare exactly where they stand on the seating of these illegal representatives from Mississippi before January 4." And they should state their case.

"We applaud the lead that has been taken by New York representative William Fitts Ryan in blocking the seating of these Mississippi congressmen, and the firm stand taken at his side by Adam Clayton Powell. Since Mayor Wagner will be in Harlem later this year to obtain the political support of our people in order to remain in City Hall, I challenge Mayor Wagner and his chief assistant, J. Jones, also to let nearly one and a half million Black Americans in New York City know where they stand on the plan to seat illegal representatives before January 4.

"I, for one, along with some friends, plan to be in Washington on January 4 as an observer. We wish to witness and record the stand taken by the so-called liberals, who are seekers of our people's political support at poll time, for we plan to be 100 percent active in all political areas from 1965 onward."

So I thank you and I hope to see you in Mississippi myself in January. Thank you.

# Prospects for Freedom in 1965 (January 7, 1965)

Mr. Chairman, who's one of my brothers, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters: It is an honor to me to come back to the Militant Labor Forum again this evening. It's my third time here. I was just telling my brother up here that probably tomorrow morning the press will try to make it appear that this little chat that we're having here this evening took place in Peking or someplace else. They have a tendency to discolor things in that way, to try and make people not place the proper importance upon what they hear, especially when they're hearing it from persons they can't control, or, as my brother just pointed out, persons whom they consider "irresponsible."

It's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here. The Militant newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it even in Paris about a month ago; they were reading it over there. And I saw it in some parts of Africa where I was during the summer. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around.

Tonight, during the few moments that we have, we're going to have a little chat, like brothers and sisters and friends, and probably enemies too, about the prospects for peace—or the prospects for freedom in 1965. As you notice, I almost slipped and said peace. Actually you can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom. You can't separate the two—and this is the thing that makes 1965 so explosive and so dangerous.

The people in this country who in the past have been at peace and have been peaceful were that way only because they didn't know what freedom was. They let somebody else define it for them, but today, 1965, you find those who have not had freedom, and were not in a position to define freedom, are beginning to define it for themselves. And as they get in a position intellectually to define freedom for themselves, they see that they don't have it, and it makes them less peaceful, or less inclined towards

peace.

In 1964, oppressed people all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America, in the Caribbean, made some progress. Northern Rhodesia threw off the yoke of colonialism and became Zambia, and was accepted into the United Nations, the society of independent governments. Nyasaland became Malawi and also was accepted into the UN, into the family of independent governments. Zanzibar had a revolution, threw out the colonialists and their lackeys and then united with Tanganyika into what is now known as the Republic of Tanzania—which is progress, indeed.

Also in 1964, the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in that entire Southeast Asia area, were successful in fighting off the agents of imperialism. All the king's horses and all the king's men haven't enabled them to put North and South Vietnam together again. Little rice farmers, peasants, with a rifle—up against all the highly-mechanized weapons of warfare—jets, napalm, battleships, everything else, and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them. Somebody's waking up.

In the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo, headquartered at Stanleyville, fought a war for freedom against Tshombe, who is an agent for Western imperialism—and by Western imperialism I mean that which is headquartered in the United States, in the State Department.

In 1964 this government, subsidizing Tshombe, the murderer of Lumumba, and Tshombe's mercenaries, hired killers from South Africa, along with the former colonial power, Belgium, dropped paratroopers on the people of the Congo, used Cubans, that they had trained, to drop bombs on the people of the Congo with American-made planes—to no avail. The struggle is still going on, and America's man, Tshombe, is still losing.

All of this in 1964. Now, in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that I am anti-American. I am not. I'm not anti-American, or un-American. And I'm not saying that to defend myself. Because if I was that, I'd have a right to be that -- after what America has done to us. This government should feel lucky that our people aren't anti-American. They should get down on their hands and knees every morning and thank God that 22 million black people have not become anti-American. You've given us every right to. The whole world would side with us, if we became anti-American. You know, that's something to think about.

But we are not anti-American. We are anti or against what America is doing wrong in other parts of the world as well as here. And what she did in the Congo in 1964 is wrong. It's criminal, criminal. And what she did to the American public, to get the American public to go along with it, is criminal. What she's doing in South Vietnam is criminal. She's causing American soldiers to be murdered every day, killed every day, die every day, for no reason at all. That's wrong. Now, you're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or who says it.

Also in 1964, China exploded her bomb, which was a scientific breakthrough for the oppressed people in China, who suffered for a long time. I, for one, was very happy to hear that the great people of China were able to display their scientific advancement, their advanced knowledge of science, to the point where a country which is as backward as this country keeps saying China is, and so behind everybody, and so poor, could come up with an atomic bomb. Why, I had to marvel at that. It made me realize that poor people can do it as well as rich people.

So all these little advances were made by oppressed people in other parts of the world during 1964. These were tangible gains, and the reason that they were able to make these gains was they realized that power was the magic word—power against power. Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. It also produces insurrection against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression—with power.

Power never takes a back step—only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of nonviolent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by

black people here in America in 1964. The power structure started out the new year the same way they started it out in Washington the other day. Only now they call it—what's that?—"The Great Society?" Last year, 1964, was supposed to be the "Year of Promise." They opened up the new year in Washington, D.C., and in the city hall and in Albany talking about the Year of Promise.

But by the end of 1964, we had to agree that instead of the Year of Promise, instead of those promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress; 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise. In 1963, one of their devices to let off the steam of frustration was the march on Washington. They used that to make us think we were making progress. Imagine, marching to Washington and getting nothing for it whatsoever.

In '63, it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civil-rights bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems.

Since we see what they did in 1963, and we saw what they did in 1964, what will they do now, in 1965? If the march on Washington was supposed to lessen the explosion, and the civil-rights bill was designed to lessen the explosion—that's all it was designed to do; it wasn't designed to solve the problems; it was designed to lessen the explosion. Everyone in his right mind knows there should have been an explosion. You can't have all those ingredients, those explosive ingredients that exist in Harlem and elsewhere where our people suffer, and not have an explosion. So these are devices to lessen the danger of the explosion, but not designed to remove the material that's going to explode.

What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other.

And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, "Look how much progress we're making:

I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman, I'm your, you know, your leader." But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and put it out when the flames begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood, will that one, that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him.

At the international level in 1964, they used the device of sending well-chosen black representatives to the African continent, whose mission it was to make the people on that continent think all our problems had been solved. They went over there as apologists. I saw some of them, trailed some of them and saw the results that some of them had left there. Their prime mission was to go into Africa, which is most vital to the United States' interests. These Toms—you're not supposed to call them Toms nowadays; they'll sue you—so these Uncles were sent over there... don't bother the man. He's doing his job. He's going to put you on TV, so you can get investigated. These Toms don't go to Africa because they want to explore, learn something for themselves, broaden their scope, or communicate between their people and our people over there. They go primarily to represent the United States government. And when they go, they gloss things over, they tell how well we are doing here, how the civil-rights bill has settled everything, and how the Nobel Peace Prize was handed down. Oh, yes, that's how they tell it. Actually they succeed in widening the gap between Afro-Americans and the Africans. The image that they leave there of the Afro-American is so obnoxious that the African ends up not wanting to identify with us or be related to us.

It is only when the nationalist-minded or black-minded Afro-American goes abroad to the African continent and establishes direct lines of communication and lets the African brothers know what is happening over here, and know that our people are not so dumb that we are blind to our true condition and position in this structure, that the Africans begin to understand us and identify with us and sympathize with our problems, to the point where they are willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to see that their long-lost brothers get a better break than we have been getting up to now.

On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, politically, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had its face slapped at Atlantic

City, at a convention over which Lyndon B. Johnson was the boss, and Hubert Humphrey was the next boss, and Mayor Wagner had a lot of influence himself. Still none of that influence was shown in any way whatsoever when the hopes and aspirations of the people, the black people of Mississippi, were at stake.

Though at the beginning of '64 we were told that our political rights would be broadened, it was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the black civil-rights worker, were murdered. They were trying to show our people in Mississippi how to become registered voters. This was their crime. This was the reason for which they were murdered.

And the most pitiful part about them being murdered was the civil-rights organizations themselves being so chicken when it comes to reacting in the way that they should have reacted to the murder of these three civil-rights workers. The civil-rights groups sold those three brothers out—sold them out—sold them right down the river. Because they died and what has been done about it? And what voice is being raised every day today in regards to the murder of those three civil-rights workers?

So this is why I say if we get involved in the civil-rights movement and go to Mississippi, or anyplace else, to help our people get registered to vote, we intend to go prepared. We don't intend to break the law, but when you're trying to register to vote you're upholding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law, and you've got a right to protect yourself by any means necessary. And if the government doesn't want civil-rights groups going equipped, the government should do its job.

Concerning the Harlem incident that took place during the summer when the citizens of Harlem were attacked in a pogrom. I can't pronounce it, because it's not my word. We had heard long before it took place that it was going to take place. We had gotten the word that there were elements in the power structure that were going to incite something in Harlem that they could call a riot—in order that they could step in and be justified in using whatever measures necessary to crush the militant groups which were still considered in the embryonic stage.

And realizing that there was a plan afoot to instigate something in Harlem, so they could step in and crush it, there were elements in Harlem, who

were prepared and qualified and equipped to retaliate in situations like that, who purposely did not get involved. And the real miracle of the Harlem explosion was the restraint exercised by the people of Harlem. The miracle of 1964, I'll tell it to you straight, the miracle of 1964, during the incidents that took place in Harlem, was the restraint exercised by the people in Harlem who are qualified and equipped, and whatever else there is, to protect themselves when they are being illegally and immorally and unjustly attacked.

An illegal attack, an unjust attack and an immoral attack can be made against you by anyone. Just because a person has on a uniform does not give him the right to come and shoot up your neighborhood. No, this is not right, and my suggestion would be that as long as the police department doesn't use those methods in white neighborhoods, they shouldn't come to Harlem and use them in our neighborhood. I wasn't here. I'm glad I wasn't here. Because I'd be dead, they'd have to kill me. I'd rather be dead than let someone walk around my house or in my neighborhood shooting it up, where my children are in the line of fire. Either they'd die or I'd die. It's not intelligent—and it all started when a little boy was shot by a policeman, and he was turned loose the same as the sheriff was turned loose in Mississippi when he killed the three civil-rights workers.

I'm almost finished. I'm taking my time tonight because I'm overworked. I'm taking my time by not hurrying up, I mean. In 1964 we had still with us the slumlords, people who own the houses but don't live there themselves; usually they live up around the Grand Concourse or somewhere. They contribute to the NAACP and CORE and all the civil-rights organizations; give you money to go out and picket, and they own the house that you're picketing.

These bad housing conditions that continue to exist up there keep our people victims of health problems—high infant and adult mortality rates, higher in Harlem than any other part of the city. They promised us jobs and gave us welfare checks instead; we're still jobless, still unemployed; the welfare is taking care of us, making us beggars, robbing us of our dignity, of our manhood.

So I point out that 1964 was not a pie-in-the-sky Year of Promise, as was promised in January of that year. Blood did flow in the streets of Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester, some places over in New Jersey and elsewhere.

In 1965 even more blood will flow. More than you ever dreamed. It'll flow downtown as well as uptown. Why? Why will it flow? Have the causes that forced it to flow in '64 been removed? Have the causes that made it flow in '63 been removed? The causes are still there.

In 1964, 97 per cent of the black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. Ninety-seven per cent! No one minority group in the history of the world has ever given so much of its uncompromising support to one candidate and one party. No one people, no one group, has ever gone all the way to support a party and its candidate as did the black people in America in 1964.

And the first act of the Democratic Party, Lyndon B. included, in 1965, when the representatives from the state of Mississippi who refused to support Johnson came to Washington, D.C., and the black people of Mississippi sent representatives there to challenge the legality of these people being seated, what did Johnson say? Nothing! What did Humphrey say? Nothing! What did Robert Pretty-Boy Kennedy say? Nothing! Nothing! Not one thing! These are the people that black people have supported. This is the party that they have supported. Where were they when the black man needed them a couple days ago in Washington, D.C.? They were where they always are—twiddling their thumbs someplace in the poolroom, or in the gallery.

Black people in 1965 will not be controlled by these Uncle Tom leaders, believe me; they won't be held in check, they won't be held on the plantation by these overseers, they won't be held on the corral, they won't be held back at all.

The frustration of these black representatives from Mississippi, when they arrived in Washington, D.C., the other day, thinking, you know, that the Great Society was going to include them—only to see the door closed in their face like that—that's what makes them think. That's what makes them realize what they're up against. It is this type of frustration that produced the Mau Mau. They reached the point where they saw that it takes power to talk to power. It takes power to make power respect you. It takes madness almost to deal with a power structure that's so corrupt, so corrupt.

So in 1965 we should see a lot of action. Since the old methods haven't worked, they'll be forced to try new methods.

# Pierre Berton interviews Malcolm X (January 19, 1965)

[Pierre Berton begins by asking Malcolm about the rift between him and Elijah Muhammad.]

Malcolm X: Well, he represented himself to us as a prophet who had been visited by God, who had been taught by God, who had been given an analysis of the problems concerning black people in America by God, and also a solution by the same God, and as long as I believed in him as a man, I actually thought that he had been taught and commissioned by God to solve the problems of our people in America. Then I came into the knowledge of something in his own personal life that he admitted to me when I confronted him with it. But when it came to him taking the steps that a man would take to correct this mistake, I found that his own ability to be a man was lacking. Hence I ceased to respect him as a man, I could see that he also was not divine. There was no God with him at all.

Berton: I take it you don't want to discuss this specific thing in his personal life?

Malcolm X: Well, discussing it might keep your show from going on the air.

Berton: All right, we won't discuss it; but there seemed to me at the time that there were other reasons given for your break with Elijah Muhammad. At the time of President Kennedy's assassination, you made a speech that seemed to indicate that you were pleased that he had been assassinated. Certainly at that time, Elijah Muhammad indicated that you had been fired or suspended from the Black Muslim movement. How about that?

Malcolm X: I had taken a subject as my topic that day, an approach that was designed to show that the seeds that America had sown—in enslavement, in many of the things that followed since then—all of these seeds were coming up today; it was harvest time. At the end of this particular lecture, during the question-and-answer period, somebody asked me what I thought of the assassination of President Kennedy. In line with the topic that I had just been discussing, I pointed out that it was

a case of the chickens coming home to roost, by which I meant that this was the result of seeds that had been sown, that this was the harvest. This was taken out of context, and reported in one of the papers, and Elijah Muhammad, who had been waiting for me to make a move that would enable him to suspend me and get the support of the public in doing so, took advantage of that opportunity. He gave the impression that I was saying something against the president himself because he felt that the public wouldn't go along with that.

Berton: How did you feel, personally, about the president's assassination in that connection? Were you bothered about it? Were you angered by it? Or were you jubilant?

Malcolm X: No. I was realistic, in that being at the forefront of this struggle of the black man in America—in his quest for respect as a human being—I had seen the many-faceted repercussions of this hate taking a grip on the American public. I think that many of the politicians took advantage of it and exploited it for their own personal benefit. So to me the whole thing was a case of politics, hate and a combination of other things.

Berton: There seems to me to have been a fair amount of hate in the Black Muslim movement itself.

Malcolm X: Well, I won't deny that. But, at the same time, I don't think that the Black Muslim movement and its hate can be classified as the same degree or type of hate you find in the American society itself, because the hate, so-called, that you see among black people is a reaction to the hate of the society which has rejected us. In that sense it is not hate.

Berton: I'm not saying that the hate, or whatever it is, isn't understandable. I'm asking if it's effective to fight hate with hate?

Malcolm X: In my opinion, I think that it is not fair to classify the reaction of people who are oppressed as hate. They are reacting to the hate of the society they have had put upon them or practiced against them.

Berton: Let me ask you this about your God, Mr. X. Has he got any color? Is he black?

Malcolm X: No.

Berton: Is he white?

Malcolm X: As a Black Muslim, who believed what Elijah Muhammad taught, I regarded God just as he taught, as a black man. Having since gone into the Muslim world and got a better understanding of the religion of Islam, I believe that God is the supreme being, and that color plays no part in his particular being.

Berton: In fact, isn't the God of the Muslims and of the Jews and the Christians really the same God?

Malcolm X: If they believe in the God who created the universe, then we all believe in the same God. I believe in the God who created the universe. Muslims call him Allah. Christians, perhaps, call him Christ, or by some other name. Jews call him Jehovah, and in referring to him they mean "the creative." We are all referring to the same God.

Berton: Now, let me switch the subject briefly, and ask you what you mean when you say that the Black Muslims are not militant enough. Your new organization, I take it, will be more militant than the Black Muslims. In what way?

Malcolm X: Well, the Black Muslim movement, number one, professes to be a religious movement. They profess the religion of Islam. But the Muslim world rejected the Black Muslim movement as a bona fide Islamic group, so it found itself maneuvered into a religious vacuum—or a sort of religious hybrid. At the same time, the government of the United States tried to maneuver the Black Muslim movement, with the press, into an image that was political instead of religious. So the Black Muslim movement came to be known as a political group. Yet, at the same time, it didn't vote; it didn't take part in any politics; it didn't involve itself actively in the civil rights struggle; so it became a political hybrid as well as a religious hybrid. Now, on the other hand, the Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant black American, the young, dissatisfied, uncompromising element that exists in this country—drawing them in yet, at the same time, giving them no part to play in the struggle other than moral reform. It created a lot of disillusion, dissatisfaction, dissension, and eventually division. Those who divided are the ones that I'm a part of. We set up the Muslim Mosque, which is based upon orthodox Islam, as a

religious group so that we could get a better understanding of our religion; but being black Americans, though we are Muslims, who believe in brotherhood, we also realized that our people have a problem in America that goes beyond religion. We realized that many of our people aren't going to become Muslim; many of them aren't even interested in anything religious; so we set up the Organization of Afro-American Unity as a non-religious organization which all black Americans could become a part of and play an active part in striking out at the political, economic, and social evils that all of us are confronted by.

Berton: That "striking out," what form is it going to take? You talk of giving the Ku Klux Klan a taste of its own medicine. This is in direct opposition to the theory of non-violence of Dr. Martin Luther King, who doesn't believe in striking back. What do you mean by "a taste of its own medicine"? Are you going to burn fiery crosses on their lawns? Are you going to blow up churches with the Ku Klux Klan kids in them? What are you going to do?

Malcolm X: Well, I think that the only way that two different races can get along with each other is, first, they have to understand each other. That cannot be brought about other than through communication, dialogue—and you can't communicate with a person unless you speak his language. If the person speaks French, you can't speak English or German.

Berton: We have that problem in our country, too.

Malcolm X: In America, our people have so far not been able to speak the type of language that the racists understand. By not speaking that language, they fail to communicate, so that the racist element doesn't really believe that the black American is a human being—part of the human family. There is no communication. So I believe that the only way to communicate with that element is to be in a position to speak their language.

Berton: And this language is violence?

Malcolm X: I wouldn't call it violence. I think that they should be made to know that, any time they come into a black community and inflict violence upon members of that black community, they should realize in advance that the black community can speak the same language. Then they would be less likely to come in.

Berton: Let's be specific here: suppose that a church is bombed. Will you bomb back?

Malcolm X: I believe that any area of the United States, where the federal government has shown either its unwillingness or inability to protect the lives and the property of the black American, then it is time for the black Americans to band together and do whatever is necessary to see that we get the type of protection we need.

Berton: "Whatever is necessary?"

Malcolm X: I mean just that, whatever is necessary. This does not mean that we should go out and initiate acts of aggression indiscriminately in the white community. But it does mean that, if we are going to be respected as human beings, we should reserve the right to defend ourselves by whatever means necessary. This is recognized and accepted in any civilized society.

Berton: There are some people going to go on trial in Mississippi for the murder of three civil rights workers. There are some witnesses who identify them as murderers, but the general feeling is they'll get off. Will you do anything about this if they get off?

Malcolm X: I wouldn't say.

Berton: You don't want to say?

Malcolm X: Because, then, if something happened to them, they would blame me. But I will say that in a society where the law itself is incapable of bringing known murderers to justice, it's historically demonstrable that the well-meaning people of that society have always banded together in one form or another to see that their society was protected against repetitious acts by these same murderers.

Berton: What you're talking about here is a vigilante movement.

Malcolm X: There have been vigilante movements forming all over America in white communities, but the black community has yet to form a vigilante committee. This is why we aren't respected as human beings.

Berton: Are you training men to use aggressive methods? Are you training

men as the Black Muslim movement trained the elite core known as the Fruit of Islam? Have you got trainees operating now who know how to fight back?

Malcolm X: Yes.

Berton: Who know how to use knuckle-dusters and guns?

Malcolm X: Yes, oh yes. The black man in America doesn't need that much training. Most of them have been in the army–have already been trained by the government itself. They haven't been trained to think for themselves and, therefore, they've never used this training to protect themselves.

Berton: Have you got a specific cadre of such young, tough guys working for you or operating under your aegis?

Malcolm X: We're not a cadre, nor do we want it to be felt that we want to be tough. We're trying to be human beings, and we want to be recognized and accepted as human beings. But we don't think humanity will recognize us or accept us as such until humanity knows that we will do everything to protect our human ranks, as others will do for theirs.

Berton: Are you prepared to send flying squads into areas where the Negroes have been oppressed without any legal help?

Malcolm X: We are prepared to do whatever is necessary to see that our people, wherever they are, get the type of protection that the federal government has refused to give them.

Berton: Okay. Do you still believe that all whites are devils and all blacks saints, as I'm sure you did under the Black Muslim movement?

Malcolm X: This is what Elijah Muhammad teaches. No, I don't believe that. I believe as the Qur'an teaches, that a man should not be judged by the color of his skin but rather by his conscious behavior, by his actions, by his attitude towards others and his actions towards others.

Berton: Now, before you left Elijah Muhammad and went to Mecca and saw the original world of Islam, you believed in complete segregation of the whites and the Negroes. You were opposed both to integration and to

intermarriage. Have you changed your views there?

Malcolm X: I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being, neither white, black, brown nor red. When you are dealing with humanity as one family, there's no question of integration or intermarriage. It's just one human being marrying another human being, or one human being living around and with another human being. I may say, though, that I don't think the burden to defend any such position should ever be put upon the black man. Because it is the white man collectively who has shown that he is hostile towards integration and towards intermarriage and towards these other strides towards oneness. So, as a black man, and especially as a black American, I don't think that I would have to defend any stand that I formerly took. Because it's still a reaction of the society and it's a reaction that was produced by the white society. And I think that it is the society that produced this that should be attacked, not the reaction that develops among the people who are the victims of that negative society.

Berton: But you no longer believe in a Black State?

Malcolm X: No.

Berton: In North America?

Malcolm X: No. I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings on the basis of equality.

Berton: So you have been changed considerably by your visit to the Muslim world and specifically to Mecca. Did this produce violent emotions within yourself? When people lose their faith or change their faith or renew their faith, they usually suffer terrible internal conflicts.

Malcolm X: Oh, yes. I will confess readily that it's impossible to believe as strongly in a man as I believed in Elijah Muhammad and have him disappoint me—or disappoint anyone else for that matter—and not create a great deal of internal conflict. One of the things that I am thankful for about the religion of Islam is that it is sufficiently strong in itself so that when one broadens one's understanding of it, it gives one the inner strength to face up to some of these crises or tests that one encounters.

Berton: There has been talk, I think by you and by Elijah Muhammad,

about an Armageddon in the United States by 1984. I'm wondering if you still believe that, and why that particular date?

Malcolm X: I don't frankly. Much of what Elijah Muhammad has taught I don't think he believes in himself. I say that and can easily defend it sitting opposite him. But, where an ultimate clash between East and West is concerned, well, I think that an objective analysis of events taking place on this earth today points towards some type of ultimate showdown. You can call it a political showdown or even a showdown between the economic systems that exist on this earth, which almost boil down along racial lines. I do believe that there will be a clash between East and West. I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice, and equality for everyone, and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think that it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammad has taught it. However, I do think you'll find that the European powers, which are the former colonial powers, if they're not able to readjust their feeling of superiority towards the darker skinned people, whom they have been made to think are inferior, then the lines can easily be drawn. They can easily be lumped into racial groups, and it will be a racial war.

# On Afro-American History (January 24, 1965)

Brothers and Sisters, first I want to, as Brother James has pointed out, thank you, as we do each week, or have been doing each week. It seems that during the month of January it doesn't snow or rain or hail or get bad in any way weather-wise until Saturday night, and it stays like that Saturday through Sunday, and then the sun comes back out on Monday—it seems. But since I was a little boy I learned that one of the things that makes you grow into manhood are tests and trials and tribulations. If you can come through the snow and the rain and the sleet, you know you can make it easily when the sun is out and everything is right. So I'm happy to see that those of you who are here tonight don't let anything get in your way, that is, weather wise.

During the next three weeks, we're going to have a series that will be designed to give us a better understanding of the past, I should say a better knowledge of the past, in order that we may understand the present and be better prepared for the future. I don't think any of you will deny the fact that it is impossible to understand the present or prepare for the future unless we have some knowledge of the past. And the thing that has kept most of us—that is, the Afro-Americans—almost crippled in this society has been our complete lack of knowledge concerning the past. The number one thing that makes us differ from other people is our lack of knowledge concerning the past. Proof of which: almost anyone else can come into this country and get around barriers and obstacles that we cannot get around; and the only difference between them and us, they know something about the past, and in knowing something about the past, they know something about themselves, they have an identity. But wherein you and I differ from them is primarily revolved around our lack of knowledge concerning the past.

And tonight, this is what we would like to go into. Next Sunday night, it's our intention to go into the present, some of the tricks that are used to keep us at the level that we are on by making us think that we're going forward when we are actually standing still. And then the third Sunday night, the thirty-first, it's the intention of the Organization of Afro American Unity at that time to spell out what we think are the best steps to take, and at that time also offer a program that we feel Harlem, people in Harlem, can

participate in toward getting that objective or solution into becoming a reality. When you deal with the past, you're dealing with history; you're dealing actually with the origin of a thing. When you know the origin, you know the cause. If you don't know the origin, you don't know the cause. And if you don't know the cause, you don't know the reason, you're just cut off, you're left standing in midair. So the past deals with history or the origin of anything—the origin of a person, the origin of a nation, the origin of an incident. And when you know the origin, then you get a better understanding of the causes that produce whatever originated there and its reason for originating and its reason for being.

It's impossible for you and me to have a balanced mind in this society without going into the past, because in this particular society, as we function and fit into it right now, we're such an underdog, we're trampled upon, we're looked upon as almost nothing. Now if we don't go into the past and find out how we got this way, we will think that we were always this way. And if you think that you were always in the condition that you're in right now, it's impossible for you to have too much confidence in yourself, you become worthless, almost nothing.

But when you go back into the past and find out where you once were, then you will know that you weren't always at this level, that you once had attained a higher level, had made great achievements, contributions to society, civilization, science, and so forth. And you know that if you once did it, you can do it again; you automatically get the incentive, the inspiration, and the energy necessary to duplicate what our forefathers formerly did. But by keeping us completely cut off from our past, it is easy for the man who has power over us to make us willing to stay at this level because we will feel that we were always at this level, a low level. That's why I say it is so important for you and me to spend time today learning something about the past so that we can better understand the present, analyze it, and then do something about it.

One of the main things that you will find when you compare people who come out here on Sunday nights with other people is that those who come here have interests that go beyond local interests or even national interests. I think you will find most who come out here are interested in things local, and interested in things national, but are also interested in things international.

Most Afro-Americans who go to other meetings are usually interested in things local—Harlem, that's it; or Mississippi, that's it—national. But seldom do you find them taking a keen interest in things going on worldwide, because they don't know what part they play in things going on worldwide.

But those of us who come here, come here because we not only see the importance of having an understanding of things local and things national, but we see today the importance of having an understanding of things international, and where our people, the Afro-Americans in this country, fit into that scheme of things, where things international are concerned. We come out because our scope is broad, our scope is international rather than national, and our interests are international rather than national. Our interests are worldwide rather than limited just to things American, or things New York, or things Mississippi. And this is very important.

You can get into a conversation with a person, and in five minutes tell whether or not that person's scope is broad or whether that person's scope is narrow, whether that person is interested in things going on in his block where he lives or interested in things going on all over the world. Now persons who are narrow-minded, because their knowledge is limited, think that they're affected only by things happening in their block. But when you find a person who has a knowledge of things of the world today, he realizes that what happens in South Vietnam can affect him if he's living on St. Nicholas Avenue, or what's happening in the Congo affects his situation on Eighth Avenue or Seventh Avenue or Lenox Avenue. The person who realizes the effect that things all over the world have right on his block, on his salary, on his reception or lack of reception into society, immediately becomes interested in things international. But if a person's scope is so limited that he thinks things that affect him are only those things that take place across the street or downtown, then he's only interested in things across the street and downtown.

So, one of our greatest desires here at Organization of Afro-American Unity meetings is to try and broaden the scope and even the reading habits of most of our people, who need their scope broadened and their reading habits also broadened today. Another thing that you will find is that those who go to other places usually think of themselves as a minority. If you'll notice, in all of their struggling, programming, or even crying or demanding, they even refer to themselves as a minority, and they use

a minority approach. By a minority they mean that they are lesser than something else, or they are outnumbered, or the odds are against them—and this is the approach that they use in their argument, in their demand, in their negotiation.

But when you find those of us who have been following the nationalistic thinking that prevails in Harlem, we don't think of ourselves as a minority, because we don't think of ourselves just within the context of the American stage or the American scene, in which we would be a minority. We think of things worldly, or as the world is; we think of our part in the world, and we look upon ourselves not as a dark minority on the white American stage, but rather we look upon ourselves as a part of the dark majority who now prevail on the world stage. And when you think like this, automatically, when you realize you are part of the majority, you approach your problem as if odds are on your side rather than odds are against you. You approach demanding rather than using the begging approach.

And this is one of the things that is frightening the white man. As long as the Black man in America thinks of himself as a minority, as an underdog, he can't shout but so loud; or if he does shout, he shouts loudly only to the degree that the power structure encourages him to. He never gets irresponsible. He never goes beyond what the power structure thinks is the right voice to shout in. But when you begin to connect yourself on the world stage with the whole of dark mankind, and you see that you're the majority and this majority is waking up and rising up and becoming strong, then when you deal with this man, you don't deal with him like he's your boss or he's better than you or stronger than you. You put him right where he belongs. When you realize that he's a minority, that his time is running out, you approach him like that, you approach him like one who used to be strong but is now getting weak, who used to be in a position to retaliate against you but now is not in that position anymore.

When you jump out around some Black Americans and speak as if everything is on your side, why, they think you're crazy. But they think you're crazy because they can't see what you see. All they see is Charlie, all they see is the white man. And because he is all they see, to them he looks like a giant. But you're looking beyond the white man. You see the nations of the earth that are black, brown, red, and yellow, who used to be down, now getting up. And when you see them, you find that you look more like them than you look like Sam. And then you find yourself relating

to them, whereas you formerly tried to relate to Sam. When you relate to them, you're related to the majority. But when you relate to Uncle Sam, you automatically become a minority relative. You understand? He examines us all the time. He has the Black community throughout this land always under a microscope just like in a scientists laboratory, to find out how you're thinking, to keep up to date on how you think, on the beat of your pulse—are you beating too hot, or is your temperature running too hot, or is it cool. He wants to know how you think and how you feel. If you seem to be working up a temperature that he's not responsible for, it worries him. As long as your temperature rises when he puts the pressure, that's okay. But if he sees you making some reactions that are motivated other than by something that he has done, then he begins to worry. He finds that something else is influencing you and controlling you beyond his control and influence. And he should worry when you begin to get like that.

Whether you come to the meetings of the Organization of Afro-American Unity or not, whether you go to church today or into the lodge or anywhere, there is one thing that everyone agrees—that the world is in trouble. Whether you go to church, the mosque, the synagogue, or are just a plain atheist and go to the poolroom, or someplace else, there's one thing that everyone has to agree upon, and that is that the world is in trouble, the world is in real trouble. There are many different spots in the world today that could cause it to explode. And it's in multiple trouble since China exploded the atomic bomb. Formerly, when just the white nations had it, they went according to certain rules, rules laid down by them. They've always done this. They lay down rules but the rules are always in their favor. But they have already learned through history that the dark nation that becomes truly independent intellectually doesn't necessarily go by their rules. The Japanese proved this when they hit Pearl Harbor. They'd smile and let you have it. Well, this is true. And this goes beyond the ground rules that they laid down and it gets unexpected results. Now since the Japanese proved their ability to do this with Pearl Harbor, which is intelligent in my opinion—I don't think that anybody should tell somebody else what they're going to do; they should go ahead and do it, and that's it. Because you might say what you're going to do, and not get a chance to do it, and you look bad; not only do you feel bad, you end up looking bad. So it's better to go ahead and do it. I think they had the right philosophy there myself. And the Chinese can do it even better than that They've got more people to do it with, and now they've got more explosiveness to do it with.

So we're living in troubled times. We're living at a time when anything can happen. Just a couple of years ago it couldn't happen unless Sam said so, or unless Khrushchev said so, or unless de Gaulle said so. But now it can happen anytime. It's not in the power of just one race to say when this can happen or when that can happen; it can now be set off by dark nations. So the world is in trouble.

Another characteristic of this era that we're living in, that's causing it to be a troubled world, is the fact that the dark world is rising. And as the dark world rises, the white world declines. It's impossible for the dark world to increase in its power and strength without the power and strength of the white world decreasing. This is just the way it is, it's almost mathematics. If there is only so much power, and all of it has been over there, well, the only way this man's going to get some over here is to take it away from those over there. That's plain fact.

Up until recent times, all of the power has been in Europe, it has all been in the hands of the white man. The base of power has been in London and Paris and Brussels and Washington, D.C., and some of those places like that. Now the bases of power are changing. You have a base of power in Accra, in Ghana, in Africa. Another base of power in Zanzibar, another base of power in Cairo, another base of power in Algiers, another base of power in Tokyo, another base of power in Peking. Well, as these bases of power increase, it decreases Europe as a base of power. And this is what's causing trouble. The white man is worried. He knows that he didn't do right when he had all the power, and if the base of power changes, those into whose hands it falls may know how to really do right. The rise of the dark world is producing the fall of the white world.

And I've got to point out right here that what I'm saying is not racist. I'm not speaking racism, I'm not condemning all white people. I'm just saying that in the past the white world was in power, and it was. This is history, this is fact. They called it European history, or colonialism. They ruled all the dark world. Now when they were in power and had everything going their way, they didn't call that racism, they called it colonialism. And they were happy too when they could stand up and tell how much power they had. Britain used to brag about the sun never set on her empire. Her empire was so vast, you know, that the sun would never set on it, she bragged. I heard Churchill say it, and Macmillan, and some of those others who sat over there telling everybody else what to do.

But now the shoe is on the other foot. There is no nation today that can brag about its power being unlimited, or that it can take unilateral action in any area of the earth that they desire. No white nation can do this. But just twenty years ago they could do it. Twenty years ago the United States could do it, twenty years ago England could do it, France could do it, even little old runt Belgium could do it, and Holland could do it. But they can't do it now, because the base of power is shifting. And this is what you and I have to understand, really, in order to understand what's happening in Georgia, in Alabama, in Mississippi, and in New York City.

The power is shifting, and as it shifts the man in whose hands it once was gets worried, and the man in whose hands it falls, who hasn't had it for a long time, he gets powerhappy, you know, and he is not particularly interested in playing according to the rules, especially the rules that this man laid down. Now as the base of power shifts, what it is doing is bringing an end to what you and I know to have been white supremacy. Supreme means to be above others. And up until recent times, the white nations were above the dark nations. They ruled supreme on this earth. They didn't call it white supremacy, but this is what it was.

Now white supremacy has come to an end. Only meaning that the time when the white man could reign supreme all over the world—that's ended, that's outdated, that's gone by, it can't happen any more. And it is reflected in what Macmillan meant when he spoke in Africa three years ago about the winds of change. At this time Macmillan was the prime minister of England and he was making a tour through Africa; and he came back crying to the other Europeans about the winds of change that are sweeping down across the African continent, meaning that the people who formerly had permitted Europeans or whites to oppress them had changed their minds. They didn't want to be oppressed any longer, they didn't want to be exploited any longer, they wanted to be independent and free to build a society of their own for themselves.

As soon as this mood or tempo began to be visible on the African continent, some of this earth's leading white states men at the top level admitted it—and didn't admit it secretly, admitted it openly. Adlai Stevenson got up in the United Nations, I think it was last year, and accused the dark nations of playing a skin game in the UN. And you know what he meant by skin game? He meant that people of the same skin color

were banding together. Meaning that people with dark skins were banding together in the UN against people with white skins. This is something to think about. Now this means that the United States representative to the United Nations, an international body, was alert enough, had sufficient foresight, to see that in this era that we're living in right now, dark-skinned people were coming together, they were uniting, they were forming blocs—the Afro-Asian bloc, the Afro-Asian-Arab bloc, the Afro-Asian-Arab-Latin bloc, you know—and all these blocs were against him. He could see this, and this is what caused so much worry and so much confusion today.

As soon as he saw that these dark-skinned people were getting together in unity and harmony, he began to put out the propaganda that the dark-skinned people aren't ready yet. This is his analysis after our efforts—that we aren't ready for freedom. And to try and prove that we weren't ready for freedom, they let the people in the Congo go so far free and then turned right around and stirred it up to make them look foolish—so that they could use that to say that Africa wasn't ready for freedom.

They say the same thing to you and me over here, that we're not ready yet—isn't that what they say? Certainly, theysay that you're not ready to live in a decent house, and that you're not ready to go to a decent school, or that you're not ready to work on a decent job. This is what they say, and they don't say why we're not ready, they don't say why. And if we're not ready, they don't say that we once were ready, but we're not now—they try and make it look like we never were ready, that we never were in history a people who occupied a responsible position on the cultural tree, the civilization tree, or any other tree. They try to give us the impression, you know, that we never were qualified, therefore we can only qualify today to the degree that they themselves qualify us. And they trick us this way. Trick us into going to them and asking them, "Qualify me, you know, so I can be free." Why, you're out of your mind.

They also know that the only way we're going to do it is through unity. So they create another trap. Every effort we make to unite among ourselves on the basis of what we are, they label it as what? Racism. If we say that we want to form something that's based on Black people getting together, the white man calls that racism. Mind you. And then some of these old white-minded Negroes do the same thing, they say, "That's racism, I don't want to belong to anything that's all Black." A lot of them say this. But it's only because they themselves have been bitten by the bug, the white bug. And

they think the only way they can belong to something that is going to be progressive or successful, it has got to have the white man in it. Many of them think that.

But these are traps. He traps us because he knows it's impossible for us to go forward unless we get together. But what basis are we going to get together on? We've got to get together on the same basis they got together. Italians got together because they were Italian, the Jews got together on the basis of being Jews, the Irish got together on the basis of being Irish. Now what basis are you and I going to get together on? We've got to have some kind of basis. But as soon as we mention the only basis that we've got to get together on, they trick us by telling our leaders, you know, that anything that's all Black is putting segregation in reverse. Isn't that what they say? So the people who are Black don't want to get together because they don't want segregation. See, the man is tricky, brothers and sisters. I mean the man is tricky. He's a master of tricks. And if you don't realize how tricky he is, he'll have you maneuvered right on back into slavery—I shouldn't say back into slavery because we're not out of it yet.

These are traps that he creates. If you speak in an angry way about what has happened to our people and what is happening to our people, what does he call it? Emotionalism. Pick up on that. Here the man has got a rope around his neck and because he screams, you know, the cracker that's putting the rope around his neck accuses him of being emotional. You're supposed to have the rope around your neck and holler politely, you know. You're supposed to watch your diction, not shout and wake other people up—this is how you're supposed to holler. You're supposed to be respectable and responsible when you holler against what they're doing to you. And you've got a lot of Afro-Americans who fall for that. They say, "No, you can't do it like that, you've got to be responsible, you've got to be respectable." And you'll always be a slave as long as you're trying to be responsible and respectable in the eyesight of your master; you'll remain a slave. When you're in the eyesight of your master, you've got to let him know you're irresponsible and you'll blow his irresponsible head off.

And again you've got another trap that he maneuvers you into. If you begin to talk about what he did to you, he'll say that's hate, you're teaching hate. Pick up on that. He won't say he didn't do it, because he can't. But he'll accuse you of teaching hate just because you begin to spell out what he did to you. Which is an intellectual trap—because he knows we don't want to

be accused of hate.

And the average Black American who has been real brainwashed, he never wants to be accused of being emotional. You ever watched them? You ever watched one of them? Do that. Watch them; watch the real bourgeois Black Americans. He never wants to show any sign of emotion. He won't even tap his feet. You can have some of that real soul music, and he'll sit there, you know, like it doesn't move him. I watch him, and I'm telling you. And the reason he tries to pretend like it doesn't move him is that he knows it doesn't move them. And it doesn't move them because they can't feel it; they've got no soul. And he's got to pretend he has none just to make it with them. This is a shame, really.

And then you go a step farther, they get you again on this violence. They have another trap wherein they make it look criminal if any of us, who has a rope around his neck or one is being put around his neck—if you do anything to stop the man from putting that rope around your neck, that's violence. And again this bourgeois Negro, who's trying to be polite and respectable and all, he never wants to be identified with violence. So he lets them do anything to him, and he sits there submitting to it nonviolently, just so he can keep his image of responsibility. He dies with a responsible image, he dies with a polite image, but he dies. The man who is irresponsible and impolite, he keeps his life. That responsible Negro, he'll die every day, but if the irresponsible one dies he takes some of those with him who were trying to make him die.

So the era that we're living in is an era in which we see the people in the East on the rise and the people in the West on the decline. That is, the dark world is rising and the white world, or the Western world, is having its power curtailed. This is happening and it's happening every day.

Take right there in Saigon, in South Vietnam. Don't you realize that twenty years ago those little people over there didn't have a chance? All they needed would be for a battleship to sail up to the coastline, and everybody over there would bow down, "Yessir, boss." That's how they said it, same as you say it over here. But not now. Now they don't yes anybody's boss. They get them a rifle and run boss clean on out of there.

The entire East, the dark world, is on the rise, whether you like it or not. And as the dark world rises up, it puts the white world on the spot, it puts

the Western world on the spot, and it puts you and me on the spot. Why does it put us on the spot? Because although we're in the West, we're from the East. Many, many Black Americans don't realize this. You are not of the West, you are in the West. You're not a Westerner; you're from the East. You're not white—you're in the white world, but that doesn't make you white; you're as Black as you ever were, you're just in the white world.

And next month they'll come up to show you another trick. They'll come at you and me next month with this Negro History Week, they call it. This week comes around once every year. And during this one week they drown us with propaganda about Negro history in Georgia and Mississippi and Alabama. Never do they take us back across the water, back home. They take us down home, but they never give us a history of back home. They never give us enough information to let us know what were we doing before we ended up in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and some of those other prison states. They give us the impression with Negro History Week that we were cotton pickers all of our lives. Cotton pickers, orange growers, mammies, and uncles for the white man in this country—this is our history when you talk in terms of Negro History Week. They might tell you about one or two people who took a peanut and made another white man rich. George Washington Carver—he was a scientist, but he died broke. He made Ford rich. So he wasn't doing anything for himself and his people. He got a good name for us, but what did we get out of it? Nothing. The master got it. Just like a dog who runs out in the woods and grabs a rabbit. No matter how hungry the dog is, does he eat it? No, he takes it back and lays it at the boss's feet. The boss skins it, takes the meat, and gives the dog the bones. And the dog is going right on, hungry again. But he could have gotten the rabbit and eaten it for himself. And boss couldn't even have caught him until later, because he can outrun the boss.

It's the same way with you and me. Every contribution we make, we don't make it for our people, we make it for the man, we make it for our master. He gets the benefit from it. We die, not for our people, we die for him. We don't die for our home and our house, we die for his house. We don't die for our country, we die for his country. A lot of you all were fools on the front lines, were you not? Yes, you were. You put on the uniform and went right up on the front lines like a roaring hound dog barking for master. And when you come back here—you've had to bark since you came back. So Negro History Week reminds us of this. It doesn't remind us of past achievements, it reminds us only of the achievements we made in the

Western Hemisphere under the tutelage of the white man. So that whatever achievement that was made in the Western Hemisphere that the spotlight is put upon, this is the white man's shrewd way of taking credit for whatever we have accomplished. But he never lets us know of an accomplishment that we made prior to being born here. This is another trick.

The worst trick of all is when he names us Negro and calls us Negro. And when we call ourselves that, we end up tricking ourselves. My brother Cassius was on the screen the other night talking with Les Crane about the word Negro. I wish he wouldn't have gone so fast, because he was in a position to have done a very good job. But he was right in saying that we're not Negroes, and have never been, until we were brought here and made into that. We were scientifically produced by the white man. Whenever you see somebody who calls himself a Negro, he's a product of Western civilization—not only Western civilization, but Western crime. The Negro, as he is called or calls himself in the West, is the best evidence that can be used against Western civilization today. One of the main reasons we are called Negro is so we won't know who we really are. And when you call yourself that, you don't know who you really are. You don't know what you are, you don't know where you came from, you don't know what is yours. As long as you call yourself a Negro, nothing is yours. No languages—you can't lay claim to any language, not even English; you mess it up. You can't lay claim to any name, any type of name, that will identify you as something that you should be. You can't lay claim to any culture as long as you use the word Negro to identify yourself. It attaches you to nothing. It doesn't even identify your color.

If you talk about one of them, they call themselves white, don't they? Or they might call someone else Puerto Rican to identify them. Mind you how they do this. When they call him a Puerto Rican, they're giving him a better name. Because there is a place called Puerto Rico, you know. It at least lets you know where he came from. So they'll say whites, Puerto Ricans, and Negroes. Pick up on that. That's a drag, brothers. White is legitimate. It means that's what color they are. Puerto Rican tells you that they're something else, came from somewhere else, but they're here now. Negro doesn't tell you anything. I mean nothing, absolutely nothing. What do you identify it with? Tell me. Nothing. What do you attach it to, what do you attach to it? Nothing. It's completely in the middle of nowhere. And when you call yourself that, that's where you are—right in the middle of nowhere. It doesn't give you a language, because there is no such thing as

a Negro language. It doesn't give you a country, because there is no such thing as a Negro country. It doesn't give you a culture—there is no such thing as a Negro culture, it doesn't exist. The land doesn't exist, the culture doesn't exist, the language doesn't exist, and the man doesn't exist. They take you out of existence by calling you a Negro. And you can walk around in front of them all day long and they act like they don't even see you. Because you made yourself nonexistent. It's a person who has no history; and by having no history, he has no culture.

Just as a tree without roots is dead, a people without history or cultural roots also becomes a dead people. And when you look at us, those of us who are called Negro, we're called that because we are like a dead people. We have nothing to identify ourselves as part of the human family. You know, you take a tree, you can tell what kind of tree it is by looking at the leaves. If the leaves are gone, you can look at the bark and tell what kind it is. But when you find a tree with the leaves gone a and the bark gone, everything gone, you call that a what? A stump. And you can't identify a stump as easily as you can identify a tree.

And this is the position that you and I are in here in America. Formerly we could be identified by the names we wore when we came here. When we were first brought here, we had different names. When we were first brought here, we had a different language. And these names and this language identified the culture that we were brought from, the land that we were brought from. In identifying that, we were able to point towards what we had produced, our net worth. But once our names were taken and our language was taken and our identity was destroyed and our roots were cut off with no history, we became like a stump, something dead, a twig over here in the Western Hemisphere. Anybody could step on us, trample upon us, or burn us, and there would be nothing that we could do about it.

Those of you who are religious, who go to church, know there are stories in the Bible that can be used easily to pretty well tell the condition of the Black man in America once he became a Negro. They refer to him in there as the lost sheep, meaning someone who is lost from his own kind, which is how you and I have been for the past four hundred years. We have been in a land where we are not citizens, or in a land where they have treated us as strangers.

They have another symbolic story in there, called the dry bones. Many

of you have gone to church Sunday after Sunday and got, you know, the ghost, they call it—got happy. When the old preacher started singing about dry bones, you'd knock over benches, just because he was singing about those bones, "them dry bones"—I know how they say it. But you never could identify the symbolic meaning of those bones—how they were dead because they had been cut off from their own kind.

Our people here in America have been in the same condition as those dry bones that you sit in church singing about. But you shed more tears over those dry bones than you shed over yourself. This is a strange thing, but it shows what happens to a people when they are cut off and stripped of everything, like you and I have been cut off and stripped of everything. We become a people like no other people, and we are a people like no other people, there's no other people on earth like you and me. We're unique, we're different. They say that we're Negro, and they say that Negro means black; yet they don't call all Black people Negroes. You see the contradiction? Mind you, they say that we're Negro, because Negro means black in Spanish, yet they don't call all Black people Negroes. Something there doesn't add up.

And then to get around it they say mankind is divided up into three categories—Mongoloid, Caucasoid, and Negroid. Now pick up on that. And all Black people aren't Negroid—they've got some jet black ones that they classify as Caucasoid. But if you'll study very closely, all of the black ones that they classify as Caucasoid are those that still have great civilizations, or still have the remains of what was once a great civilization. The only ones that they classify as Negroid are those that they find with no evidence that they were ever civilized; then they call them Negroid. But they can't afford to let any black-skinned people who have evidence that they formerly occupied a high seat in civilization, they can't afford to let them be called Negroid, so they take them on into the Caucasoid classification.

And actually Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid—there's no such thing. These are so-called anthropological terms that were put together by anthropologists who were nothing but agents of the colonial powers, and they were purposely given that status, they were purposely given such scientific positions, in order that they could come up with definitions that would justify the European domination over the Africans and the Asians. So immediately they invented classifications that would automatically

demote these people or put them on a lesser level. All of the Caucasoids are on a high level, the Negroids are kept at a low level. This is just plain trickery that their scientists engage in order to keep you and me thinking that we never were anything, and therefore he's doing us a favor as he lets us step upward or forward in his particular society or civilization. I hope you understand what I am saying.

Now then, once you see that the condition that we're in is directly related to our lack of knowledge concerning the history of the Black man, only then can you realize the importance of knowing something about the history of the Black man. The Black man's history—when you refer to him as the Black man you go way back, but when you refer to him as a Negro, you can only go as far back as the Negro goes. And when you go beyond the shores of America you can't find a Negro. So if you go beyond the shores of America in history, looking for the history of the Black man, and you're looking for him under the term Negro, you won't find him. He doesn't exist. So you end up thinking that you didn't play any role in history.

But if you want to take the time to do research for yourself, I think you'll find that on the African continent there was always, prior to the discovery of America, there was always a higher level of history, rather a higher level of culture and civilization, than that which existed in Europe at the same time.

At least five thousand years ago they had a Black civilization in the Middle East called the Sumerians. Now when they show you pictures of the Sumerians they try and make you think that they were white people. But if you go and read some of the ancient manuscripts or even read between the lines of some of the current writers, you'll find that the Sumerian civilization was a very dark-skinned civilization, and it existed prior even to the existence of the Babylonian empire, right in the same area where you find Iraq and the Tigris-Euphrates rivers there. It was a black-skinned people who lived there, who had a high state of culture way back then.

And at a time even beyond this there was a black-skinned people in India, who were Black, just as Black as you and I, called Dravidians. They inhabited the subcontinent of India even before the present people that you see living there today, and they had a high state of culture. The present people of India even looked upon them as gods; most of their statues, if you'll notice, have pronounced African features. You go right to India

today—in their religion, which is called Buddhism, they give all their Buddha's the image of a Black man, with his lips and his nose, and even show his hair all curled up on his head; they didn't curl it up, he was born that way. And these people lived in that area before the present people of India lived there.

The Black man lived in the Middle East before the present people who are now living there. And he had a high culture and a high civilization, to say nothing about the oldest civilization of all that he had in Egypt along the banks of the Nile. And in Carthage in northwest Africa, another part of the continent, and at a later date in Mali and Ghana and Songhai and Moorish civilization—all of these civilizations existed on the African continent before America was discovered.

Now the Black civilization that shook the white man up the most was the Egyptian civilization, and it was a Black civilization. It was along the banks of the Nile, which runs through the heart of Africa. But again this tricky white man, and he's tricky—and mind you again, when I say this, it's not a racist statement. Some of them might not be tricky, but all of them I've met are tricky. And his civilization shows his trickiness. This tricky white man was able to take the Egyptian civilization, write books about it, put pictures in those books, make movies for television and the theater—so skillfully that he has even convinced other white people that the ancient Egyptians were white people themselves. They were African, they were as much African as you and I. And he even gave the clue away when he made this movie King Solomon's Mines, and he showed the Watusis, you know, with their Black selves, and he outright admitted in there that they looked like the ancient pharaohs of ancient Egypt. Which means that the white man himself, he knows that the Black man had this high civilization in Egypt, whose remains today show the Black man in that area had mastered mathematics, had mastered architecture, the science of building things, had even mastered astronomy.

The pyramid, as the white scientists admit, is constructed in such a position on this earth to show that the Black people who were the architects of it had a knowledge of geography that was so vast, they knew the exact center of the earth's land mass. Because the base of the pyramid is located in the exact center of the earth's land mass, which could not have been so situated by its architect unless the architect in that day had known that the earth was round and knew how much land there was in all the directions from

where he was standing. The pyramid was built so many thousand years ago that they don't even know the exact time it was built, but they do know that the people who brought it into existence had mastered the science of building, had mastered the various sciences of the earth, and had mastered astronomy.

I read where one scientist said that the architect of the pyramid had built a shaft that went outward from the center of the pyramid, and the place it marked in the sky was the location where a star, a blue star I think, some kind of a star, made an appearance only once every fifty thousand years. Now they say that this architect's knowledge of astronomy was so vast that he evidently had access to histories or records that spotlighted the existence of a star that made its appearance at a certain spot in the sky only once every fifty thousand years. Now he could not have known this unless he had records going back beyond fifty thousand years. Yet the pyramid is a living witness today that the Black people who were responsible for bringing it into existence had this kind of knowledge.

When you read the opinions of the white scientists about the pyramids and the building of the pyramids, they don't make any secret at all over the fact that they marvel over the scientific ability that was in the possession of those people way back then. They had mastered chemistry to such extent that they could make paints whose color doesn't fade right until today. When I was in Cairo in the summer, I was in King Tut's tomb, plus, I saw that which was taken out of the tomb at the Cairo Museum. And the colors of the clothing that was worn and the colors inside the tomb are as bright and vivid and sharp today as they were when they were put there some thousands of years ago. Whereas, you know yourself, you can paint your house, and have to paint it again next year. This man hasn't learned how to make paint yet that will last two years. And the Black man in that day was such a master in these various scientific fields that he left behind evidence that his scientific findings in that day exceeded the degree to which the white man here in the West has been able to rise today.

And you must know this, because if you don't know this, you won't really understand what there is about you that makes them so afraid of you, and makes them show that they find it imperative for them to keep you down, keep you from getting up. Because if they let you up one inch, you've got it and gone—just one inch, you've got it and gone. And you should get it and go.

Just behind the pyramids is a huge statue, which many of you are familiar with, called the Sphinx. The people who live over there call it Abou el-Hole, which means "father of everything." This too was put over there so long ago they don't know who did it, nor do they know how long ago it was done. And they marvel at it. What causes them to marvel is the fact that the Black man could have been at such a high level then, and now be where he is today, at the bottom of the heap, with no outer sign that he has any scientific ability left within him. And he himself doesn't believe that he has any of this ability within him; he thinks that he has to turn to the man for some kind of formula on even how to get his freedom or how to build his house.

But the Black man by nature is a builder, he is scientific by nature, he's mathematical by nature. Rhythm is mathematics, harmony is mathematics. It's balance. And the Black man is balanced. Before you and I came over here, we were so well balanced we could toss something on our head and run with it. You can't even run with your hat now—you can't keep it on. Because you lost your balance. You've gotten away from yourself. But when you are in tune with yourself, your very nature has harmony, has rhythm, has mathematics. You can build. You don't even need anybody to teach you how to build. You play music by ear. You dance by how you're feeling. And you used to build the same way. You have it in you to do it. I know Black brick masons from the South who have never been to school a day in their life. They throw more bricks together and you don't know how they learned how to do it, but they know how to do it. When you see one of those other people doing it, they've been to school—somebody had to teach them. But nobody teaches you always what you know how to do. It just comes to you. That's what makes you dangerous. When you come to yourself, a whole lot of other things will start coming to you, and the man knows it.

In that day the Black man in Egypt was wearing silk, sharp as a tack, brothers. And those people up in Europe didn't know what cloth was. They admit this. They were naked or they were wearing skins from animals. If they could get an animal, they would take his hide and throw it around their shoulders to keep warm. But they didn't know how to sew and weave. They didn't have that knowledge in Europe, not in those days. They didn't cook their food in Europe. Even they themselves will show you when they were living up there in caves, they were knocking animals in the head and eating the raw meat. They were eating raw meat, raw food. They still like

it raw today. You watch them go in a restaurant, they say, "Give me a steak rare, with the blood dripping in it." And then you run in and say, "Give me one rare, with the blood dripping in it." You don't do it because that's the way you like it; you're just imitating them, you're copying, you're trying to be like that man. But when you act like yourself, you say, "Make mine well done." You like cooked food, because you've been cooking a long time; but they haven't been cooking so long—it wasn't too long ago that they knew what fire was. This is true.

You were walking erect, upright. You ever watch your walk? Now you're too hip to walk erect. You've come up with that other walk. But when you're yourself, you walk with dignity. Wherever you see the Black man, he walks with dignity. They have a tendency to be other than with dignity, unless they're trained. When their little girls go up to these, you know, highfalutin schools, and they want to teach them how to walk, they put a book on their head. Isn't that what they do? They teach them how to walk like you. That's what they're learning how to walk like—like you. Because you were almost born with a book on your head. You can throw it up there and run with it. I was amazed when I was in Africa to see the sense of poise and balance that these people over there have, all throughout Africa and Asia. They have that poise and that balance. But this is not an accident. This comes from something. And you have it too, but you've been channeling yours in another direction, in a different direction. But when you come to yourself, you'll channel it right.

Also as I said earlier, at that same time there was another African civilization called Carthage. One of the most famous persons in Carthage was a man named Hannibal. You and I have been taught that he was a white man. This is how they steal your history, they steal your culture, they steal your civilization—just by Hollywood producing a movie showing a Black man as a white man. I remember one day I told someone that Hannibal was Black. Some Negro, he was in college, one of these colleges—I told him Hannibal was a Black man, and he had a fit. Really, he did, he wanted to fight me on that. He said, "I know better than that." "How do you know?" He said, "I saw him." "Where'd you see him?" He said, "In the movies." And he was in college, really, he was a highly educated Negro and he had a fit when I told him Hannibal was Black. And some of you all right now are having a fit because you didn't know it either.

Hannibal was famous for crossing the Alps mountains with elephants.

Europeans couldn't go across the Alps on foot by themselves—no, they couldn't. Hannibal found a way to cross the Alps with elephants. You know what an elephant is—a great big old animal, it's hard to move him down the road. They moved him across the mountains. And he had with him ninety thousand African troops, defeated Rome, and occupied Italy for between fifteen and twenty years.

This is why you find many Italians dark—some of that Hannibal blood. No Italian will ever jump up in my face and start putting bad mouth on me, because I know his history. I tell him when you talk about me, you're talking about your pappy, your father. He knows his history, he knows how he got that color. Don't you know that just a handful of Black American troops spent a couple of years in England during World War and left more brown babies back there—just a handful of Black American soldiers in England and in Paris and in Germany messed up the whole country. Now what do you think ninety thousand Africans are going to do in Italy for twenty years? It's good to know this because when you know it, you don't have to get a club to fight the man—put truth on him.

Even the Irish got a dose of your and my blood when the Spanish Armada was defeated off the coast of Ireland, I think around about the seventeenth or eighteenth century; I forget exactly, you can check it out. The Spanish in those days were dark. They were the remnants of the Moors, and they went ashore and settled down in Ireland and right to this very day you've got what's known as the Black Irish. And it's not an accident that they call them Black Irish. If you look at them, they've got dark hair, dark features, and they've got Spanish names—like Eamon De Valera, the president, and there used to be another one called Costello. These names came from the Iberian Peninsula, which is the Spanish-Portuguese peninsula, and they came there through these seamen, who were dark in those days. Don't let any Irishman jump up in your face and start telling you about you—why, he's got some of your blood too. You've spread your blood everywhere. If you start to talk to any one of them, I don't care where he is, if you know history, you can put him right in his place. In fact, he'll stay in his place, if he knows that you know your history.

So all of this Carthage, Sumerian, Dravidian, Egyptian, Ethiopian history took place B.C., before Christ. In this era that you and I are living in after Christ, right in West Africa, one of the most highly developed civilizations was Ghana. Ghana wasn't located where she is today geographically, she

wasn't limited to that geographic location. She covered pretty much a great portion of West Africa, and dates the early history of that empire at almost up to the time of the birth of Christ. And it was a highly developed civilization, highly developed society, that prevailed right up until I think around the eleventh century, or perhaps it went out of existence as an empire just before the tenth or the eleventh century. But this was an empire in Africa that was the source of gold and ivory; and other art objects, what would be called today art objects or items of luxury, came from Ghana. They had one of the most highly developed governmental systems, tax systems, cultures, period, at that time when people in Europe—when President Nkrumah, he wasn't president then, I don't think, visited New York, I think it was in 1959; Harriman was governor, they had a banquet for him downtown, which I attended. Governor Harriman, Abe Stark, Mayor Wagner, all of them were there. At one point when they were introducing Nkrumah, they were congratulating him. I remember Abe Stark said this: That Nkrumah comes from Ghana, a country which was highly civilized, wearing silks, at a time when we, he said, up in Europe, were painting ourselves blue. Pick up on that. Abe Stark at that time was right under Wagner, and he's Jewish, which means he knows a whole lot of Black history, and here he was admitting that a civilization existed in Africa, where you and I came from, that was so highly developed that the people were wearing silks when his people, the Europeans, were up in the caves painting themselves blue.

Now you would think, with him saying that, that the Black newspaper reporters present would have put it in the paper and used it to wake up some of us in Harlem. They didn't say a mumbling word. And I know—I could name the ones that were there right now, some of them occupying leading positions in Black newspapers in this city. They didn't say a mumbling word.

They should have put it in the headlines, so they could wake Black people up, and let our people know that the white man knows that he didn't get us out of the jungle, he didn't get us out of some place that was savage. He got us out of a place that was highly civilized in culture and in art, and then brought us down to the level that you see us on today. But they are afraid to let us know what level we were on. They'll tell the Africans because they know the Africans know it, but they don't want you and me to know it. Because the first thing you and I would start asking them is, "Well, what did you do to us?" And if you find out, then you'll want to do it to him. The

only way you can forgive him is to not know what you're forgiving him for. And you don't know what you've been forgiving him for. If you find out what he did to you, you won't have any forgiveness. No, you'll say, let the good times roll, let the chips fall where they may.

After Ghana in West Africa, there was another civilization called Mali. Mali is one of the most famous because it was made famous by a Black sultan named Mansa Musa. Mansa Musa was famed for a journey he took from Mali to Mecca. In the same area—all of these three empires were in West Africa—after the Mali, I think, it was the Songhai empire. The Songhai empire covered, I think, even more territory than the Mali empire. And in those days there was the fabulous, fabled city of Timbuktu. Timbuktu was a center of learning where they had colleges and universities; and this Timbuktu existed as a hidden city, or forbidden city, to the white man for many centuries. He was not permitted to go there, none of them had been there—it was for us. They had universities there in which scholars traveled from China, Japan, the Orient, from Asia, from Africa, all the parts of Africa, to come there and learn. This was in Africa, and this existed before the discovery of America. These people who taught at this university, or these universities, had a knowledge of geography. They knew that the earth was round. It wasn't Columbus that discovered that it was round for people in Europe; they discovered it when they began to be exposed to the science and learning that existed in the universities on the African continent. But the white man is such a liar, he doesn't want it to be known that the Black man was so far ahead of him in science. Now, this isn't racist talk, when I say he's a liar. I'm not talking about all of them, I'm talking about those who are responsible for this false concept of the African image, and that is most of them. If I said all of them, they'd call me a racist. I can't say all of them, but most of them, those in power, that told lies deliberately and scientifically to distort the image of Africa in order to mold a better picture and image of Europe—you can see the crime that they committed once you begin to delve into the African continent today and find its real position in science and civilization in times gone by.

Also, at that same time or a little later was a civilization called the Moors. The Moors were also a dark-skinned people on the African continent, who had a highly developed civilization. They were such magnificent warriors that they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in, I think, the year 711, eighth century, conquered Portugal, what we today know as Portugal, Spain, and southern France, conquered it and ruled it for seven hundred years. And

they admit that during this time Europe was in the Dark Ages, meaning darkness, ignorance. And it was the only light spot; the only light, the only light of learning, that existed on the European continent at that time were the universities that the Moors had erected in what we today know as Spain and Portugal. These were African universities that they set up in that area. And they ruled throughout that area, up to a place known as Tours, where they were stopped by a Frenchman known in history as Charles Martel, or Charles the Hammer. He stopped the invasion of the Africans, and these were Africans.

They try to confuse you and me by calling them Moors, so that you and I won't know what they were. But when you go home, look in the dictionary. Look up the word M-o-o-r; it will tell you that Moor means black. Well, if Negro means black and Moor means black, then they're talking about the same people all the time. But they don't want you and me to know that we were warriors, that we conquered, that we had armies. They want you and me to think that we were always nonviolent, and passive, and peaceful, and forgiving. Sure, we forgave our enemies in those days—after we killed them, we forgave them.

The Black man in those days had never been defeated on the battlefield. He was only defeated when the Europeans invented, or got access to, gunpowder. I started to say invented gunpowder, but they didn't invent it, the Chinese invented it. The Chinese used it for peaceful purposes. Marco Polo, I think it was Marco wasn't it—he got ahold of it, and brought it back to Europe, and immediately they started using it to kill people with. This is the difference—that European, he's got something going for him that other people don't have going for them: he loves to kill—oh yes, he does. In Asia and in Africa, we kill for food. In Europe, they kill for sport. Have you not noticed that? Yes, they're bloodthirsty, they love blood; they love to see the flow of other people's blood, not their own. They're bloodthirsty. But in all of your ancient Asian or African societies, the killing of game was done for food, not just for sport. You don't get your kicks killing. They get their kicks killing. It gets good to them. Oh yes, you watch them sometime when they shoot a pheasant. I've watched them; when I was a little boy, I lived on a farm with white folks. When they shoot something, they just go crazy, you know, like they were really getting their kicks. And we have heard stories where they have lynched Black people, and right while they were lynching that Black man, you could see them getting their kicks, the thrill, while they do it. Whereas you and I, when we kill, we kill because we need

to, either for food or to defend ourselves. That's something to think about. But they never defeated the African armies until they got gunpowder. Then with their gunpowder, they came in. In those days we had mastered the blade. Right now, you notice they have nightmares when they think a Negro's got a blade in his pocket. This is true, because they know you know how to use it, brothers. Historically, on the battlefield, no one could use a blade like you and me—yes. You see, it takes a man to use one, for one thing. It takes a man to use a sword and a spear, because you've got to have the heart to get up to someone close enough to work with him; you've got to have the heart. But anybody can take a gun and stand at a distance and shoot at something that's no danger to him anyway. You and I, we went right on into him. And once he got ahold of the gun, that suited his nature; and he used it, and took over the world, with that gunpowder and his lies—I don't know which was the most effective. He lied and killed, to take over the world.

During the Crusades, we fought him and beat him; again, he didn't have the gunpowder. During the Crusades the Europeans fought against the Asians and the Africans—it was the war between what they called the Muslims and the Christians. In those days, you didn't have Black Christians. Christians meant the European nations: France, Belgium. You go read the history of the Crusades. You'll find that their chief general was the Pope, his headquarters was in Rome, and they made war trying to redeem the city of Jerusalem, in which was the tomb of Jesus. They wanted to regain it from the Muslims, but they never could do it. The Muslims defeated the Christian armies. And the Christian armies in those days were white; the Muslim armies were black, brown, red, and yellow. Some of the leading warriors in the Muslim armies were from Africa. The Africans had mastered metalwork with such skill that they had a coat that they put on, made of steel, that was just as pliable as this. Whereas, when you see the white knight, you notice he had to have some help to get on his horse. Because he looked like he was inside of a stove. They didn't know how to work metal in Europe. But that Black man had mastered metalcraft, woodcraft, leathercraft—he was crafty, brothers, he mastered everything. But not a thing in Europe. And it was during the Crusades that many of the people in Europe realized what a high culture existed in Asia and in Africa. Why, these people were living in huts in Europe, and in holes in the hills, still in that day—they were savages almost, didn't know what learning was, couldn't read and write. The king couldn't even read and write, and he was over all of them. They got all their reading and writing and arithmetic from

you and me. And you see what they did with it? They turned around and used it on us.

So the question is: If we were at such a level then, what happened to us to get us where we are now? If we had such a high culture, such a high civilization, what happened to get us where we are now?

When America was discovered and colonized by England, England populated her American colonies not with people who were refined and cultured, but, if you read the history, she did the same thing here that she did in Australia. All the convicts were sent here to found this country. The prisons were emptied of prostitutes and thieves and murderers. They were sent over here to populate this country. When these people jump up in your and my face today, talking about the founding fathers were puritan pure, that's some talk for somebody else. No, the founding fathers from England came from the dungeons of England, came from the prisons of England; they were prostitutes, they were murderers and thieves and liars. And as soon as they got over here, they proved it. They created one of the most criminal societies that has ever existed on the earth since time began. And if you doubt it, when you go home at night, look in the mirror at yourself, and you'll see the victim of that criminal system that was created by them. They were such artful liars, they were such artful, skillful liars, that they were able to take a criminal system and, with lies, project it to the world as a humanitarian system. They were the worst form of criminals themselves, but with their lies they were able to project themselves as pilgrims who were so religious, they were coming to this country so they could practice their religion. And you ate that thing up 100 percent. No, they were crooks that came here—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Quincy, and the others, all of them were criminals. And if you doubt that they were, when they wrote this document talking about freedom, they still owned you. Yes, when they wrote, how does that thing go—about "all men created equal"?—that was later on. Who was it wrote that—"all men are created equal"? It was Jefferson. Jefferson had more slaves than anybody else. So they weren't talking about us.

When I see some poor old brainwashed Negroes—you mention Thomas Jefferson and George Washington and Patrick Henry, they just swoon, you know, with patriotism. But they don't realize that in the sight of George Washington, you were a sack of molasses, a sack of potatoes. You—yes—were a sack of potatoes, a barrel of molasses, you amounted to nothing, in

the sight of Washington, or in the sight of Jefferson, or Hamilton, and some of those other so-called founding fathers. You were their property. And if it was left up to them, you'd still be their property today.

So it was in that atmosphere that you and I arrived here. It was in the hands of that kind of people that you and I fell, in around the sixteenth century. When we came here as slaves, we were civilized, we had culture, we had a knowledge of science. They don't take a slave who's dumb—a dumb slave is not good, you have to know how to do something to be a profitable slave. This was a country that needed an agricultural system. They had no agriculture in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What was the agricultural product, what farm product was Europe famous for? Tell me. You can't. They had none, they were growing weeds up there in Europe. The farm products, the agricultural system, existed in Africa and Asia. You had mastered the growing of cotton, you had mastered the growing of all of the farm products that are necessary to give a person a balanced diet, on the African continent. You were a master of woodcraft, metalwork, and all of these other skills; and it was this that they needed. They didn't need just someone with muscle to do work—they needed someone with skill. So they brought our people here, who were the fathers of skill, who had all of these skills. And they brought us here to set up an agricultural system for them, to weave their clothes and show them how to weave, and do the other things that make a civilization and society a balanced civilization and society.

So when our people got here—and they came here from a civilization where they had high morals; there was no stealing, no drunkenness, no adultery, fornication; there was nothing but high morals—when they got here, they found a country that had the lowest morals that existed on earth at that time, because it was peopled and run by prostitutes, by cutthroats, by criminals; and they created a society to fit their nature. And when our people came into that, they were shocked—they rebelled against it, they didn't want to stay here. In the first place, they had been tricked over here, put in chains and brought here, as history points out. Initially—there's a book called The Slave Trade by Spears, in which it points out that one of the first slave ships to come here was piloted by an Englishman named John Hawkins, and John Hawkins's ship was called Jesus, the good ship Jesus. This was the boat that was used—it's in history—they used Jesus to bring them here. And they've been using him to keep you here, too.

When our people got here and found out what they had gotten into, they didn't want to stay. Many of them started looking for that ship that brought them here. The slaves had an old spiritual which they sang: "Steal away to Jesus, steal away home." You think that they were talking about some man that got hung on the cross two thousand years ago, whereas they were talking about a ship. They wanted to steal away and get on board that ship that was named Jesus, so that they could go back home on the mother continent, the African continent, where they had been tricked and brought from. But you've got poor Negroes today, who have been brainwashed, still sitting in church talking about stealing away to Jesus; they talk about going up yonder, dying, if they're going somewhere. Showing you how your mind is all messed up. They were talking about a boat. Or, they used to sing a song, "You can have all this world, but give me Jesus." They weren't talking about that man that died supposedly on the cross, they were talking about a boat. 'You can have this world"—this Western world, this evil, corrupt, run-down, lowdown Western world—but give me Jesus the boat, but give me the ship Jesus, so I can go back home where I'll be among my own kind. This is what the spiritual came from. But they've got it in the church today, and that old dumb preacher has your and my—yes, dumb preacher—has your and my mind so messed up we think that Jesus is somebody that died on a cross, and we sit there foaming at the mouth talking about "you can have all this world, but give me Jesus." And the man took all this world and gave you Jesus, and that's all you've got is Jesus.

There were three people involved in the crime that was committed against us—the slave trader, the slave master, and a third one that they don't tell you and me about, the slave maker. You've read about the slave trader and you've read about the slave master; in fact, you know the slave master—you're still in his hands. But you never read in history the part played by the slave maker.

You can't make a wise man a slave, you can't make a warrior a slave. When you and I came here, or rather when we were brought here, we were brought here from a society that was highly civilized, our culture was at the highest level, and we were warriors—we knew no fear. How could they make us slaves? They had to do the same thing to us that we do to a horse. When you take a horse out of the wilds, you don't just jump on him and ride him, or put a bit in his mouth and use him to plow with. No, you've got to break him in first. Once you break him in, then you can ride him. Now the man who rides him is not the man who breaks him in. It takes a

different type of man to break him in than it takes to ride him. The average man that's been riding him can't break him in. It takes a cruel man to break him in, a mean man, a heartless man, a man with no feelings. And this is why they took the role of the slave maker out of history. It was so criminal that they don't even dare to write about it, to tell what was done to you and me to break us in and break us down to the level that we're on today. Because if you find the role that that slave maker played, I'm telling you, you'll find it hard to forget and forgive, you'll find it hard. I can't forgive the slave trader or the slave master; you know I can't forgive the slave maker.

Our people weren't brought right here to this country. They were first dropped off in the West Indian islands, in the Caribbean. Most of the slaves that were brought from Africa were dropped off first in the Caribbean, West Indian islands. Why? This was the breaking-in grounds. They would break them in down there. When they broke them in, then they would bring the ones whose spirit had been broken on to America. They had all kinds of tactics for breaking them in. They bred fear into them, for one thing. I read in one book how the slave maker used to take a pregnant woman, a Black woman, and make her watch as her man would be tortured and put to death. One of those slave makers had trees that he planted in positions where he would bend them and tie them, and then tie the hand of a Black man to one, a hand to the other, and his legs to two more, and he'd cut the rope. And when he'd cut the rope, that tree would snap up and pull the arm of the Black man right out of his socket, pull him up into four different parts. I'll show you books where you can read it, they write about it. And they made the pregnant Black women stand there and watch as they did it, so that all this grief and fear that they felt would go right into that baby, that Black baby that was yet to be born. It would be born afraid, born with fear in it. And you've got it in you right now—right now, you've still got it. When you get in front of that blue-eyed thing, you start to itching, don't you? And you don't know why. It was bred into you. But when you find out how they did it, you can get it out of you and put it right back in them.

Now, I'm not talking racism. This isn't racism—this is history, we're dealing with just a little bit of history tonight. We've only got a few minutes left, so I'm trying to go fast. I'm kind of tired, so I can't go too fast—you'll have to excuse me—but I just want to get the rest of this out.

They used to take a Black woman who would be pregnant and tie her up

by her toes, let her be hanging head down, and they would take a knife and cut her stomach open, let that Black unborn child fall out, and then stomp its head in the ground. I'll show you books where they write about this, I'll name them to you: Slave Trade by Spears; From Slavery to Freedom by John Hope Franklin; Negro Family in the U.S. by Frazier touches on some of it. All night long—Anti-Slavery by Dwight Lowell Dumond—I'll cite you books all night long, where they write themselves on what they did to you and me. And have got the nerve to say we teach hate because we're talking about what they did. Why, they're lucky, really, they're lucky, they're fortunate.

Slaves used to sing that song about "My Lord's going to move this wicked race and raise up a righteous nation that will obey." They knew what they were talking about—they were talking about the man. They used to sing a song, "Good News, a Chariot Is Coming." If you notice, everything they sang in those spirituals was talking about going to get away from here. None of them wanted to stay here. You're the only ones, sitting around here now like a knot on a log, wanting to stay here. You're supposed to be educated and hip, you're supposed to know what's happening, you know—they're not supposed to know what's happening. But everything they sang, every song, had a hint in it that they weren't satisfied here, that they weren't being treated right, that somebody had to go.

The slave maker knew that he couldn't make these people slaves until he first made them dumb. And one of the best ways to make a man dumb is to take his tongue, take his language. A man who can't talk, what do they call him? A dummy. Once your language is gone, you are a dummy. You can't communicate with people who are your relatives, you can never have access to information from your family—you just can't communicate.

Also, if you'll notice, the natural tongue that one speaks is referred to as one's mother tongue—mother tongue. And the natural intelligence that a person has before he goes to school is called mother wit. Not father wit—it's called mother wit because everything a child knows before it gets to school, it learns from its mother, not its father. And if it never goes to school, whatever native intelligence it has, it got it primarily from its mother, not its father; so it's called mother wit. And the mother is also the one who teaches the child how to speak its language, so that the natural tongue is called the mother tongue. Whenever you find as many people as we who aren't able to speak any mother tongue, why, that's evidence right

there something was done to our mother. Something had to have happened to her.

They had laws in those days that made it mandatory for a Black child to be taken from its mother as fast as that child was born. The mother never had a chance to rear it. The child would be brought up somewhere else away from the mother, so that the mother couldn't teach the child what she knew—about itself, about her past, about its heritage. It would have to grow up in complete darkness, knowing nothing about the land where it came from or the people that it came from. Not even about its own mother. There was no relationship between the Black child and its mother; it was against the law. And if the master would ever find any of those children who had any knowledge of its mother tongue, that child was put to death. They had to stamp out the language; they did it scientifically. If they found any one of them that could speak it, off went its head, or they would put it to death, they would kill it, in front of the mother, if necessary. This is history; this is how they took your language. You didn't lose it, it didn't evaporate—they took it with a scientific process, because they knew they had to take it to make you dumb, or into the dummy that you and I now are.

I read in some books where it said that some of the slave mothers would try and get tricky. In order to teach their child, who'd be off in another field somewhere, they themselves would be praying and they'd pray in a loud voice, and in their own language. The child in the distant field would hear his mother's voice, and he'd learn how to pray in the same way; and in learning how to pray, he'd pick up on some of the language. And the master found that this was being done, and immediately he stepped up his efforts to kill all the little children that were benefiting from this. And so it became against the law even for the slave to be caught praying in his tongue, if he knew it. It was against the law. You've heard some of the people say they had to pray with their heads in a bucket. Well, they weren't praying to the Jesus that they're praying to now. The white man will let you call on that Jesus all day long; in fact he'll make it possible for you to call on him. If you were calling on somebody else, then he'd have more fear of it. Your calling on that somebody else in that other language—that causes him a bit of fear, a bit of fright. They used to have to steal away and pray. All those songs that the slaves talked, or sang, and called spirituals, had wrapped up in them some of what was happening to them. And when the child realized that it couldn't hear its mother pray any more, the slaves

would come up with a song, "I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray," or the song "Motherless Child": "Sometimes, I feel like a motherless child. Father gone, mother gone, motherless child sees a hard time." All of these songs were describing what was happening to us then, in the only way the slaves knew how to communicate—in song. They didn't dare say it outright, so they put it in song. They pretended that they were singing about Moses in "Go Down, Moses." They weren't talking about Moses and telling "old Pharaoh to let my people go." They were trying to talk some kind of talk to each other, over the slave master's head. Now you've got a-hold of the thing and you're believing in it for real. Yes, I hear you singing "Go down, Moses," and you're still talking about Moses four thousand years ago—you're out of your mind. But those slaves had a whole lot of sense. Everything they sang was designed toward freedom, designed toward going back home, or designed toward getting this big white ape off their backs.

For three hundred years we stayed at that level. Finally we got to where we had no language, no history, no name. The white man named us after himself—Jones, Smith, Johnson, Bunche, and names like those. We couldn't speak our own language; we had none. And he then began to teach us that we came from a jungle, where the people had no language. This was the crime that was committed—he convinced us that our people back home were savages and animals in the jungle, and the reason we couldn't talk was because we never had a language. And we grew up thinking that we never had one.

In the meantime, while he was working on us, his brothers—in England and in France and in Belgium and in Spain and in Italy and in Germany—were working on the African continent. While he was working on us over here, they were running wild on the African continent, stomping out all signs that ever there was a civilization over there, making slaves out of them over there too. And by working together as partners, the man on the European continent, in cahoots with this white man on the American continent, succeeded in taking over Africa and Asia and the entire world, while we went to sleep. Then in 1865 he came up with a trick, pretending that he was fighting a Civil War to set us free—which wasn't to set us free. He came up with another trick, that he was issuing an Emancipation Proclamation to set us free—which wasn't to set us free. And then he also pretended that he was putting some amendments to the Constitution to set us free—which wasn't to set us free. Later on, he came up with a Supreme Court decision which he said was to give us free access to better

education—which wasn't to do that. And then last year he came up with a bill that he called also to give us more freedom—which also wasn't to do that.

Any man who will know the level of civilization that we started out on and came from, any man who knows the criminal deeds that were done to us by his people to bring us to the level that we've been on for the past three hundred years, knows he is so deceptive, so deceitful, so criminally deceitful, that it is almost beyond his nature or desire to come up with anything meaningful that will undo what has been done to us over the past three hundred years. It is absolutely necessary—anything that is done for us, has to be done by us.

Now, brothers and sisters, it's after ten o'clock, and I definitely didn't intend to go beyond ten, but I do want you to have at least a ten-minute question period before we dismiss and prepare for our meeting next week. I felt that it was necessary tonight to go back somewhat and remind ourselves—because many of you know everything that I have said tonight, you know it already; then there are many others who don't—but I felt it absolutely necessary to use tonight, since we're getting ready to go into February and Negro History Week, to use tonight to kind of brush up on some of the history of our people that existed prior to the time we were brought to America; then next week, next Sunday night, deal with current conditions and the tricky schemes that are used by the government as well as other forces to perpetuate our condition, rather than alleviate it. And then on the third Sunday, the thirty-first of January, it is our intention to present to you the program and the solution of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which we feel will bring about some meaningful results immediately, and which we will ask your 100 percent cooperation in, in order to make it materialize. Before we have our question period, we're going to take up a collection. And I want to ask you, especially tonight: please be more generous than you have been. Because if there's anything we need, it's finances. We don't get any help from any outside source. Anybody else would get it. We don't get any help whatsoever other than what we get right here at these meetings from you.

Also, this week we want to take out an ad in one of the local newspapers, so that it will be known that we're out here next week. None of the newspapers ever talk about our meetings; they don't help us publicize it in any way, shape, or form, other than The Militant—The Militant does. But

some of the Negro newspapers don't; I don't know whether they won't, but I do know that they don't. And I would like for you to try and dig down as deeply as you can and help us. Because we need it. In fact, if we could get stronger financial support, we'd be in a position to make our program materialize much faster than we have.

[A collection is taken. A question is then asked by a woman about the selling of slaves by Africans to the Europeans.]

All of those things happened. Africans sold slaves; we sold each other. Arabs sold slaves. The white man bought the slaves. You may wonder what happened to make us sell each other. The white man had a trick going—what he called the three something-or-other. It dealt with rum, sugarcane—how does that go? They would grow sugarcane in the Caribbean and take it to New England and turn it into rum, and then take that rum to Africa and turn it into slaves. It was something like that. [Voices from audience: "Triangular."] How was that? Yeah, triangle, some kind of triangle. Imagine that, they used our slave labor to grow the sugarcane; they took that cane to England and turned it into rum and whiskey and other things, and then took that to Africa and turned it into slaves. And then they had cotton that they took to Europe in exchange for manufactured goods that were being turned out there. But you and I, our sale, is what made them rich. Now, who did it? The Africans took captives in warfare, and the Europeans did that old divide-and-conquer act, and would sell guns to one side; and the guns that the one side had, enabled them to easily defeat the other side. And in that particular cultural thought pattern, the captive was a slave, he was a prize of war, and he was turned over to the Europeans. I doubt that any of them over there really knew what they were sending us into, or that we knew what we were coming into. But it was a very vicious thing; you and I are the victims of it. Everybody feels guilty about it, you can believe it. The Arabs are guilty; Europeans are guilty; the Africans feel guilty; everybody feels guilty. Yes, sir.

[A question is asked by a man about the different kinds of slavery that existed at different times in different countries.]

Yes, and I'm glad you brought that out. It is true that the type of slavery that was practiced in America was never practiced in history by any other country. A lot of times, what you read about in history as a slave was nothing but a servant, because he could get out of it. But the thing

that you and I were sold into—we were sold like we were an animal. Our human characteristics were not recognized at all. We became a commodity, nameless, language-less, godless commodity, subhuman. And they had no feelings for us whatsoever. In church, they did it in the name of the Lord. Oh yes, they even put that into it. And don't say anything about that church in Rome—they played one of the leading roles. Now, they try to act all sanctimonious, you know, like everything is all right. They made a few Black cardinals, a couple other bishops, and then you run and get the Catholic Holy Ghost.

Any more questions? Yes, sir.

[A question is asked by a man about the relationship between the people that brought the slaves to America and "the people that rule us today."]

Oh yes, their descendants. That's all they are, brother, believe me. This is what makes them so deceitful and tricky. Like father, like son. You and I were produced by kings and queens from the African continent, scientists, the best. They took the best of the African society and sold them as slaves. We brought the highest price. We didn't come here as chumps; we were the cream of the crop on the African continent. But not those men. Those that were sent here from Europe were the dregs of society. Old, run-down, ex-, worn-out thieves—you thought I was going to say something else, didn't you. No, they were the worst part of that European society, brother, and they still reflect it right today.

Everything you see them doing here—no feelings; they'll sell you right down the river right now. They have no morals at all; no sense of moral consciousness exists in them. They will lie, talk about the Great Society, and all that other stuff. No, nothing but lies. How is somebody from Texas going to start a great society? They don't have it down there. You know, back when I was out there in the world, I used to see Willie Bryant at the Apollo. You remember Willie Bryant? They had a song in those days about "Deep in the Heart of Texas," and I used to hear Willie Bryant singing, "The stars are bright, they'll hang you any night, deep in the heart of Texas." This is just twenty years ago, and they still do the same thing today. And Johnson was congressman then. You know Johnson—he's got a cold. Are there any other questions? Yes, sir.

[A question is asked by a man about the number of Indians in the United

States.]

Indians? He's on the reservation. They put me and you on the plantation, and put the Indians on the reservation—that's how they built this nation. The Indian is in worse shape than we are. I was out in the desert at an Arizona reservation a couple of years ago. They're in bad shape. But they have more respect for the Indians than they do for you and me. You know why? Because they fought them. You don't hear any white man talking about he's got Black trouble, but in a minute you'll hear him say he's got some Indian trouble. A white man will say that. Haven't you heard it? Sure, they'll claim the Indians, but nobody is going to claim you and me—because we're nonviolent. Nobody wants to be related to anything nonviolent, nobody. You're going to be a peaceful slave, a nonviolent slave. No, that Indian, brother, he drank blood, he tomahawked. Imagine taking a man's scalp. And then he's going to say he's got your blood. He'll respect you. No, that's what you need to learn how to do. The Indians said they had forked tongues, which means they're liars, you know. The Indians knew them. And they show you every time you turn on the television—any old cowboy picture shows you a white man lying to the Indian. He doesn't hide it. Time for a couple more questions, a couple more questions. Any more? Yes, ma'am.

[A question is asked by a woman about the "slave breeder."]

No, the slave breeder was that slave maker. The slave maker was the one responsible for breeding slaves, and he bred them. They bred any-kind-of-looking slave you wanted.

[Same woman speaks further referring to the novel Mandingo.]

Yes. I know some of you all never read Mandingo, did you? It is true that they used to have special Black slaves that they called bucks, I think, whose job was to do nothing but breed. I see a lot of them, I think, around Harlem now. In those days a child born of a slave woman never knew its father, didn't know who the father was; didn't make any difference. And, you know, this has affected our society.

Even right now you read some of the conclusions reached by some of these so-called sociologists. They admit that the tendency of our women to have babies born out of wedlock is a throwback right to a habit that was

born during slavery. In slavery, it was nothing for a Black woman to have a baby—she was supposed to have a baby. And the father, the Black man who fathered the baby, was never permitted to have the responsibility of a father. All he did was make the baby. He couldn't recognize it as his; it was going to be sold as soon as the master wanted to sell it. He was never permitted to develop a sense of responsibility for taking care of his own offspring.

And that came right down from slavery to the Black community today. You'll find many men who are married and have two or three children, walk away from that woman like she didn't even exist, and leave those children in the house without a second thought, without a second thought. Well, you wouldn't find an African doing this. We weren't like this in Africa. This is a throwback, this is a holdover, from slavery. We've got to get rid of it. But you're never going to get rid of it until you get rid of the cause, and man, you know who the cause is. Are there any other questions?

Then I have some announcements that I would like to read quickly. Our newsletter, The Blacklash, is going to be revised and turned into a newspaper, a more informative and attractive newspaper. We're working on that right now. And the brother who has been doing such a wonderful job on the newsletter is Brother Peter. I don't see him—where is Brother Peter? Way back there, the handsome brother. Give him a big hand. He's been doing a wonderful job on the newsletter, and he's now working toward turning it into a newspaper.

Also, there'll be a membership meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Tuesday, January 26, at 8:00 p.m., at 2395 Eighth Avenue. We would like all of the members to attend, because we're trying to get ourselves organized in such a way that we can become inseparably involved in an action program that will meet the needs, desires, likes, or dislikes of everyone that's involved. And we want you involved in it. Also, the aims and the objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity are being prepared right now. They will be made available soon. We are attempting to make this organization one in which any serious-minded Afro-American can actively participate, and we welcome your suggestions at all of these membership meetings. One of these will be on Tuesday night. We want your suggestions; we don't in any way claim to have the answers to everything, but we do feel that all of us combined can come up with an answer. We believe that the brain that you have, the ability to

think, your experience in this hell that we've all been through, is all the credentials you need when you come to a membership meeting with your suggestions. With all of the combined suggestions and the combined talent and know-how, we do believe that we can devise a program that will shake the world. Frankly, that's what we need to do—shake the world. We don't need to duplicate anything that has been done with all this politeness and compromise and so forth; we need to find out what is necessary to be done, and do it, no matter whether they like it or not. First, analyze it, find out what is necessary to be done, and then let's do it. Yes, sir.

[A man asks about a telegram that was to be sent to the leader of the American Nazi Party.]

Let me see if I have it here. I sent this telegram to Rockwell the other day. It states: "To George Lincoln Rockwell: This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separationist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other Black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."

That was sent. And it was sent at a time when he was acting bad and bigish there in Selma. And you haven't heard anything about it since. No. The entire press was aware that it was sent. Nothing about it; they wouldn't print it. I'm going to tell you why they wouldn't print it, and I must tell you. The so-called liberal element of the white power structure never wants to see nationalists involved in anything that has to do with civil rights. And I'll tell you why. Any other Black people who get involved are involved within the rules that are laid down by the white liberals. And as long as they are involved within those rules, then that means they're only going to go as far as the liberal element of the power structure will endorse their activity. But when the nationalistic-minded Blacks get involved, then we do what our analysis tells us is necessary to be done, whether the white liberal or anybody else likes it or not. So, they don't want us involved.

Plus, I was curious to find out how Dr. King would react, if he were told.

See, I saw him getting knocked down on television, I saw the man knock him in his mouth. Well, that hurt me, I'll tell you. Because I'm Black and he's Black—I don't care how dumb he is. Still, when I see a Black man knocked in the mouth, I feel it, because it could happen to you or me. And if I was there with King and I saw someone knocking on him, I'd come to his rescue. I would be misrepresenting myself if I made you think I wouldn't. Yes, and then I'd show him, see, he's doing it the wrong way—this is the way you do it. Did you have more to that, sir?

[A man relates an incident, following the attempted World's Fair stall-in during April 1964, when Roy Wilkins and the NAACP national office cracked down on an NAACP youth council that had wanted to invite a Black nationalist speaker.]

Yes. You know why, brother? Because they are afraid, as I say, for any nationalist-minded person to get involved with any civil rights Negro. See, the civil rights Negro—let me use the word Negro for a minute—the civil rights Negro is in a straitjacket. Really, he is. Read this book The Negro Mood—the chapter, "The Black Establishment"—and you'll see they're in a straitjacket. I'll tell you frankly what I intend to do. Since they used to condemn me all the time, when I was in the Black Muslim movement, for talking but not getting involved, "Okay," I'll say, "you've got some action going? I'll get involved, I'll get involved." But I know they don't want me involved. Because if I get involved, I'm for involvement all the way.

I say this: that if the law of the land states that you and I have the right to do thus and so, it doesn't take a picket to establish that right. All we've got to do is go and do it. Now, anyone who gets in our way to deprive us of that right, which is constitutional—Supreme Court and all that kind of stuff—anyone who gets in our way is a lawbreaker. We're not the lawbreakers; we're enforcing the law. Anyone who stops you a from trying to register and vote is breaking the law. You can waste him, yes, you can waste him, and there's nothing he can do about it. Now they know this. This is why they want to keep you out of the civil rights struggle. They don't want any nationalists involved. And you actually do the whole thing a disservice by not getting involved, because what you do is create a vacuum, into which steps Uncle Tom. And Uncle Tom takes all the black belts and leads them the nonviolent way. No, I say let's all get in it, and get in it without compromise, and anybody that gets in the way—don't compromise. That's all. If Black people in Alabama are trying to register

and vote, if they're trying to register, then those Black people in Alabama are within their rights. Anyone who in any way interferes with them is breaking the law. Well, our people in Alabama, our people in Harlem, our people in California, are the same people. You and I will not get anywhere by standing on the sidelines, saying they're doing it wrong. I spent twelve years doing this in the Black Muslim movement, condemning everybody walking, and at no time were we permitted to get involved to show a better way. Okay, I say let's get involved. But let's get involved all the way. Let's don't get involved in a compromise way. That doesn't mean we're I going to get involved in just anything. But a man has a right to vote, a man has a right to be registered. In areas, especially in the South, where our people outnumber whites, if they were registered they could put all the whites out of office. But you know, this is between you and me, I just want to say—between you and me, and the stool pigeons present—even here in Harlem, where we have the right to register and vote, we don't register and vote. If all the people in Alabama could register and vote, they probably wouldn't register and vote. So, you see, you have to have a multiple program, a many-pronged program. And so when I say that we're for that, that doesn't mean that we're not for some other things, too. It takes a many-pronged program to get this problem solved.

But, brother, the man can't give you the solution. You never will get the solution from any white liberal. Let you and I sit down and discuss the problem, come up with what we feel the solution will be; and then if they want to help it, then let them help in their way, in a way that they can help. But don't let them come and tell us how we should do to solve our problem. Those days are over, I can't see that at all. If they want to help in their way, a way that they can help, good; but don't come and join us and try and sit down and tell us how to solve our problem. They can't do it, and they won't. That's like asking the fox to help you solve the problem confronting you and the wolf. He'll tell you how to solve it all right, but I'll guarantee you, you'll have a worse problem afterwards—a foxy problem. He'll give you a solution that will put you right in his clutches; and this is what the white liberal does.

Very seldom, if you notice, will you find whites who can in any way put up with Black nationalists. Haven't you ever wondered why? I mean even the most liberal white can't go along with this Black nationalism. He can't, he just can't stomach it. But he can go along with anything that's integrated, because he knows he can get in there and finagle it, and have you walking

backwards, thinking you're walking forwards. No, we don't want that. There's a place for them, there's some work that they can do. I'm not saying cut them out—there's something that they can do. But I say, find out what the whites can do, and let them do that; and find out what we can do, and we'll do that. Let them go their way; you take the low road and we'll take the high road, and so on and so forth.

Also, a couple more announcements, please. We're having an Arabic class beginning tomorrow, Monday, January 25, at 7:00 p.m.—tomorrow evening—in Room 128 at the Hotel Theresa. We're having classes set up in Swahili—we have one set up already in Arabic—we're having one set up in Swahili, and another one in Hausa, so that you can be—what they call it?—multilingual. You know, one of the things I found out when I was in Africa, I felt very much at a loss, many times, by not being able to speak the language.

Sir? Oh, that's coming. The brother wanted to know what about a karate class. This is one of the first classes you should have—karate.

You know, I had some people try to jump on me night before last—some of those, I call them, I've got another name for them. They were waiting for me out near my house. So when I came out—thanks to Allah I've got a good intuition—and I did some things, and they jumped me. That's right, when you read in the paper about these old crazy people going crazy, that's not any exaggeration. They even shot a brother up here in the Bronx, I think in broad daylight; and whipped another one almost dead in Boston—you probably heard him on the Barry Gray Show telling about it. Well, they've gone out of their minds, absolutely. Whenever you find an organization that's equipped like that, and you never see it take part in any kind of action that's for the good of Black people against the real enemy, but they will turn all of their anger against each other, to destroy each other, why, you've got to start really analyzing the situation.

I hate to bring that up, but it's true. A very bad situation has set in and deteriorated to the point where you have Black people trying to kill Black people; and they should be using that talent, really, to go after the Rockwells and the Klan. And you know, frankly, the more I talk about Rockwell and the Klan, the more it infuriates them—not Rockwell and the Klan, but them. One of these days, I'll tell you why. You'll never read anything in the Black Muslim newspaper against the Ku Klux Klan or

Rockwell. You never will, not even accidentally. But if you'll go back into some of the back issues, you'll find J.B. Stoner interviewed in the Black Muslim newspaper, and he was interviewed objectively, favorably. That's not an accident, and like I say, if you keep pressing me, I'll tell you why. Also, since you know that it's almost impossible for us to get the cooperation of the press in getting our meetings publicized, the only way that people in Harlem will know that we're having meetings is if you inform them. So, if each of you here right now will take it upon yourself to inform just ten people between now and Sunday, that means by next Sunday, we'll have—look at the crowd we have out here, and it's the worst kind of weather outside; it's a miracle really. You don't know, you're great. Do you know that this audience right here can whip any audience in New York City? You know why? You're game to come out there in all that mean weather. You've got all the excuse in the world to stay home tonight. But the fact that you've come out shows you're doing a whole lot of thinking about something. And I tell you, I love you for it. And I hope and pray to Allah—and whoever you believe in, whatever you believe in—I hope and pray that we'll be able to organize ourselves together, wherein we'll do anything we want, anything we want, to undertake in this organization. And we're working toward that end right now.

I think I've read all these announcements. James, if I—oh yes, the last one they handed me is this: As you know, it costs us $150 to rent this hall each Sunday night, and we just collected $135. Plus, this week we had the cost of handbills and other things that we had to undertake to try and let you know where we are. So, should I turn you loose right now or pick up another collection? I hate to be like an old preacher, but brothers, I know what we're up against. We're trying to have two more meetings—don't run yet, just stay time enough—we're trying to have two more meetings, we're going to try to have a meeting next Sunday and the following Sunday. Now, within the next two weeks we are going to try and put together an organization and a program that everybody in here can participate in. But honestly—you know I wouldn't tell you this if it wasn't true—we need your help. Thank you.

# London School of Economics (February 11, 1965)

[Introduction missing]

It is only being a Muslim which keeps me from seeing people by the color of their skin. This religion teaches brotherhood, but I have to be a realist—I live in America, a society which does not believe in brotherhood in any sense of the term. Brute force is used by white racists to suppress nonwhites. It is a racist society ruled by segregationists.

Where the government fails to protect the Negro he is entitled to do it himself. He is within his rights. I have found the only white elements who do not want this advice given to undefensive Blacks are the racist liberals. They use the press to project us in the image of violence. There is an element of whites who are nothing but cold, animalistic racists. That element is the one that controls or has strong influence in the power structure. It uses the press skillfully to feed statistics to the public to make it appear that the rate of crime in the Black community, or community of nonwhite people, is at such a high level. It gives the impression or the image that everyone in that community is criminal. And as soon as the public accepts the fact that the dark-skinned community consists largely of criminals or people who are dirty, then it makes it possible for the power structure to set up a police-state system. Which will make it permissible in the minds of even the well-meaning white public for them to come in and use all kinds of police methods to brutally suppress the struggle on the part of these people against segregation, discrimination, and other acts that are unleashed against them that are absolutely unjust.

They use the press to set up this police state, and they use the press to make the white public accept whatever they do to the dark-skinned public. They do that here in London right now with the constant reference to the West Indian population and the Asian population having a high rate of crime or having a tendency toward dirtiness. They have all kinds of negative characteristics that they project to make the white public draw back, or to make the white public be apathetic when police-state-like methods are used in these areas to suppress the people's honest and just struggle against discrimination and other forms of segregation.

A good example of how they do it in New York: last summer, when the Blacks were rioting—the riots, actually they weren't riots in the first place; they were reactions against police brutality. And when the Afro-Americans reacted against the brutal measures that were executed against them by the police, the press all over the world projected them as rioters. When the store windows were broken in the Black community, immediately it was made to appear that this was being done not by people who were reacting over civil rights violations, but they gave the impression that these were hoodlums, vagrants, criminals, who wanted nothing other than to get into the stores and take the merchandise.

But this is wrong. In America the Black community in which we live is not owned by us. The landlord is white. The merchant is white. In fact, the entire economy of the Black community in the States is controlled by someone who doesn't even live there. The property that we live in is owned by someone else. The store that we trade with is operated by someone else. And these are the people who suck the economic blood of our community.

And being in a position to suck the economic blood of our community, they control the radio programs that cater to us, they control the newspapers, the advertising, that cater to us. They control our minds. They end up controlling our civic organizations. They end up controlling us economically, politically, socially, mentally, and every other kind of way. They suck our blood like vultures.

And when you see the Blacks react, since the people who do this aren't there, they react against their property. The property is the only thing that's there. And they destroy it. And you get the impression over here that because they are destroying the property where they live, that they are destroying their own property. No. They can't get to the Man, so they get at what he owns.

This doesn't say it's intelligent. But whoever heard of a sociological explosion that was done intelligently and politely? And this is what you're trying to make the Black man do. You're trying to drive him into a ghetto and make him the victim of every kind of unjust condition imaginable. Then when he explodes, you want him to explode politely! You want him to explode according to somebody's ground rules. Why, you're dealing with the wrong man, and you're dealing with him at the wrong time in the wrong way.

Another example of how this imagery is mastered, at the international level, is the recent situation in the Congo. Here we have an example of planes dropping bombs on defenseless African villages. When a bomb is dropped on an African village, there's no way of defending the people from the bomb. The bomb doesn't make a distinction between men and women. That bomb is dropped on men, women, children, and babies. Now it has not been in any way a disguised fact that planes have been dropping bombs on Congolese villages all during the entire summer. There is no outcry. There is no concern. There is no sympathy. There is no urge on the part of even the so-called progressive element to try and bring a halt to this mass murder. Why?

Because all the press had to do was use that shrewd propaganda word that these villages were in "rebel-held" territory. "Rebel-held," what does that mean? That's an enemy, so anything that they do to those people is all right. You cease to think of the women and the children and the babies in the so-called rebel-held territory as human beings. So that anything that is done to them is done with justification. And the progressives, the liberals don't even make any outcry. They sit twiddling their thumbs, as if they were captivated by this press imagery that has been mastered here in the West also.

They refer to the pilots that are dropping the bombs on these babies as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." As long as they are American-trained, this is supposed to put the stamp of approval on it, because America is your ally. As long as they are anti-Castro Cubans, since Castro is supposed to be a monster and these pilots are against Castro, anybody else they are against is also all right. So the American planes with American bombs being piloted by American-trained pilots, dropping American bombs on Black people, Black babies, Black children, destroying them completely—which is nothing but mass murder—goes absolutely unnoticed.

They take this man Tshombe—I guess he's a man—and try and make him acceptable to the public by using the press to refer to him as the only one who can unite the Congo. Imagine, a murderer—not an ordinary murderer, a murderer of a prime minister, the murderer of the rightful prime minister of the Congo—and yet they want to force him upon the people of the Congo, through Western manipulation and Western pressures. The United

States, the country that I come from, pays his salary. They openly admit that they pay his salary. And in saying this, I don't want you to think that I come here to make an anti-American speech. I wouldn't come here for that. I come here to make a speech, to tell you the truth. And if the truth is anti-American, then blame the truth, don't blame me.

He's propped up by American dollars. The salaries of the hired killers from South Africa that he uses to kill innocent Congolese are paid by American dollars. Which means that I come from a country that is busily sending the Peace Corps to Nigeria while sending hired killers to the Congo. The government is not consistent; something is not right there. And it starts some of my African brothers and sisters that have been so happy to see the Peace Corps landing on their shores to take another look at that thing, and see what it really is. [From the audience: "What is it?"] Exactly what it says: Peace Corps, get a piece of their country.

So what the press does with its skillful ability to create this imagery, it uses its pages to whip up this hysteria in the white public. And as soon as the hysteria of the white public reaches the proper degree, they will begin to work on the sympathy of the white public. And once the sympathy reaches the proper degree, then they put forth their program, knowing that they are going to get the support of the gullible white public in whatever they do. And what they are going to do is criminal. And what they are doing is criminal.

How do they do it? If you recall reading in the paper, they never talked about the Congolese who were being slaughtered. But as soon as a few whites, the lives of a few whites were at stake, they began to speak of "white hostages," "white missionaries," "white priests," "white nuns"—as if a white life, one white life, was of such greater value than a Black life, than a thousand Black lives.

They showed you their open contempt for the lives of the Blacks, and their deep concern for the lives of the whites. This is the press. And after the press had gotten the whites all whipped up, then anything that the Western powers wanted to do against these defenseless, innocent freedom fighters from the eastern provinces of the Congo, the white public went along with it. So to get towards the end of that, what it has done, just in press manipulation, the Western governments have permitted themselves to get trapped, in a sense, in backing Tshombe, the same as the United States is

trapped over there in South Vietnam. If she goes forward she loses, if she backs up she loses. She's getting bogged down in the Congo in the same way.
Because no African troops win victories for Tshombe. They never have. The only war, the only battles won by the African troops, in the African revolution, in the Congo area, were those won by the freedom fighters from the Oriental province.

They won battles with spears, stones, twigs. They won battles because their heart was in what they were doing. But Tshombe's men from the central Congo government never won any battles. And it was for this reason that he had to import these white mercenaries, the paid killers, to win some battles for him. Which means that Tshombe's government can only stay in power with white help, with white troops.

Well, there will come a time when he won't be able to recruit any more mercenaries, and the Western powers, who are really behind him, will then have to commit their own troops openly. Which means you will then be bogged down in the Congo the same as you're bogged down over there now in South Vietnam. And you can't win in the Congo. If you can't win in South Vietnam, you know you can't win in the Congo.

You think you can win in South Vietnam? The French were deeply entrenched. The French were deeply entrenched in Vietnam for a hundred years or so. They had the best weapons of warfare, a highly mechanized army, everything that you would need. And the guerrillas come out of the rice paddies with nothing but sneakers on and a rifle and a bowl of rice, nothing but gym shoes—tennis shoes—and a rifle and a bowl of rice. And you know what they did in Dien Bien Phu. They ran the French out of there. And if the French were deeply entrenched and couldn't stay there, then how do you think someone else is going to stay there, who is not even there yet. Yes, all of them are brothers. They had a bowl of rice and a rifle and some shoes. I don't care whether they came from China or South Vietnam. And the French aren't there anymore. We don't care how they did it; they're not there anymore. The same thing will happen in the Congo.

See, the African revolution must proceed onward, and one of the reasons that the Western powers are fighting so hard and are trying to cloud the issue in the Congo is that it's not a humanitarian project. It's not a feeling or sense of humanity that makes them want to go in and save some hostages,

but there are bigger stakes.

They realize not only that the Congo is a source of mineral wealth, minerals that they need, but the Congo is so situated strategically, geographically, that if it falls into the hands of a genuine African government that has the hopes and aspirations of the African people at heart, then it will be possible for the Africans to put their own soldiers right on the border of Angola and wipe the Portuguese out of there overnight.

So that if the Congo falls, Mozambique and Angola must fall. And when they fall, suddenly you have to deal with Ian Smith. He won't be there overnight once you can put some troops on his borders. Oh yes. Which means it will only be a matter of time before they will be right on the border with South Africa, and then they can talk the type of language that the South Africans understand. And this is the only language that they understand.

I might point out right here and now—and I say it bluntly—that you have had a generation of Africans who actually have believed that they could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate, and eventually get some kind of independence. But you're getting a new generation that is being born right now, and they are beginning to think with their own mind and see that you can't negotiate upon freedom nowadays. If something is yours by right, then you fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it.

So we in the West have a stake in the African revolution. We have a stake for this reason: as long as the African continent was dominated by enemies, and as long as it was dominated by colonial powers, those colonial powers were enemies of the African people. They were enemies to the African continent. They meant the African people no good, they did the African people no good, they did the African continent no good.

And then in the position that they were, they were the ones who created the image of the African continent and the African people. They created that continent and those people in a negative image. And they projected this negative image abroad. They projected an image of Africa in the people abroad that was very hateful, extremely hateful. And because it was hateful, there are over a hundred million of us of African heritage in the West who looked at that hateful image and didn't want to be identified with

it. We shunned it, and not because it was something to be shunned. But we believed the image that had been created of our own homeland by the enemy of our own homeland. And in hating that image we ended up hating ourselves without even realizing it.

Why? Because once we in the West were made to hate Africa and hate the African, why, the chain-reaction effect was it had to make us end up hating ourselves. You can't hate the roots of the tree without hating the tree, without ending up hating the tree. You can't hate your origin without ending up hating yourself. You can't hate the land, your motherland, the place that you came from, and we can't hate Africa without ending up hating ourselves.

The Black man in the Western Hemisphere—in North America, Central America, South America, and in the Caribbean—is the best example of how one can be made, skillfully, to hate himself that you can find anywhere on this earth.

The reason you're having a problem with the West Indians right now is because they hate their origin. Because they don't want to accept their origin, they have no origin, they have no identity. They are running around here in search of an identity, and instead of trying to be what they are, they want to be Englishmen. Which is not their fault, actually. Because in America our people are trying to be Americans, and in the islands you got them trying to be Englishmen, and nothing sounds more obnoxious than to find somebody from Jamaica running around here trying to outdo the Englishman with his Englishness.

And I say that this is a very serious problem, because all of it stems from what the Western powers do to the image of the African continent and the African people. By making our people in the Western Hemisphere hate Africa, we ended up hating ourselves. We hated our African characteristics. We hated our African identity. We hated our African features. So much so that you would find those of us in the West who would hate the shape of our nose. We would hate the shape of our lips. We would hate the color of our skin and the texture of our hair. This was a reaction, but we didn't realize that it was a reaction.

Imagine now, somebody got nerve enough, some whites have the audacity to refer to me as a hate teacher. If I'm teaching someone to hate, I teach

them to hate the Ku Klux Klan. But here in America, they have taught us to hate ourselves. To hate our skin, hate our hair, hate our features, hate our blood, hate what we are. Why, Uncle Sam is a master hate teacher, so much so that he makes somebody think he's teaching love, when he's teaching hate. When you make a man hate himself, why you really got it and gone.

By skillfully making us hate Africa and, in turn, making us hate ourselves, hate our color and our blood, our color became a chain. Our color became to us a chain. It became a prison. It became something that was a shame, something that we felt held us back, kept us trapped.

So because we felt that our color had trapped us, had imprisoned us, had brought us down, we ended up hating the Black skin, which we felt was holding us back. We ended up hating the Black blood, which we felt was holding us back. This is the problem that the Black man in the West has had.
The African hasn't realized that this was the problem. And it was only as long as the African himself was held in bondage by the colonial powers, was kept from projecting any positive image of himself on our continent, something that we could look at proudly and then identify with—it was only as long as the African himself was kept down that we were kept down.

But to the same degree, during these recent years, that the African people have become independent, and they have gotten in a position on that continent to project their own image, their image has shifted from negative to positive. And to the same degree that it has shifted from negative to positive, you'll find that the image of the Black man in the West of himself has also shifted from negative to positive. To the same degree that the African has become uncompromising and militant in knowing what he wants, you will find that the Black man in the West has followed the same line.

Why? Because the same beat, the same heart, the same pulse that moves the Black man on the African continent—despite the fact that four hundred years have separated us from that mother continent, and an ocean of water has separated us from that mother continent— still, the same pulse that beats in the Black man on the African continent today is beating in the heart of the Black man in North America, Central America, South America, and in the Caribbean. Many of them don't know it, but it's true.

As long as we hated our African blood, our African skin, our Africanness, we ended up feeling inferior, we felt inadequate, and we felt helpless. And because we felt so inferior and so inadequate and so helpless, instead of trying to stand on our own feet and do something for ourselves, we turned to the white man, thinking he was the only one who could do it for us. Because we were taught, we have been taught, that he was the personification of beauty and the personification of success.

At the Bandung Conference in 1955, one of the first and best steps toward real independence for non-white people took place. The people of Africa and Asia and Latin America were able to get together. They sat down, they realized that they had differences. They agreed not to place any emphasis any longer upon these differences, but to submerge the areas of differences and place emphasis upon areas where they had something in common.

This agreement that was reached at Bandung produced the spirit of Bandung. So that the people who were oppressed, who had no jet planes, no nuclear weapons, no armies, no navies—and despite the fact that they didn't have this, their unity alone was sufficient to enable them, over a period of years, to maneuver and make it possible for other nations in Asia to become independent, and many more nations in Africa to become independent.

And by 1959, many of you will recall how colonialism on the African continent had already begun to collapse. It began to collapse because the spirit of African nationalism had been fanned from a spark to a roaring flame. And it made it impossible for the colonial powers to stay there by force. Formerly, when the Africans were fearful, the colonial powers could come up with a battleship, or threaten to land an army, or something like that, and the oppressed people would submit and go ahead being colonized for a while longer.

But by 1959 all of the fear had left the African continent and the Asian continent. And because this fear was gone, especially in regards to the colonial powers of Europe, it made it impossible for them to continue to stay in there by the same methods that they had employed up to that time.

So it's just like when a person is playing football. If he has the ball and he gets trapped, he doesn't throw the ball away, he passes it to some of his teammates who are in the clear. And in 1959, when France and Britain and

Belgium and some of the others saw that they were trapped by the African nationalism on that continent, instead of throwing the ball of colonialism away, they passed it to the only one of their team that was in the clear—and that was Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam grabbed the ball and has been running with it ever since.

The one who picked it up, really, was John F. Kennedy. He was the shrewdest backfield runner that America has produced in a long time—oh yes he was. He was very tricky; he was intelligent; he was an intellectual; he surrounded himself with intellectuals who had a lot of foresight and a lot of cunning. The first thing they did was to give a reanalysis of the problem. They realized they were confronted with a new problem.

The newness of the problem was created by the fact that the Africans had lost all fear. There was no fear in them anymore. Therefore the colonial powers couldn't stay there by force, and America, the new colonial power, neocolonial power, or neo-imperialist power, also couldn't stay there by force. So they come up with a "friendly" approach, a new approach which was friendly. Benevolent colonialism or philanthropic imperialism. They called it humanitarianism, or dollarism. And whereas the Africans could fight against colonialism, they found it difficult to fight against dollarism, or to condemn dollarism. It was all a token friendship, and all of the so-called benefits that were offered to the African countries were nothing but tokens.

But from '54 to '64 was the era of an emerging Africa, an independent Africa. And the impact of those independent African nations upon the civil rights struggle in the United States was tremendous. Number one, one of the first things the African revolution produced was rapid growth in a movement called the Black Muslim movement. The militancy that existed on the African continent was one of the main motivating factors in the rapid growth of the group known as the Black Muslim movement, to which I belonged. And the Black Muslim movement was one of the main ingredients in the entire civil rights struggle.

Martin Luther King has held Negroes in check up to recently. But he's losing his grip, he's losing his influence, he's losing his control.

I know you don't want me to say that. But, see, this is why you're in trouble. You want somebody to come and tell you that your house is safe, while

you're sitting on a powder keg. This is the mentality, this is the level of Western mentality today. Rather than face up to the facts concerning the danger that you're in, you would rather have someone come along and jive you and tell you that everything is all right and pack you to sleep. Why, the best thing that anybody can tell you is when they let you know how fed up with disillusionment and frustration the man in your house has become.

So to bring my talk to a conclusion, I must point out that just as John F. Kennedy realized the necessity of a new approach on the African problem—and I must say that it was during his administration that the United States gained so much influence on the African continent. They removed the other colonial powers and stepped in themselves with their benevolent, philanthropic, friendly approach. And they got just as firm a grip on countries on that continent as some of the colonial powers formerly had on that continent. Not only on the African continent but in Asia too. They did it with dollars.

They used a new approach on us in the States, also. Friendly. Whereas formerly they just outright denied us certain rights, they began to use a new, tricky approach. And this approach was to make it appear that they were making moves to solve our problems. They would pass bills, they would come up with Supreme Court decisions. The Supreme Court came up with what they called a desegregation decision in 1954—it hasn't been implemented yet; they can't even implement it in New York City, where I live—outlawing the segregated school system, supposedly to eliminate segregated schooling in Mississippi and Alabama and other places in the South. And they haven't even been able to implement this Supreme Court decision concerning the educational system in New York City and in Boston and some of the so-called liberal cities of the North.

This was all tokenism. They made the world think that they had desegregated the University of Mississippi. This shows you how deceitful they are. They took one Negro, named Meredith, and took all of the world press down to show that they were going to solve the problem by putting Meredith in the University of Mississippi. I think it cost them something like $15 million and they had to use about seven thousand troops—one or the other—to put one Black man in the University of Mississippi.

And then Look magazine came out with a story afterwards showing the exposé where the attorney general—at that time Robert Kennedy—had

made a deal with Governor Barnett. They were going to play a game on the Negro. Barnett was the racist governor from Mississippi. Kennedy was one of these shining liberal progressives—Robert, that is. And they had made a deal, according to Look magazine—which all belongs to the same setup, so they must know what they are talking about. Look magazine said that Robert Kennedy had told Barnett, "Now, since you want the white votes in the South, what you do is you stand in the doorway and pretend like you're going to keep Meredith out. And when I come, I'm going to come with the marshals, and force Meredith in. So you'll keep all the white votes in the South, and I'll get all the Negro votes in the North."

This is what we face in that country. And Kennedy is supposed to be a liberal. He's supposed to be a friend of the Negro. He's supposed to be the brother of John F. Kennedy—all of them in the same family. You know, he being the attorney general, he couldn't go down with that kind of deal unless he had the permission of his older brother, who was his older brother at that time.

So they come up only with tokenism. And this tokenism that they give us benefits only a few. A few handpicked Negroes gain from this; a few handpicked Negroes get good jobs; a few handpicked Negroes get good homes or go to a decent school. And then they use these handpicked Negroes, they put 'em on television, blow 'em up, and make it look like you got a whole lot of 'em, when you only got one or two.

And this one or two is going to open up his mouth and talk about how the problem is being solved. And the whole world thinks that America's race problem is being solved, when actually the masses of Black people in America are still living in the ghettos and the slums; they still are the victims of inferior housing; they are still the victims of a segregated school system, which gives them inferior education. They are still victims, after they get that inferior education, where they can only get the worst form of jobs.

And they do this very skillfully to keep us trapped. They know that as long as they keep us undereducated, or with an inferior education, it's impossible for us to compete with them for job openings. And as long as we can't compete with them and get a decent job, we're trapped. We are low-wage earners. We have to live in a run-down neighborhood, which means our children go to inferior schools. They get inferior education. And

when they grow up, they fall right into the same cycle again.

This is the American way. This is the American democracy that she tries to sell to the whole world as being that which will solve the problems of other people too. It's the worst form of hypocrisy that has ever been practiced by any government or society anywhere on this earth, since the beginning of time.

It is the African revolution that produced the Black Muslim movement. It was the Black Muslim movement that pushed the civil rights movement. And it was the civil rights movement that pushed the liberals out into the open, where today they are exposed as people who have no more concern for the rights of dark-skinned humanity than they do for any other form of humanity.

To bring my talk to a conclusion, all of this created a hot climate, a hot climate. And from 1963, '64 it reached its peak. Nineteen sixty-three was started out in America by all of the politicians talking about this being the hundredth year since the Emancipation Proclamation. They were going to celebrate all over America "a century of progress in race relations." This is the way January and February and March of 1963 started out.

And then Martin Luther King went into Birmingham, Alabama, just trying to get a few Negroes to be able to sit down at a lunch counter and drink an integrated cup of coffee. That's all he wanted. That's all he wanted. They ended up putting him in jail. They ended up putting thousands of Negroes in jail. And many of you saw on television, in Birmingham, how the police had these big vicious dogs biting Black people. They were crushing the skulls of Black people. They had water hoses turned on our women, stripping off the clothes from our own women, from our children.

And the world saw this. The world saw what the world had thought was going to be a year which would celebrate a hundred years of progress toward good race relations between white and Black in the United States—they saw one of the most inhuman, savage displays there in that country. Right after that, this was followed by the assassination of John F. Kennedy, all by the same problem, and Medgar Evers, another one by the same problem. And it ended in the bombing of a church in Alabama where four little girls, Christians, sitting in Sunday school, singing about Jesus, were blown apart by people who claim to be Christians. And this happened

in the year 1963, the year that they said in that country would mark a hundred years of good relations between the races.

By 1964...1964 was the year in which three civil rights workers, who were doing nothing other than trying to show Black people in Mississippi how to register and take advantage of their political potential—they were murdered in cold blood. They weren't murdered by some unknown element. They were murdered by an organized group of criminals known as the Ku Klux Klan, which was headed by the sheriff and his deputy and a clergyman. A preacher, a man of the cloth, was responsible for the murder. And when they tell you what was done to the body of that little Black one that they found—all three were murdered, but when they found the three bodies they said that every bone in the body of the Black one was broken, as if these brutes had gone insane while they were beating him to death. This was in 1964.

Now 1965 is here, and you got these same old people, jumping up talking about the "Great Society" now is coming into existence. Nineteen sixty-five will be the longest and the hottest and the bloodiest year that has yet been witnessed in the United States. Why? I'm not saying this to advocate violence. I'm saying this after a careful analysis of the ingredients—the sociological, political dynamite that exists in every Black community in that country.

Africa is emerging. It's making the Black man in the Western Hemisphere militant. It's making him shift from negative to positive in his image of himself and in his confidence in himself. He sees himself as a new man. He's beginning to identify himself with new forces. Whereas in the past he thought of his problem as one of civil rights—which made it a domestic issue, which kept it confined to the jurisdiction of the United States, a jurisdiction in which he could only seek the aid of white liberals within continental United States—today the Black man in the Western Hemisphere, especially in the United States, is beginning to see where his problem is not one of civil rights, but it is rather one of human rights. And that in the human rights context it becomes an international issue. It ceases to be a Negro problem, it ceases to be an American problem. It becomes a human problem, a problem of human rights, a problem of humanity, a problem for the world.

And by shifting his entire position from civil rights to human rights, he

puts it on the world stage and makes it possible where today he no more has to rely on only the white liberals within continental United States to be his supporters. But he brings it onto the world stage and makes it possible for all of our African brothers, our Asian brothers, our Latin American brothers, and those people in Europe, some of whom claim to mean right, also to step into the picture and do whatever is necessary to help us to see that our rights are guaranteed us—not sometime in the long future, but almost immediately.

So the basic difference between the struggle of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere today from the past: he has a new sense of identity; he has a new sense of dignity; he has a new sense of urgency.

And above all else, he sees now that he has allies. He sees that the brothers on the African continent, who have emerged and gotten independent states, can see that they have an obligation to the lost brother who went astray and then found himself today in a foreign land. They are obligated. They are just as obligated to the brother who's gone away as they are to the brother who's still at home.

And just as you see the oppressed people all over the world today getting together, the Black people in the West are also seeing that they are oppressed. Instead of just calling themselves an oppressed minority in the States, they are part of the oppressed masses of people all over the world today who are crying out for action against the common oppressor.

Thank you.

# After the Firebombing (Feb. 14, 1965)

Distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen, friends and enemies:

I want to point out first that I am very happy to be here this evening and I'm thankful for the invitation to come here to Detroit this evening. I was in a house last night that was bombed, my own. It didn't destroy all my clothes, not all, but you know what happens when fire dashes through—they get smoky. The only thing I could get my hands on before leaving was what I have on now.

It isn't something that made me lose confidence in what I am doing, because my wife understands and I have children from this size on down, and even in their young age they understand. I think they would rather have a father or brother or whatever the situation may be who will take a stand in the face of any kind of reaction from narrow-minded people rather than to compromise and later on have to grow up in shame and in disgrace.

So I just ask you to excuse my appearance. I don't normally come out in front of people without a shirt and a tie. I guess that's somewhat a holdover from the Black Muslim movement, which I was in. That's one of the good aspects of that movement. It teaches you to be very careful and conscious of how you look, which is a positive contribution on their part. But that positive contribution on their part is greatly offset by too many other liabilities.

Tonight we want to discuss—and by the way, also, when I came here today I was a bit—last night, the temperature was about twenty above and when this explosion took place, I was caught in what I had on, some pajamas. And in trying to get my family out of the house, none of us stopped for any clothes at that point—twenty-degree cold. I myself was—I had gotten them into the house of the neighbor next door. So I thought perhaps being in that condition for so long I would get pneumonia or a cold or something like that, so a doctor came today—a nice doctor too—and he shot something in my arm that naturally put me to sleep. I've been back

there asleep ever since the program started in order to get back in shape. So if I have a tendency to stutter or slow down, it's still the effects of that drug. I don't know what kind it was, but it was good; it makes you sleep, and there's nothing like sleeping through a whole lot of excitement.

Tonight one of the things that has to be stressed is that which has not only the United States very much worried but which also has France, Great Britain, and most of the powers, who formerly were known as colonial powers, worried also, and that primarily is the African revolution. They are more concerned with the revolution that's taking place on the African continent than they are with the revolution in Asia and in Latin America. And this is because there are so many people of African ancestry within the domestic confines or jurisdiction of these various governments.

There are four different types of people in the Western Hemisphere, all of whom have Africa as a common heritage, common origin, and that's the—those of our people in Latin America, who are Black, but who are in the Spanish-speaking areas. Many of them ofttimes migrate back to Spain, the only difference being Spain has such bad economic conditions until many of the people from Latin America don't think it's worthwhile to migrate back there. And then the British and the French had a great deal of control in the Caribbean, in the West Indies. And so now you have many people from the West Indies migrating to both London—rather both England and France. The people from the British West Indies go to London, and those from the French West Indies go to Paris. And it has put France and England since World War II in the precarious position of having a sort of a commonwealth structure that makes it easy for all of the people in the commonwealth territories to come into their country with no restrictions. So there's an increasing number of dark-skinned people in England and also in France.

When I was in Africa in May, I noticed a tendency on the part of the Afro-Americans to, what I call lollygag. Everybody else who was over there had something on the ball, something they were doing, something constructive. For instance, in Ghana, just to take Ghana as an example. There would be many refugees in Ghana from South Africa. But those who were in Ghana were organized and were serving as pressure groups, some were training for military—some were being trained in how to be soldiers, but others were involved as a pressure group or lobby group to let the people of Ghana never forget what's happening to the brother in South

Africa. Also you'd have brothers there from Angola and Mozambique. But all of the Africans who were exiles from their particular country and would be in a place like Ghana or Tanganyika, now Tanzania, they would be training. Their every move would still be designed to offset what was happening to their people back home where they had left.

The only difference on the continent was the American Negro. Those who were over there weren't even thinking about these over here. This was the basic difference. The Africans, when they escaped from their respective countries that were still colonized, they didn't try and run away from the problem. But as soon as they got where they were going, they then began to organize into pressure groups to get governmental support at the international level against the injustices they were experiencing back home.

And as I said, the American Negro, or the Afro-American, who was in these various countries, some working for this government, some working for that government, some just in business—they were just socializing, they had turned their back on the cause over here, they were partying, you know.
And when I went through one country in particular, I heard a lot of their complaints and I didn't make any move on them.

But when I got to another country, I found the Afro-Americans there were making the same complaints. So we sat down and talked and we organized a branch in this particular country, a branch of the OAAU, Organization of Afro-American Unity. That one was the only one in existence at that time. Then during the summer, when I went back to Africa, I was able in each country that I visited, to get the Afro-American community together and organize them and make them aware of their responsibility to those of us who are still here in the lion's den.

They began to do this quite well, and when I got to Paris and London—there are many Afro-Americans in Paris, and many in London. And in December—no, November—we organized a group in Paris and just within a very short time they had grown into a well-organized unit. And they, in conjunction with the African community, invited me to Paris, Tuesday, to address a large gathering of Parisians and Afro-Americans and people from the Caribbean and also from Africa who were interested in our struggle in this country and the rate of progress that we have been making.

But since the French government and the British government and this government here, the United States, know that I have been almost fanatically stressing the importance of the Afro-American uniting with the African and working as a coalition, especially in areas which are of mutual benefit to all of us. And the governments in these different places were frightened because they know that the Black revolution that's taking place on the outside of their house.

And I might point out right here that colonialism or imperialism, as the slave system of the West is called, is not something that's just confined to England or France or the United States. But the interests in this country are in cahoots with the interests in France and the interests in Britain. It's one huge complex or combine, and it creates what's known as not the American power structure or the French power structure, but it's an international power structure. And this international power structure is used to suppress the masses of dark-skinned people all over the world and exploit them of their natural resources.

So that the era in which you and I have been living during the past ten years most specifically has witnessed the upsurge on the part of the Black man in Africa against the power structure.
He wants his freedom.

Now, mind you, the power structure is international, and as such, its own domestic base is in London, in Paris, in Washington, D.C., and so forth. And the outside or external phase of the revolution, which is manifest in the attitude and action of the Africans today is troublesome enough. The revolution on the outside of the house, or the outside of the structure, is troublesome enough. But now the powers that be are beginning to see that this struggle on the outside by the Black man is affecting, infecting the Black man who is on the inside of that structure. I hope you understand what I'm trying to say.

The newly awakened people all over the world pose a problem for what's known as Western interests, which is imperialism, colonialism, racism, and all these other negative -isms or vulturistic -isms. Just as the external forces pose a grave threat, they can now see that the internal forces pose an even greater threat. But the internal forces pose an even greater threat only when they have properly analyzed the situation and know what the stakes really are.

Just by advocating a coalition of Africans, Afro-Americans, Arabs, and Asians who live within the structure, it automatically has upset France, which is supposed to be one of the most liberal—heh!—countries on earth, and it made them expose their hand. England the same way. And I don't have to tell you about this country that we are living in now.

So when you count the number of dark-skinned people in the Western Hemisphere you can see that there are probably over 100 million. When you consider Brazil has two-thirds what we call colored, or nonwhite, and Venezuela, Honduras and other Central American countries, Cuba and Jamaica, and the United States and even Canada—when you total all these people up, you have probably over 100 million. And this 100 million on the inside of the power structure today is what is causing a great deal of concern for the power structure itself.

Not a great deal of concern for all white people, but a great deal of concern for most white people. See, if I said "all white people" then they would call me a racist for giving a blanket condemnation of things.

And this is true; this is how they do it. They take one little word out of what you say, ignore all the rest, and then begin to magnify it all over the world to make you look like what you actually aren't. And I'm very used to that.

So we saw that the first thing to do was to unite our people, not only unite us internally, but we have to be united with our brothers and sisters abroad. It was for that purpose that I spent five months in the Middle East and Africa during the summer. The trip was very enlightening, inspiring, and fruitful. I didn't go into any African country, or any country in the Middle East for that matter, and run into any closed door, closed mind, or closed heart. I found a warm reception and an amazingly deep interest and sympathy for the Black man in this country in regards to our struggle for human rights.
While I was traveling, I had a chance to speak in Cairo, or rather Alexandria, with President Nasser for about an hour and a half. He's a very brilliant man. And I can see why they're so afraid of him, and they are afraid of him—they know he can cut off their oil. And actually the only thing power respects is power. Whenever you find a man who's in a position to show power against power then that man is respected. But you can take a man who has power and love him all the rest of your life,

nonviolently and forgivingly and all the rest of those oft-time things, and you won't get anything out of it.

So I also had a chance to speak to President Nyerere in Tanganyika, which is now Tanzania, and also Kenyata—I know that all of you know him. He was the head of the Mau Mau, which really brought freedom to many of the African countries. This is true. The Mau Mau played a major role in bringing about freedom for Kenya, and not only for Kenya but other African countries. Because what the Mau Mau did frightened the white man so much in other countries until he said, "Well I better get this thing straight before some of them pop up here." This is good to study because you see what makes him react: Nothing loving makes him react, nothing forgiving makes him react. The only time he reacts is when he knows you can hurt him, and when you let him know you can hurt him he has to think two or three times before he tries to hurt you. But if you're not going to do nothing but return that hurt with love—why good night! He knows you're out of your mind.

And also I had an opportunity to speak with President Azikiwe in Nigeria, President Nkrumah in Ghana, and President Sekou Toure in Guinea. And in all of these people I found nothing but warmth, friendship, sympathy, and a desire to help the Black man in this country in fighting our problem. And we have a very complex problem.

Now I hope you'll forgive me for just speaking so informally tonight, but I frankly think it's always better to be informal. As far as I am concerned, I can speak to people better in an informal way than I can with all of this stiff formality that ends up meaning nothing. Plus, when people are informal, they're relaxed. When they're relaxed, their mind is more open, and they can weigh things more objectively. Whenever you and I are discussing our problems we need to be very objective, very cool, calm, collected. But that doesn't mean we should always be. There's a time to be cool and a time to be hot. See, you got messed up into thinking that there's only one time for everything. There's a time to love and a time to hate. Even Solomon said that, and he was in that Book too. You're just taking something out of the Book that fits your cowardly nature. And when you don't want to fight, you say, "Well, Jesus said don't fight." But I don't even believe Jesus said that.

Also I am very pleased to see so many who have come out to always see for yourself, where you can hear for yourself, and then think for yourself. Then

you'll be in a better position to make an intelligent judgment for yourself. But if you form the habit of listening to what others say about something or some one or reading what someone else has written about someone, somebody can confuse you and misuse you. So as Afro-Americans or Black people here in the Western Hemisphere, you and I have to learn to weigh things for ourselves. No matter what the man says, you better look into it.

And a good example of why it's so important to look into things for yourself: I was on a plane between Algiers and Geneva and it just happened that two other Americans were sitting in the two seats next to me. None of us knew each other and the other two were white, one a male, the other a female. And after we had been flying along for about forty minutes, the lady, she says, "Could I ask you a personal question?"

I said, '"Yes." She said, "Well--" she had been looking at my briefcase, and she said, "Well, what does that X--" she says, "What kind of last name could you have that begins with X?" So I said, "That's it -- X." And she said, "Well, what does the 'M' stand for?" I said, "Malcolm." So she was quiet for about ten minutes, and she turned to me and she says, "You're not Malcolm X?"

You see, we had been riding along in a nice conversation like three human beings, you know, no hostility, no animosity, just human. And she couldn't take this, she said, "Well you're not who I was looking for," you know. And she ended up telling me that she was looking for horns and all that, and for someone who was out to kill all white people, as if all white people could be killed. This was her general attitude, and this attitude had been given her—this image had been given her by the press.

So before I get involved in anything nowadays, I have to straighten out my own position, which is clear. I am not a racist in any form whatsoever. I don't believe in any form of racism. I don't believe in any form of discrimination or segregation. I believe in Islam. I am a Muslim. And there's nothing wrong with being a Muslim, nothing wrong with the religion of Islam. It just teaches us to believe in Allah as the God. Those of you who are Christians probably believe in the same God, because I think you believe in the God who created the universe. That's the One we believe in, the one who created the universe, the only difference being you call Him God and I—we call Him Allah. The Jews call him Jehovah. If you could understand Hebrew, you'd probably call him Jehovah too. If you

could understand Arabic, you'd probably call him Allah.

But since the white man, your "friend," took your language away from you during slavery, the only language you know is his language. You know, your friend's language. So you call for the same God he calls for. When he's putting a rope around your neck, you call for God and he calls for God. And you wonder why the one you call on never answers you.

So that once you realize that I believe in the Supreme Being who created the universe, and believe in him as being one—I also have been taught in Islam that one God only has one religion, and that religion is called Islam, and all of the prophets who came forth taught that religion—Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, all of them. And by believing in one God and one religion and all of the prophets, it creates unity. There's no room for argument, no need for us to be arguing with each other.
And also in that religion, of the real religion of Islam—when I was in the Black Muslim movement, I wasn't—they didn't have the real religion of Islam in that movement. It was something else. And the real religion of Islam doesn't teach anyone to judge another human being by the color of his skin. The yardstick that is used by the Muslim to measure another man is not the man's color but the man's deeds, the man's conscious behavior, the man's intentions. And when you use that as a standard of measurement or judgment, you never go wrong.

But when you just judge a man because of the color of his skin, then you're committing a crime, because that's the worst kind of judgment.
If you judged him just because he was a Jew, that's not as bad as judging him because he's Black. Because a Jew can hide his religion. He can say he's something else—and which a lot of them do that, they say they're something else. But the Black man can't hide. When they start indicting us because of our color that means we're indicted before we're born, which is the worst kind of crime that can be committed. The Muslim religion has eliminated all tendencies to judge a man according to the color of his skin, but rather the judgment is based upon his deeds.

And when, prior to going into the Muslim world, I didn't have any—Elijah Muhammad had taught us that the white man could not enter into Mecca in Arabia, and all of us who followed him, we believed it. And he said the reason he couldn't enter was because he's white and inherently evil, it's impossible to change him. And the only thing that would change him is

Islam, and he can't accept Islam because by nature he's evil. And therefore by not being able to accept Islam and become a Muslim, he could never enter Mecca. This is how he taught us, you know.

So when I got over there and went to Mecca and saw these people who were blond and blue-eyed and pale-skinned and all those things, I said, "Well!" But I watched them closely. And I noticed that though they were white, and they would call themselves white, there was a difference between them and the white one over here. And that basic difference was this: in Asia or the Arab world or in Africa, where the Muslims are, if you find one who says he's white, all he's doing is using an adjective to describe something that's incidental about him, one of his incidental characteristics; so there's nothing else to it, he's just white.

But when you get the white man over here in America and he says he's white, he means something else. You can listen to the sound of his voice—when he says he's white, he means he's a boss. That's right. That's what "white" means in this language. You know the expression, "free, white, and twenty-one." He made that up. He's letting you know all of them mean the same. "White" means free, boss. He's up there. So that when he says he's white he has a little different sound in his voice. I know you know what I'm talking about.

This was what I saw was missing in the Muslim world. If they said they were white, it was incidental. White, black, brown, red, yellow, doesn't make any difference what color you are. So this was the religion that I had accepted and had gone there to get a better knowledge of it.

But despite the fact that I saw that Islam was a religion of brotherhood, I also had to face reality. And when I got back into this American society, I'm not in a society that practices brotherhood. I'm in a society that might preach it on Sunday, but they don't practice it on no day—on any day. And so, since I could see that America itself is a society where there is no brotherhood and that this society is controlled primarily by racists and segregationists—and it is—who are in Washington, D.C., in positions of power. And from Washington, D.C., they exercise the same forms of brutal oppression against dark-skinned people in South and North Vietnam, or in the Congo, or in Cuba, or in any other place on this earth where they're trying to exploit and oppress. This is a society whose government doesn't hesitate to inflict the most brutal form of punishment and oppression upon

dark-skinned people all over the world.

To wit, right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi and in the Congo and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. But all of that violence that they display at the international level, when you and I want just a little bit of freedom, we're supposed to be nonviolent. They're violent. They're violent in Korea, they're violent in Germany, they're violent in the South Pacific, they're violent in Cuba, they're violent wherever they go. But when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings, they tell us to be nonviolent.

That's a shame. Because we get tricked into being nonviolent, and when somebody stands up and talks like I just did, they say, "Why, he's advocating violence!" Isn't that what they say? Every time you pick up your newspaper, you see where one of these things has written into it that I'm advocating violence. I have never advocated any violence. I've only said that Black people who are the victims of organized violence perpetrated upon us by the Klan, the Citizens' Council, and many other forms, we should defend ourselves. And when I say that we should defend ourselves against the violence of others, they use their press skillfully to make the world think that I'm calling on violence, period. I wouldn't call on anybody to be violent without a cause. But I think the Black man in this country, above and beyond people all over the world, will be more justified when he stands up and starts to protect himself, no matter how many necks he has to break and heads he has to crack.

I saw in the paper where they—on the television where they took this Black woman down in Selma, Alabama, and knocked her right down on the ground, dragging her down the street. You saw it, you're trying to pretend like you didn't see it 'cause you knew you should've done something about it and didn't. It showed the sheriff and his henchmen throwing this Black woman on the ground—on the ground.

And Negro men standing around doing nothing about it saying, "Well, let's overcome them with our capacity to love." What kind of phrase is that? "Overcome them with our capacity to love." And then it disgraces the rest of us, because all over the world the picture is splashed showing a Black woman with some white brutes, with their knees on her holding her down, and full-grown Black men standing around watching it. Why, you are lucky they let you stay on earth, much less stay in the country.

When I saw it I dispatched a wire to Rockwell; Rockwell was one of the agitators down there, Rockwell, this Lincoln Rockwell. And the wire said in essence that this is to warn him that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement. And that if Rockwell's presence in Alabama causes harm to come to Dr. King or any other Black person in Alabama who's doing nothing other than trying to enjoy their rights, then Rockwell and his Ku Klux Klan friends would be met with maximum retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by this nonviolent philosophy. And I haven't heard from Rockwell since.

Brothers and sisters, if you and I would just realize that once we learn to talk the language that they understand, they will then get the point. You can't ever reach a man if you don't speak his language. If a man speaks the language of brute force, you can't come to him with peace. Why, good night! He'll break you in two, as he has been doing all along. If a man speaks French, you can't speak to him in German. If he speaks Swahili, you can't communicate with him in Chinese. You have to find out what does this man speak. And once you know his language, learn how to speak his language, and he'll get the point. There'll be some dialogue, some communication, and some understanding will be developed.

You've been in this country long enough to know the language the Klan speaks. They only know one language. And what you and I have to start doing in 1965—I mean that's what you have to do, because most of us already been doing it—is start learning a new language. Learn the language that they understand. And then when they come up on our doorstep to talk, we can talk. And they will get the point. There'll be a dialogue, there'll be some communication, and I'm quite certain there will then be some understanding. Why? Because the Klan is a cowardly outfit. They have perfected the art of making Negroes be afraid. As long as the Negro's afraid, the Klan is safe. But the Klan itself is cowardly. One of them will never come after one of you. They all come together. Sure, and they're scared of you.

And you sit there when they're putting the rope around your neck saying, "Forgive them, Lord, they know not what they do." As long as they've been doing it, they're experts at it, they know what they're doing!

No, since they federal government has shown that it isn't going to do anything about it but talk, it is a duty, it's your and my duty as men, as human beings, it is our duty to our people, to organize ourselves and let the government know that if they don't stop that Klan, we'll stop it ourselves. And then you'll see the government start doing something about it. But don't ever think that they're going to do it just on some kind of morality basis, no. So I don't believe in violence—that's why I want to stop it. And you can't stop it with love, not love of those things down there, no. So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary.

Now, the press, behind something like that, they call us racist and people who are "violent in reverse." This is how they psyche you. They make you think that if you try to stop the Klan from lynching you, you're practicing "violence in reverse." Pick up on this, I hear a lot of you all parrot what the man says. You say, "I don't want to be a Ku Klux Klan in reverse." Well, you—heh!—if a criminal comes around your house with his gun, brother, just because he's got a gun and he's robbing your house, brother, and he's a robber, it doesn't make you a robber because you grab your gun and run him out. No, see, the man is using some tricky logic on you. And he has absolutely got a Ku Klux Klan outfit that goes through the country frightening black people. Now, I say it is time for black people to put together the type of action, the unity, that is necessary to pull the sheet off of them so they won't be frightening black people any longer. That's all. And when we say this, the press calls us "racist in reverse."

"Don't struggle—only within the ground rules that the people you're struggling against have laid down." Why, this is insane. But it shows you how they can do it. With skillful manipulating of the press, they're able to make the victim look like the criminal, and the criminal look like the victim.
Right now in New York we had a couple cases where police grabbed the brother and beat him unmercifully—and then charged him with assaulting them. They used the press to make it look like he's the criminal and they're the victim. This is how they do it, and if you study how they do it there, then you'll know how they do it over here. It's the same game going all the time, and if you and I don't awaken and see what this man is doing to us, then it'll be too late. They may have the gas ovens already built before you realize that they're hot.

One of the shrewd ways that they use the press to project us in the eye or image of a criminal: they take statistics. And with the press they feed these statistics to the public, primarily the white public. Because there are some well-meaning persons in the white public as well as bad-meaning persons in the white public. And whatever the government is going to do, it always wants the public on its side, whether it's the local government, state government, federal government. So they use the press to create images. And at the local level, they'll create an image by feeding statistics to the press—through the press showing the high crime rate in the Negro community. As soon as this high crime rate is emphasized through the press, then people begin to look upon the Negro community as a community of criminals.

And then any Negro in the community can be stopped in the street. "Put your hands up," and they pat you down. You might be a doctor, a lawyer, a preacher, or some other kind of Uncle Tom. But despite your professional standing, you'll find that you're the same victim as the man who's in the alley. Just because you're Black and you live in a Black community, which has been projected as a community of criminals. This is done. And once the public accepts this image also, it paves the way for a police-state type of activity in the Negro community. They can use any kind of brutal methods to suppress Blacks because "they're criminals anyway." And what has given this image? The press again, by letting the power structure or the racist element in the power structure use them in that way.

A very good example was the riots that took place here during the summer: I was in Africa, I read about them over there. If you'll notice, they referred to the rioters as vandals, hoodlums, thieves. They tried to make it appear that this wasn't—they tried to make it—and they did this, they skillfully took the burden off the society for its failure to correct these negative conditions in the Black community. It took the burden completely off the society and put it right on the community by using the press to make it appear that the looting and all of this was proof that the whole act was nothing but vandals and robbers and thieves, who weren't really interested in anything other than that which was negative. And I hear many old, dumb, brainwashed Negroes who parrot the same old party line that the man handed down in his paper.

It was not the case that they were just knocking out store windows ignorantly. In Harlem, for instance, all of the stores are owned by white

people, all of the buildings are owned by white people. Black people are just there, paying rent, buying the groceries. But they don't own the stores, clothing stores, food stores, any kind of stores; don't even own the homes that they live in. This is all owned by outsiders. And then these run down apartment dwellings, the Black man in Harlem pays more money for it than the man down in the rich Park Avenue section. It costs us more money to live in the slum, than it costs them to live down on Park Avenue. Black people in Harlem know this. And the white merchants charge us more money for food in Harlem—and it's the cheap food, it's the worst food; and we have to pay more money for it than the man has to pay for it downtown. So Black people know that they're being exploited and that their blood is being sucked and they see no way out of it.

So finally, when the thing is sparked, the white man is not there; he's gone. The merchant is not there, the landlord is not there; the one he considers to be the enemy isn't there. So, they knock at his property. This is what makes them knock down the store windows and set fire to things, and things of that sort.

It's not that they're thieves. But they try and project the image to the public that this is being done by thieves, and thieves alone. And they ignore the fact that no, it is not thievery alone. It's a corrupt, vicious, hypocritical system that has castrated the Black man; and the only way the Black man can get back at it is to strike it in the only way he knows how.

They use the press. That doesn't mean that all reporters are bad. Some of them are good…I suppose. But you can take their collective approach to any problem and see that they can always agree when it gets to you and me. They knew that this affair—which is designed to honor outstanding Black Americans, is it not? You'd find nothing in the newspapers to give the slightest hint that this affair was going to take place. Not one hint.

Why? You see, you have many sources of news. If you don't think that they're in cahoots, watch! They're all interested, or none of them are interested. It's not a staggering thing. They're not going to say anything in advance that's being given by any Black people who believe in functioning beyond the scope of the ground rules that are laid down by the "liberal" element of the power structure.

When you begin to start thinking for yourself, you frighten them, and they

try and block your getting to the public, for fear that if the public listens to you, then the public won't listen to them anymore. And they've got certain Negroes whom they have to keep blowing up in the papers to make them look like leaders. So that the people will keep on following them, no matter how many knocks they get on their heads following him. This is how the man does it, and if you don't wake up and find out how he does it, I tell you, they'll be building gas chambers and gas ovens pretty soon—I don't mean those kind you've got at home in your kitchen.

Another example at the international level of how skillfully they use this trickery was in the Congo. In the Congo, airplanes were dropping bombs on African villages. African villages don't have a defense against bombs. And the pilot can't tell who the bomb is being dropped upon. When a bomb hits a village, everything goes. And these pilots, flying planes filled with bombs, dropping these bombs on African villages, were destroying women, were destroying children, were destroying babies. You never heard any outcry over here about that.

And it had started way back in June. They would drop bombs on African villages that would blow that village apart and everything in it—man, woman, child, and baby. No outcry, no sympathy, no support, no concern, because the press didn't project it in such a way that it would be designed to get your sympathy. They know how to put something so that you'll sympathize with it, and they know how to put it so you'll be against it. I'm telling you, they are masters at it. And if you don't develop the analytical ability to read between the lines in what they're saying, I'm telling you again—they'll be building gas ovens, and before you wake up you'll be in one of them, just like the Jews ended up in gas ovens over there in Germany. You're in a society that's just as capable of building gas ovens for Black people as Hitler's society was.

This was mass murder in the Congo, of women and children and babies. But there was no outcry even from the white liberals, even from your "friends." Why? Because they made it appear that it was a humanitarian project. They said that the planes were being flown by "American-trained anti-Castro Cuban pilots." This is propaganda, too. Soon as you hear that it's American-trained, you say, "Oh that's all right, that's us." And the anti-Castro Cubans, "Oh that's all right too, 'cause if they're against Castro, whoever else they're against that's good, 'cause Castro is a monster." But you see how step-by-step they grab your mind?

And these pilots are hired, their salaries are paid by the United States government. They're called mercenaries, these pilots are. And a mercenary is not someone who kills you because he's patriotic. He kills you for blood money, he's a hired killer. This is what a mercenary means. And they're able to take these hired killers, put them in American planes, with American bombs, and drop them on African villages, blowing to bits Black men, Black women, Black children, Black babies, and you Black people sitting over here cool like it doesn't even involve you. You're a fool. They'll do it to them today, and do it to you tomorrow. Because you and I and they are all the same.

They call it a humanitarian project and that they're doing it in the name of freedom. And all of this, these glorious terms, are used to pave the way in your mind for what they're going to do.

Then they take Tshombe. You've heard of Tshombe. He's the worst African that was ever born. The lowest type that was ever born. He's a murderer himself. He's the murderer of Lumumba, the former prime minister of—the first and only rightful prime minister of the Congo. He's an international—he's a murderer with an international stature as a murderer. Yet the United States government went and got Tshombe in Spain, and put him as the head of the Congolese government. This is criminal! Here's a man who's a murderer, so the United States takes him, puts him over the Congo, and supports his government with your tax dollars. Now—they hired him to occupy the position as head of state over the Congo—a killer! He is a hired killer himself! His salary's paid by the United States government. And he turns—his first move is to bring in South Africans, who hate everything in sight. He hires those South Africans to come and kill his own Congolese people. And the United States, again, pays their salary.

You know, it's something to think about. How do you think you would feel right now if some Congolese brothers walked up to you—and they look just like you, don't think you don't look Congolese. You look as much Congolese as a Congolese does. They got all kinds of Congolese over there. How would you feel if one of them walked up to you and asked you about what your government is doing in the Congo. I was asked that when I was over there. But they don't have to come to me like that, 'cause they know where I stand automatically. And for one time I'm thankful to the press, for letting everybody know where I stand. They—but you have no explanation.

Your tongue stays in your mouth. And then you have to become—you have to go to the extreme to convince them that you don't go along with what the United States government is doing in the Congo.

And they justify the usage of Tshombe as the present head of state by saying that he's the only African who can unite—or bring unity to the Congo. Has he brought unity to the Congo? But, see, this is their game! And their real reason for wanting Tshombe there was so that Tshombe could invite them to come in. Now, what African head of state would have dared to invite outside powers? So they put Tshombe there, and as soon as Tshombe got there he invited them to bring paratroopers from Belgium in the United States' transport planes to try and recapture Congo.

This is all a cold-blooded act on the part of your Western powers, namely the Western powers here in the United States—interests in the United States, in England, and France, and Belgium and so forth. They want the wealth of the Congo, plus its strategic geographic position.

The step-by-step process that was used by the press: First they fanned the flame in such a manner to create hysteria in the mind of the public. And then they shift gears and fan the flame in a manner designed to get the sympathy of the public. And once they go from hysteria to sympathy, their next step is to get the public to support them in whatever act they're getting ready to go down with. You're dealing with a cold calculating international machine, that's so criminal in its objectives and motives that it has the seeds of its own destruction, right within. They use the press to emphasize that white hostages are being held, or white priests, white missionaries, white nuns—they don't say nuns: white nuns. You know what the paper said right here in Detroit: white missionaries, not just a missionary; a white nun—as if there's a difference between a white nun and a black nun; or a white priest and a black priest; or if the light that's in a white skin is more valuable than a light within a black skin. This is what they're implying! And the press—look at the press when this thing was going on—and you will see what I'm talking about. They're vicious in their whiteness.

But still, I wouldn't judge them just 'cause they're white, or they'd call me a racist. I'm judging by their deeds, by their conscious behavior—and you know how they've been consciously behaving in the Congo, and how they consciously behave in Vietnam, and how they consciously behave right now in Alabama and Mississippi. So you and I got to get conscious, and

start behaving in a way that we can offset this thing before it's too late—and this is what they don't want to hear.

One more thing concerning Tshombe, if you notice while we were over there on the African continent, in order to give you a better understanding of what is going on right here. The next thing that is good to know about Tshombe: no Congolese troops have ever won any victories, whatsoever, for the present Congolese government. Congolese soldiers won't even fight unless they're forced to.

But the fighters in the Congo, or the freedom fighters—the rebels from the Oriental, eastern province—they fought with stones, and sticks, and rocks, spears, and arrows. And the only time they had a gun was when they got some soldier who had it, and they'd kill him and take his gun. But they were winning, they took over two-thirds of the Congo. I'm showing you, they were fighting from their hearts.

The other people, their heart wasn't in it. And because of the fighting spirit of these people, it will be impossible for Tshombe to remain as head of state over the Congo without additional troops—white troops—being constantly brought in from South Africa or elsewhere. But sooner or later, these troops are going to give out, and then America's going to have to increase her troops like she did in South Vietnam. She's not at war with Vietnam yet, she's only there "advising." They have 20,000 "advisors," you know, on the front lines. But it's not a war. Just—they're in "advisory capacity." Why, they insult the intelligence of their own public!

And they're going to have to end up doing the same thing in the Congo, they'll be trapped. They'll have to eventually send American troops to occupy the Congo. 'Cause the African freedom fighters are going to fight—they're not going to give up one inch without fighting back. And there's something that you should know! That they realize now on the African continent what's at stake, and how much—what these Western powers have in common and what they're doing in cahoots with each other behind the closed doors.

So on the African continent they are training Africans—these soldiers—so they can invade one of these countries, and take it over, and give it to the rightful people.

One of the last things I must say concerning the Congo: not only do they not intend for the Congo to fall into African hands because of its mineral wealth—and it has the greatest deposits of some of the richest elements, or minerals, of any other area on this earth. They don't intend to give it up because of its wealth; another reason they don't intend to give it up is if you look at the map you'll see that it is so strategically located geographically.

Wherein, if a real genuine African government were to come in power over the Congo, then it would be possible for African troops from all countries to invade Angola—which is a Portuguese possession. And if Angola fell, and it would fall, then it would only be a matter of time before South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Betuanaland also would fall. And it would put African troops right on the border of South Africa. And that's where they really want to get, that man down there in South Africa.

And the United States' interests are involved in blocking this, yes! Some of these liberals who grin in your face like they're your best friends, they have money tied up in the Congo. Some of the most powerful political figures in this country, come up and governors over states, have got interests in the Congo, and got interests in South Africa, and got interests all over the African continent, and go there! And as the Africans awaken and realize, they—it makes them full of the incentive to never rest until that exploiter is driven out.

So, now what effect does this have on us? Why should the Black man in America concern himself—since he's been away from the African continent for three or four hundred years—why should we concern ourselves? What impact does what happens to them have upon us? Number one, first you have to realize that up until 1959 Africa was dominated by the colonial powers. And by the colonial powers of Europe having complete control over Africa, they projected the image of Africa negatively. They projected Africa always in a negative light: jungles, savages, cannibals, nothing civilized. Why then naturally it was so negative, it was negative to you and me, and you and I began to hate it. We didn't want anybody telling us anything about Africa, much less calling us Africans. In hating Africa and in hating the Africans, we ended up hating ourselves, without even realizing it. Because you can't hate the roots of a tree and not hate the tree. You can't hate your origin and not end up hating yourself. You can't hate Africa and not hate yourself.

You show me one of these people over here who have been thoroughly brainwashed, who has a negative attitude toward Africa, and I'll show you one that has a negative attitude toward himself. You can't have a positive attitude toward yourself and a negative attitude toward Africa at the same time. To the same degree that your understanding of and attitude toward Africa becomes positive, you'll find that your understanding of and your attitude toward yourself will also become positive. And this is what the white man knows. So they very skillfully made you and me hate our African identity, our African characteristics.

You know yourself—and we have been a people who hated our African characteristics. We hated our hair, we hated the shape of our nose—we wanted one of those long, dog-like noses, you know. Yeah. We hated the color of our skin, hated the blood of Africa that was in our veins. And in hating our features and our skin and our blood, why, we had to end up hating ourselves.

And we hated ourselves. Our color became to us a chain. We felt that it was holding us back. Our color became to us like a prison, which we felt was keeping us confined, not letting us go this way or that way. We felt that all of these restrictions were based solely upon our color. And the psychological reaction to that would have to be that as long as we felt imprisoned or chained or trapped by Black skin, Black features, and Black blood, that skin and those features and that blood that was holding us back automatically had to become hateful to us. And it became hateful to us. It made us feel inferior; it made us feel inadequate; it made us feel helpless.

And when we fell victims to this feeling of inadequacy or inferiority or helplessness, we turned to somebody else to show us the way. We didn't have confidence in another Black man to show us the way, or Black people to show us the way. In those days we didn't. We didn't think a Black man could do anything but play some horn—you know, some sounds and make you happy with some songs and in that way. But in serious things, where our food, clothing, and shelter was concerned and our education was concerned, we turned to the man. We never thought in terms of bringing these things into existence for ourselves, we never thought in terms of doing things for our selves. Because we felt helpless. What made us feel helpless was our hatred for ourselves. And our hatred for ourselves stemmed from our hatred of things African.

Along about 1955 they had the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. And at that time the Africans, the Asians, the Arabs, all of the nonwhite people got together and agreed to de-emphasize their differences and emphasize what they had in common, and form a working unity. And it was the working unity—the spirit of Bandung created a working unity that made it possible for the Asians, who were oppressed, the Africans, who were oppressed, and others who were oppressed to work together toward gaining independence for these other people. And it was the spirit of Bandung that brought into existence this working unity that made it possible for nations that didn't have a chance to become independent to come into their independence. And most of this began along in 1959.

After 1959 the spirit of African nationalism was fanned to a high flame, and we then began to witness the complete collapse of colonialism. France began to get out of French West Africa; Belgium began to make moves to get out of the Congo; Britain began to make moves to get out of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nigeria, and some of these other places. And although it looked like they were getting out, they pulled a trick that was colossal.

In that—when you're playing basketball and they get you trapped, you don't throw the ball away, you throw it to one of your teammates who's in the clear. And this is what the European powers did. They were trapped on the African continent, they couldn't stay there; they were looked upon as colonial, imperialist. So they had to pass the ball to someone whose image was different, and they passed the ball to Uncle Sam. And he picked it up and has been running it for a touchdown ever since. He was in the clear, he was not looked upon as one who had colonized the African continent. But at that time, the Africans couldn't see that though the United States hadn't colonized the African continent, he had colonized twenty-two million Blacks here on this continent. Because we are just as thoroughly colonized as anybody else.

When the ball was passed to the United States, it was passed at the time when John Kennedy came into power. He picked it up and helped to run it. He was one of the shrewdest backfield runners that history has ever recorded. He surrounded himself with intellectuals—highly educated, learned, and well-informed people. And their analysis told him that the government of America was confronted with a new problem. And this new problem stemmed from the fact that Africans were now awakened, they

were enlightened, and they were fearless, they would fight. So this meant that the Western powers couldn't stay there by force. And since their own economies, the European economy and the American economy, was based upon their continued influence over the African continent, they had to find some means of staying there. So they used the "friendly" approach. They switched from the old, open colonial, imperialistic approach to the benevolent approach. They came up with some benevolent colonialism, philanthropic colonialism, humanitarianism, or dollarism. Immediately everything was Peace Corps, Crossroads, "We've got to help our African brothers." Pick up on that. Can't help us in Mississippi. Can't help us in Alabama, or Detroit, out here in Dearborn where some real Ku Klux Klan live.

They're going to send all the way to Africa to help. I know Dearborn; you know, I'm from Detroit, I used to live out here in Inkster. And you had to go through Dearborn to get to Inkster. Just like driving through Mississippi when you go to Dearborn. Is it still that way? [From the audience: "Yes."] Well, you should straighten it out.

So, realizing that it was necessary to come up with these new approaches, Kennedy did it. He won—he created an image of him self that was skillfully designed to make the people on the African continent think that he was Jesus, the great white father, come to make things right. I'm telling you, some of these Negroes cried harder when he died than they cried for Jesus when he was crucified.
From 1954 to 1964 was the era in which we witnessed the emerging of Africa. The impact that this had upon the civil rights struggle in America has never been told, fully told.

For one reason—for one thing, one of the primary ingredients in the complete civil rights struggle was the 'Black Muslim' movement. The 'Black Muslim' movement, though it took no part in things political, civic—it didn't take too much part in anything other than stopping people from doing this drinking, smoking, and so on. Moral reform it had, but beyond that it did nothing. But it talked such a strong talk until it put the other Negro organizations on the spot. Before the 'Black Muslim' movement came along, the NAACP was looked upon as radical; they were getting ready to investigate it. And then along came the 'Muslim' movement and frightened the white man so much he began to say, "Thank God for old Uncle Roy and Uncle Whitney and Uncle A. Philip and Uncle...—you've

got a whole lot of uncles in there. I can't remember their names, they're all older than I, so I call them "uncle." Plus, if you use the word "Uncle Tom" nowadays, I heard they'll sue you for libel, you know. So I don't call any of them Uncle Tom anymore. I call them Uncle Roy.

One of the things that made the 'Black Muslim' movement grow was its emphasis upon things African. This was the secret to the growth of the 'Black Muslim' movement. African blood, African origin, African culture, African ties. And you'd be surprised, we discovered that deep within the subconscious of the Black man in this country, he's still more African than he is American. He thinks that he's more American than African, because the man is jiving him, the man is brainwashing him every day. He's telling him, "You're an American, you're an American." Man, how could you think you're an American and you haven't ever had any kind of American treat over here? You have never, never!

Ten men can be sitting at a table eating, you know, dining, and I can come and sit down where they're dining. They're dining; I've got a plate in front of me, but nothing is on it. Because all of us are sitting at the same table, are all of us diners? I'm not a diner until you let me dine. Then I become a diner. Just being at the table with others who are dining doesn't make me a diner, and this is what you've got to get in your head here in this country.

Just because you're in this country doesn't make you an American. No, you've got to go farther than that before you can become an American. You've got to enjoy the fruits of Americanism. You haven't enjoyed those fruits. You've enjoyed the thorns. You've enjoyed the thistles. But you have not enjoyed the fruits, no sir. You have fought harder for the fruits than the white man has. You have worked harder for the fruits than the white man has, but you've enjoyed less. When the man put the uniform on you and sent you abroad, you fought harder than they did. Yeah, I know you—when you're fighting for them, you can fight.

The 'Black Muslim' movement did make that contribution. They made the whole civil rights movement become more militant, and more acceptable to the white power structure. He would rather have them than us. In fact, I think we forced many of the civil rights leaders to be even more militant than they intended. I know some of them who get out there and "boom, boom, boom" and don't mean it. Because they're right on back in their corner as soon as the action comes.

John F. Kennedy also saw that it was necessary for a new approach among the American Negroes. And during his entire term in office, he specialized in how to psyche the American Negro. Now, a lot of you all don't like my saying that, but I wouldn't ever take a stand on that if I didn't know what I was talking about. And I don't—by living in this kind of society, pretty much around them—and you know what I mean when I say "them"—I learned to study them. You can think that they mean you some good ofttimes, but if you look at it a little closer you'll see that they don't mean you any good. That doesn't mean there aren't some of them who mean good. But it does mean that most of them don't mean good.

Kennedy's new approach was pretending to go along with us in our struggle for civil rights and different other forms of rights. But I remember the exposé that Look magazine did on Meredith's situation in Mississippi. Look magazine did an expose showing that Robert Kennedy and Governor Wallace—not Governor Wallace, Governor Barnett—had made a deal, wherein the attorney general was going to come down and try and force Meredith into school, and Barnett was going to stand at the door, you know, and say, "No, you can't come in." He was going to get in anyway. But it was all arranged in advance. And then Barnett was supposed to keep the support of the white racists, because that's who he was holding up, and Kennedy would keep the support of the Negroes, because that's who he'd be holding up. That's—it was a cut-and-dried deal. And it's not a secret; it was written, they write about it. But if that's a deal and that's a deal, how many other deals do you think go down? What you think is on the level is crookeder, brothers and sisters, than a pretzel, which is most crooked.

So in my conclusion I would like to point out that the approach that was used by the administration right on up until today—see, even the present generation—was designed skillfully to make it appear that they were trying to solve the problem when they actually weren't. They would deal with the conditions, but never the cause. They only gave us tokenism. Tokenism benefits only a few. It never benefits the masses, and the masses are the ones who have the problem, not the few. That one who benefits from tokenism, he doesn't want to be around us anyway—that's why he picks up on the token.

You ever notice how some Negroes will brag, "I'm the only one out there, I'm the only one on my job." Don't you hear them say that? Yes, you ought to punch him in his...no he's your brother, you shouldn't punch your

brother. But you should really get him—you can punch him with some words.
Whenever you see a Negro bragging about "he's the only one in his neighborhood," he's bragging. He's telling you in essence, "I'm surrounded by white folks," you know. "I love them, and they love me." Oh yes. And on his job "I'm the only one on my job." I've been listening to that stuff all my life, and the generation that's coming up, they're not going to be saying that. The generation that's coming up, everybody is going to look like an Uncle Tom to them. And you and I have to learn that in time, so that we don't pose that image when our people, when our young generation come up and begin to look at us.

The masses of our people still have bad housing, bad schooling, and inferior jobs, jobs that don't compensate with sufficient salary for them to carry on their life in this world. So that the problem for the masses has gone absolutely unsolved. The only ones for whom it has been solved are people like Whitney Young, who's supposed to be placed in the cabinet, so the rumors say. He'll be one of the first Black cabinet men. And that answers where he's at. And others who have been given jobs—Carl Rowan, who was put over the USIA, who is very skillfully trying to make Africans think that the problem of Black men in this country is all solved.

And this is the worst thing the white man can do to himself is to take one of these kind of Negroes and ask him, "How do your people feel, boy?" He's going to tell that man that we are satisfied. That's what they do, brothers and sisters. They get behind the door and tell the white man we're satisfied. "Just keep on—keep me up here in front of them, boss, and I'll keep 'em behind you." That's what they talk when they're behind closed doors. 'Cause, see, the white man doesn't go along with anybody who's not for him. He doesn't care whether you're for right or wrong, he wants to know, are you for him. And if you're for him, he doesn't care what else you're for. As long as you're for him, then he puts you up over the Negro community. You become the spokesman.

In your struggle it's like standing on a revolving wheel: you're running, but you're not going anywhere. You run faster and faster and the wheel just goes faster and faster. You don't ever leave the spot that you're standing in. So, it is very important for you and me to see that the only way that our problem is going to be solved, it has to be with a solution that will benefit the masses, not the upper class—so-called "upper class."

Actually, there's no such thing as an upper-class Negro, because he catches the same hell as the other class Negro. All of them catch the same hell, which is one of the things that's good about this racist system—it makes us all one.

Quickly, if you'll notice in 1963, everyone was talking about the "centennial of progress!" I think that's what they called it. A hundred years since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, and everyone is celebrating how much white and Black people have learned to love each other in America. You probably remember how they were talking in January of 1963. Well, if you had stood up in January at the same time that they were talking all this talk about a good year ahead, good things ahead, and told them that by May, Birmingham would have exploded, and Bull Connor would be known as an international thug for the brutality that he heaped upon Black people; if you would tell the people in January of '63 that John F. Kennedy would be killed for his role in everything; if you had told them in January that Medgar Evers would be murdered and nobody able to bring his killer to justice; or if you were to have told them in January of 1963 that a church would be bombed in Birmingham, with four little Black girls blown to bits while they were praying and serving Jesus—why, they would say you're crazy.

In 1964 they started out the same way. That was the year of promise. If you were to have told them while they were talking about this great year of promise ahead, you know, civil rights and all of that, what was coming, that before long three civil rights workers would be brutally murdered and the government unable to do anything about it. A Negro educator in Georgia brutally murdered in broad daylight and the men who did it be known, and the government not able to do anything about it. If you had said this in January of '64, they'd say you were nuts. Now they are starting out 1965 the same way. Talking about the "Great Society," you know, "antipoverty."

If you tell them right now what is in store for 1965, they'll think you're crazy for sure. But 1965 will be the longest and hottest and bloodiest year of them all. It has to be, not because you want it to be, or I want it to be, or we want it to be, but because the conditions that created these explosions in 1963 are still here; the conditions that created explosions in '64 are still here. You can't say that you're not going to have an explosion and you leave the condition, the ingredients, still here. As long as those ingredients,

explosive ingredients, remain, then you're going to have the potential for explosion on your hands.

Brothers and sisters, let me tell you, I spend my time out there in the street with people, all kind of people, listening to what they have to say. And they're dissatisfied, they're disillusioned, they're fed up, they're getting to the point of frustration where they are beginning to feel: What do they have to lose? And when you get to that point you're the type of person who can create a very dangerously explosive atmosphere. This is what's happening in our neighborhood, to our people. I read in a poll taken by Newsweek magazine this week, saying that Negroes are satisfied. Oh yes, poll you know, in Newsweek, supposed to be a top magazine with a top pollster, talking about how satisfied Negroes are. Maybe I haven't met the Negroes he met. Because I know he hasn't met the ones that I've met. But this is dangerous. This is where the white man does himself the most harm. He invents statistics to create an image, thinking that that image is going to hold things in check. You know why they always say Negroes are lazy? 'Cause they want Negroes to be lazy. They always say Negroes can't unite because they don't want Negroes to unite. And once they put this thing in the mind, they feel that the Negro gets that into him and he tries to fulfill their image. If you say you can't unite him, and then you come to him to unite him, he won't unite because it's been said that he's not supposed to unite. It's a psyche that they work, and it's the same way with these statistics.

When they think that an explosive era is coming up, then they grab their press again and begin to shower the Negro public, to make it appear that all Negroes are satisfied. Because if you know that you're dissatisfied all by yourself and ten others aren't, you play it cool; but you know if all ten of you are dissatisfied, you get with it. Well, this is what the man knows. The man knows that if these Negroes find out how dissatisfied they really are—and all of them, even Uncle Tom is dissatisfied, he's just playing his part for now—this is what makes them frightened. It frightens them in France, it frightens them in England, and it frightens them in the United States.

And it is for this reason that it is so important for you and me to start organizing among ourselves, intelligently, and try to find out: What are we going to do if this happens, that happens, or the next thing happens? Don't think that you're going to run to the man and say, "Look, boss, this is me." Why, when the deal goes down, you'll look just like me in his eyesight; I'll

make it tough for you. Yes, when the deal goes down, he doesn't look at you in any better light than he looks at me.

I was on a television program in New York last week. One of the liberals did a take-off on James Farmer. Now here's James Farmer teaching Negroes to be nonviolent and loving and all of that—why they should be patting him on the back. And instead of them patting him on the back they want to knock at him. And it put me in a position of having to defend him, which I did; I was glad to because I wanted to crack this man's neck anyway—mentally, rather I should say intellectually.

I point these things out, brothers and sisters, so that you and I will know the importance in 1963 of being in complete unity with each other, in harmony with each other, and not letting the man maneuver us into fighting one another. The situation I have been maneuvered into right now between me and the 'Black Muslim' movement, is something that I really deeply regret, because I don't think anything is more destructive than two groups of Black people fighting each other. But it's something that can't be avoided because it goes deep down beneath the surface, and these things wIll come up in the very near future.

I might say this before I sit down. If you recall, when I left the 'Black Muslim' movement, I stated clearly that it wasn't my intention to even continue to be aware that they existed; but that I was going to spend my time working in the non-Muslim community. But they were fearful that if they didn't do something that perhaps many of those who were in the mosque would leave it and follow a different direction. So they had to start doing a take-off on me, plus, they had to try and silence me because of what they know that I know.

I should think that they should know me well enough to know that they certainly can't frighten me. But when it does come to the light—excuse me for keep coughing like that, but I got some of that smoke last night—there are some things involving the 'Black Muslim' movement which, when they come to light, you will be shocked. The thing that you have to understand where those of us in the Black Muslim movement were concerned: all of us believed 100 percent in the divinity of Elijah Muhammad. We believed in him. We actually believed that God had taught him—right here in Detroit by the way—that God had taught him and all of that. I always thought that he believed it himself. And I was shocked when I found out that he himself

didn't believe it. And when that shock reached me, then I began to look everywhere else and try to get a better understanding of the things that confront all of us, so that we can get together in some kind of way to offset them.

I want to thank you for coming out this afternoon—this evening. I think it's wonderful that as many of you came out, considering the blackout on the meeting that took place. Also, Milton Henry and the brothers who are here in Detroit are very progressive young men, and I would advise all of you to get with them in every way that you can to try and create some kind of united effort toward common goals, common objectives. Don't let the power structure maneuver you into a time wasting battle with others when you could be involved in something that's constructive and getting a real job done.

Probably, one thing I should've pointed out to you, that once we formed our new organization, once we became identified with the orthodox Muslim world, we also formed a group known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which is designed to fight all the negative political, economic, and social conditions that exist in our neighborhood. It's a nonreligious organization to which anyone can belong who's interested in direct action.

And one of our first programs is to take our problem out of the civil rights context and place it at the international level, of human rights, so that the entire world can have a voice in our struggle. If we keep it at civil rights, then the only place we can turn for allies is within the domestic confines of America. But when you make it a human rights struggle, it becomes international, and then you can open the door for all types of advice and support from our brothers in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere. So it's very, very important—that's our international aim, that's our external aim.

Our internal aim is to become immediately involved in a mass voter registration drive. But we don't believe in voter registration without voter education. We believe that our people should be educated into the science of politics, so that they will know what a vote is for, and what a vote is supposed to produce, and also how to utilize this united voting power so that you can control the politics of your own community, and the politicians that represent that community. We're for that.

And in that line we will work with all others, even civil rights groups, who are dedicated to increase the number of Black registered voters in the South. The only area in which we differ with them is this: we don't believe that young students should be sent into Mississippi, Alabama, and these other places without some kind of protection. So we will join in with them in their voter registration and help to train brothers in the arts that are necessary in this day and age to enable one to continue his existence upon this earth.

I say again that I'm not a racist, I don't believe in any form of segregation or anything like that. I'm for the brotherhood of everybody, but I don't believe in forcing brotherhood upon people who don't want it. Long as we practice brotherhood among ourselves, and then others who want to practice brotherhood with us, we practice it with them also, we're for that. But I don't think that we should run around trying to love somebody who doesn't love us. Thank you.

# There's A Worldwide Revolution Going On (Feb. 15, 1965)

As many of you probably know, tonight we were going to unfold a program which we felt would be beneficial to the struggle of our people in this country. But because of events which are beyond our control we feel that it is best to postpone unfolding the program that we had in mind until a later date.

Sunday morning about three o'clock, somebody threw some bombs inside my house. Normally I wouldn't get excited over a few bombs, but the ones who threw these not only aimed them in rooms where there—where there was no one, but even in rooms where three of my daughters sleep. One daughter six, one daughter four, and one daughter two. And since I am, am quite certain that those who threw the bombs knew my house well enough to know where everyone was sleeping, I can't quite bring my heart to the point where it can in any way be merciful, or from now on compromising, toward anyone who can be that low. Especially when I heard on the news today that Joseph, a brother that I found in the garbage can in Detroit in 1952—that's where I found him—made the statement that I had bombed my own house.

Now you see, this doesn't surprise me, because I know that since many of us left the Muslim movement, its intelligence and its morals have gone bankrupt. Both its intelligence and its morals have gone bankrupt.

And now they are using the same tactics that's used by the Ku Klux Klan. When the Klan bombs your church, they say you did it. When they bomb the synagogue, they say the Jews bombed their own synagogue. This is a Klan tactic. And to me, I'll tell you why the Black Muslim movement is now adopting the same tactic against Black people as has been up to now the exclusive method of the Ku Klux Klan.

I want to point out, too, that I'm not talking about Muslims just to make white people happy. Because I don't believe in letting anyone use me against somebody else. I'm telling you these things because I have reached a point where I feel that Black people in this country need to know what's going on. And I'm talking about an organization which I had a hand in

building, which I had a hand in organizing. I know its characteristics. I know its potential. I know its behavior patterns. I know what it can do and what it cannot do. One of the things it can do is bomb your house and try to kill your baby.

Before we get into it, I would like to point out also, as many of you know, last Tuesday, or last weekend, I was invited to address the first congress of the Council of African Organizations in London. They had a four-day congress on the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th and had invited me there to make the closing address and bring the delegates from the various African organizations that are situated on the European continent up to date in regards to the struggle of the Black man in this country in his quest for human rights and human dignity. And in it conjunction with that invitation, I had gotten an invitation to visit Paris from the Afro-American community in Paris, which was sponsoring a rally in conjunction with the African community. And I was supposed to go there Tuesday also and address them and let them know the state of development or lack of development of our progress in this country for human rights, or toward human rights.

As many of you know, when I got to Paris, the man said I couldn't come in—some man. French man. They gave me no explanation other than that they—we have our own. They wouldn't let me phone the American embassy. And they tried to imply that the American embassy was behind it, which—I told them that I didn't know de Gaulle had become a satellite of Lyndon B. Johnson. I knew that Kennedy had made a satellite out of Khrushchev and half of—and Britain—and half of these other countries, and I didn't think that France was a satellite of the United States.

Well, it made them angry because they like to be independent, you know—or pretend to be independent. But they wouldn't let me in. They wouldn't let me phone the American embassy.
And later on, when I got back in London—and by the way, when I got back to London there was about twenty different delegates who were delegates from about twenty different African organizations on hand at the airport, and they were going to raise hell if anything had happened other than what should have happened. As it was, I ended back—I re-entered England with no trouble and immediately got in telephone contact with the brothers and sisters who were in Paris. And they pointed out that they had encountered some difficulty, first from the Communist trade union workers. Now mind

you, Communist trade union workers had prevented them from renting their hall, and when they went to get another hall the same Communist group had exercised its influence to prevent them from getting that hall.

Finally, when they did get a hall, evidently someone was strong enough to exercise influence over the French government. And I might add that while I was in custody of the French, every time I made a request, before they would say yes or no, they telephoned the French foreign ministry. So that they were taking their orders from someone high up in the French foreign ministry who did not want me to enter France. And there's a reason for it. I don't blame them, because and I told the parties there—I said maybe my plane got mixed up and I was in South Africa, in the wrong country. This couldn't be Paris, it must be Johannesburg. And they got red. And you know how they can get red. One of them was pink.

The same thing happened in England, as many of you probably read in the Sunday Times and the Tribune. There was a great fear in England concerning me speaking to the West Indian community. And because—this is because England has a very serious color problem developing, because so many of our people are migrating there from the British West Indies. France, quietly as it is kept, has a very serious color problem developing because of the migration to France of our people from the French West Indies. And with these people from the French West Indies, Black people going to France, others from the British West Indies going to England, coupled with the Asians who are coming from the Commonwealth territory, along with the Africans from French Equatorial West Africa into France, and the British possessions into Britain, there's a large, increasing number of dark-skinned people swelling the dark population of France and Britain. And it's giving them a great deal of horror of the world—the only difference over there and over here being that no one of black skin in France has ever tried to unite the dark-skinned people together. Neither have they done so in England. So you can somewhat see what their fear is.

No effort has been made to unite the Afro-American community or the American Negro community with the West Indian community and then those two communities with the African community, and both communities with the Asian community. This has never been done, in neither England or France. But when I was in France in November just for a few days, I was successful in getting a few of the Afro-Americans who live

there together, and they formed a branch of the OAAU, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. And as soon as they formed this branch, they began to work in conjunction with the African organization and became a power that had to be reckoned with. And this is what the French government did not want.

Also the same thing in Britain. The West Indian community is very restless, or rather, yes, restless and dissatisfied. And they too are trying to organize or find someone who can bring them together. And this has caused in England a great deal of fear, a great deal of concern. And the effect of it is that it makes them act in a very silly way sometimes. Now, to leave that for a moment, as you'll recall, when I was in Mecca in September, I wrote back a letter which was printed in The New York Times in which I pointed out that it was my intention when I returned to expose Elijah Muhammad as a religious faker. This is what I wrote. Now, while I was in Mecca among the Muslims, I had a chance to meditate and think and see things with a great deal of clarity—with much greater clarity than I've achieved from over here, entangled with all this mess that we are confronted by constantly. And I had made up my mind, yes, that I was going to tell the Black people in the Western Hemisphere, who I had played a great role in misleading into the hands of Elijah Muhammad, exactly what kind of man he was and what he was doing.

And I might point out right here that it was not a case of my knowing all the time, because I didn't. I had blind faith in him, the same as many of you have had and still have blind faith in me or blind faith in Moses or blind faith in somebody else. My faith in Elijah Muhammad was more blind and more uncompromising than any faith that any man has ever had for another man. And so I didn't try to see him as he actually was. But, being away, I could see him better, understand many things better. And, well, when I came back to this country, as you recall, I was very quiet. I knew the best thing was when they tried to ask me questions about him, I ducked it. I didn't want to get involved. I didn't want to get into it. Well, the reason for that was this: The letter that I wrote was written when I was in Arabia, in September, whereas, after leaving Arabia I had gone into Africa. I had had an opportunity to hold long discussions with President Julius Nyerere in what is now Tanzania; with Jomo Kenyatta, the president of Kenya, the Republic of Kenya; long discussions with Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda; President Azikiwe of Nigeria; President Nkrumah of Ghana; and President Sekou Toure in Guinea. And the understanding that I had in

conversations with these men is that they are great men.

The understanding that I got broadened my scope so much that I felt I could see the problems and complaints of Black people in America and the Western Hemisphere with much greater clarity.
And I felt foolish coming back to this country and getting into a little two-bit argument with some bird-brained person who calls himself a Black Muslim. I felt I was wasting my time. I felt it would be a drag for me to come back here and allow myself to be in a whole lot of public arguments and physical fisticuffs—knowing what I knew, and knowing that it would actually be more beneficial to our people if a constructive program were put in front of them immediately.

Many of you will recall that shortly after I came back, despite the fact that I said nothing about the Black Muslims, a wire was put in the newspaper under the name of Raymond Sharrieff threatening me if I were to say anything about Elijah Muhammad. Actually that wasn't Raymond Sharrieff's wire, that was Elijah Muhammad's wire. Raymond Sharrieff has no words of his own.

If you recall, when I was in the Black Muslim movement, I never said anything without saying Elijah Muhammad seems to believe thus and so, or Elijah Muhammad said thus and so. This is the way the Black Muslim movement is organized. Nobody makes any public statement unless it comes from Elijah Muhammad. And nobody makes any move unless it comes from Elijah Muhammad. They didn't do it then and they don't do it now. So, when Raymond Sharrieff put that letter in the paper—that wire, rather, in the paper—that wire was from Elijah Muhammad himself. And he was trying to irk me into saying something so that a public hullabaloo would take place again because they wanted to jockey me into the same position I was in before I left the country. Before I left the country, I had permitted them to jockey me into a position—me and the good brothers and sisters who also had sense enough to leave from down there—I was foolish enough to let them jockey me into a position where we were taking potshots at each other, so to speak, and it was known throughout the country that the Muslims in the temple were trying to do this thing.

So it put me in a spot where anybody could do it and then blame it on those foolish Muslims. And I was well aware of this. So, by staying away for four or five months, that ended. But when I came back, being quiet,

they wanted the same thing again. They wanted some more hullabaloo so that it would appear that the Black Muslims were going to do this and the Black Muslims were going to do that and then anybody could do it and blame those fools and they wouldn't have sense enough to see it. You can understand that can't you? And when I say anybody, I mean anybody. But I know who those anybodies are.

I continue to concentrate, continue to ignore them and concentrate on trying to get the Organization of Afro- American Unity better organized. Because I knew that and I felt that what it had in mind would actually solve the problems of many of our people—most of our people.

If you'll notice and, but despite the fact that I tried to keep quiet, on January 22 I came out of my house one night and they jumped me, on a Friday night, about 11:15. Now, I knew that they weren't out there waiting for me, because normally I wouldn't come out at that time of the night. So that when I did come out and ran into them and they did jump me, I knew then that they were casing my house. And frankly, I waited for them for a month. I'd sit around that house with my rifle; stayed up all times of the night just to get one chance to put somebody in hell. Just one chance. I warned my wife at that time that they were casing the it house. Again, I know their behavior. And I also became more careful, wherever I would go and whenever I would go anywhere. And then to make it worse, when I went to Los Angeles a couple of weeks ago, they had gotten so insane that they chased me right down the Hollywood Freeway in broad daylight. Yes!

Now, the thing that you have to consider about this is, the police were at the airport. The police knew what they were up to. In fact, the police arrested a couple of them in front of someone's home the night before. They knew all about it. Nothing was said in the paper. Now, imagine someone is chasing you down the Hollywood Freeway at eighty miles an hour and it doesn't get in the paper. No.

So later on—that was on a Thursday. Friday I was in Chicago. I appeared on the Kup show. And when I went on the Kup show I had about twenty police. There were twenty police out there guarding the station. It might seem odd, but the Muslims were there. And they even tried to attack the police, which was never put in the paper. They followed the police, because of that—they act kind of nuts. And I'm so thankful that I'm out of there, I don't expect...because I was the same kind of nut. I was just as nuts as

they were. If Elijah Muhammad had told me to go get somebody's head, I would have gone and gotten it just like that. And that's what's the matter with them. They're only following what I taught them how to do. So, I understand.

But despite the fact that they put on this performance, it was quieted down. Nothing was said about it. And then the night I was on the Susskind show, the David Susskind Show, those same persons were—had surrounded the station. They had even almost strong-armed the police. The police didn't do a thing to strike back at them. They almost strong-armed them. Nothing was done about that. But while I was on the show they had come to the studio and told Susskind that I wasn't going to be down there that night. And told him that I would never make it. But, again, I know how they do, and I, thanks to Allah, did something other than what they expected.

So, the next thing that irritated them and irritated them the most was this. And I've been doing it for a month, and nobody knew why I was doing it. You notice, I had shifted my attack from them to Rockwell and the Ku Klux Klan. For the past month I've been beating on the Klan and beating on Rockwell and beating on these so-called rightwingers. You may wonder why. I sent a wire to Rockwell warning him if anything happened to Black people in Alabama that we would give him maximum retaliation. The press knew it. You heard nothing it about it. Rockwell disappeared because he's scared of power like anybody else. Because they know that he has strength only as long as he's dealing with somebody that's nonviolent. Good Lord. Rockwell and his whole crowd agree only as long as they're dealing with someone nonviolent. The Ku Klux Klan and that crowd agree only when they're dealing it with someone nonviolent. Citizens' Council and that crowd agree only when they're dealing with someone that's nonviolent. And you know it.

So, he cleared out. I went to Alabama. I went to Alabama purposely to see what was happening down there. While I was there, I wasn't trying to interfere with King's program, whatever it was. He was in jail. I talked, I spoke it at Tuskegee. I spoke at Tuskegee Institute last Tuesday night, I think it was. There were over 3,000 students and others. And it was the students themselves that night who insisted that I go with them the next morning to Selma, some students from Smith. So I went. After giving it careful thought, I went.

When I got to Selma, the press began to bug me right it away. And I wouldn't even tell them my name. I just ignored them completely. So they insisted that I hold a press conference. I didn't ask for a press conference. They insisted that I hold a press conference. Which was held. And while the press was there, the Klan was there. When you're looking at the cops in Alabama, you're looking at the Klan. That's who the Klan is.

Knowing where I was, right then and there, I reminded Lyndon B. Johnson of the promise he had made to good, well-meaning Americans when he was running for president. He said that if he were elected he would pull the sheets off the Ku Klux Klan. Did he not say that? Yes, he did. So, here you've got Klansmen knocking little babies down the road with a...you've got Klansmen knocking Black women down in front of a camera and that poor fool Black man standing on the sidelines because he's nonviolent. Now, we don't go along with a thing like that.

Well, it was then, in Selma, Alabama, in front of the face of the Ku Klux Klan that I demanded in your name, the Organization of Afro-American Unity—could I make that demand in your name? Since 97 percent of the Black people in this country had supported Lyndon B. Johnson and his promise, and now that his party has the largest majority that any president has had in a long time, Lyndon B. Johnson is obligated to the Black man in this country to put up an immediate federal commission to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, which is a criminal organization organized to murder and maim and cripple Black people in this country.

And, I pointed out that if Lyndon B. Johnson could not keep his promise and expose the Ku Klux Klan, then we would be within our rights to come to Alabama and organize the Black people of Alabama and pull the sheets off the Klan ourselves. And we can do it. Brothers and sisters, we can do it. And the federal government won't do it. Since then, they've been talking about a little investigation of the Klan and the Citizens' Council and the Black Muslims and some of the others. But they're not going to do anything. The only way the Klan is going to be stopped is when you and I organize and stop them ourselves. Yes, that's what's out there.

You may say, well, why am I so down on the Klan all of a sudden? I'm going to tell you why. And why did I shift my attack from the Black Muslims—Elijah Muhammad and his immoral self—to the Klan? Yes, he's immoral. You can't take nine teenaged women and seduce them and give them

babies and not tell me you're—and then tell me you're moral. You could do it if you admitted you did it and admitted that the babies were yours. I'd shake your hand and call you a man. A good one too. Any time you seduce teenaged girls and make them be with child with adultery, make them hide your crimes, why, you're not even a man, much less a divine man. So, and this is what he did. He took at least nine that we know about. And I'm not speculating, because he told this to me himself. Yes, that's why he wants me dead because he knew as soon as I walked out that I'd tell it. Nine of them. Not two of them who are suing him, but nine of them. And the FBI knows it. The law in Chicago knows it. The press even knows it. And they don't expose the man.

And don't let me get out of here tonight without telling you why they won't expose him. Why they're afraid to expose him. They know that if they expose him, that he has them all set. See, the Black Muslim movement, it was organized in such a way that it attracted the most militant, the most uncompromising, the most fearless, and the youngest of the Black people in the United States. That's who went into it. Those who didn't mind dying. They didn't mind making a sacrifice. All they were interested in was freedom and justice and equality, and they would do anything to see that it was brought about. These are the people who have followed him for the past twelve years. And the government knows it. But all these upfront militants have been held in check by an organization that doesn't take an active part in anything. And therefore it cannot be a threat to anybody because it's not going to do anything against anybody but itself.

Don't you know? The way they threw that bomb in there they could have thrown it in a Ku Klux Klan house. Why do they want to bomb my house? Why don't they bomb the Klan? I'm going to tell you why.

In 1960, in December, in December of 1960, I was in the home of Jeremiah, the minister in Atlanta, Georgia. I'm ashamed to say it, but I'm going to tell you the truth. I sat at the table myself with the heads of the Ku Klux Klan. I sat there myself, with the heads of the Ku Klux Klan, who at that time were trying to negotiate with Elijah Muhammad so that they could make available to him a large area of land in Georgia or I think it was South Carolina. They had some very responsible persons in the government who were involved in it and who were willing to go along with it. They wanted to make this land available to him so that his program of separation would sound more feasible to Negroes and therefore lessen the pressure that the

integrationists were putting upon the white man. I sat there. I negotiated it. I listened to their offer. And I was the one who went back to Chicago and told Elijah Muhammad what they had offered. Now, this was in December of 1960.

The code name that Jeremiah gave the Klan leader was 666. Whenever they would refer to him they would refer to him as Old Six. What his name was right now escapes me. But they even sat there and told stories how—what they had done on different escapades that they had been involved in. Jeremiah was there and his wife was there and I was there and the Klan was there.

From that day onward the Klan never interfered with the Black Muslim movement in the South. Jeremiah attended Klan rallies, as you read on the front page of the New York Tribune. They never bothered him, never touched him. He never touched a Muslim, and a Muslim never touched him. Elijah Muhammad would never let me go back down since January of 1961. I never went South, as long as I remained in the Black Muslim movement, again, from January of 1961, because most of the actions the Muslims got involved in was action that I was involved in myself. Wherever it happened in the country, where there was an action, it was action that I was involved in, because I believed in action. I never have gone along with no Ku Klux Klan.

And another one that he had made a deal with was this man Rockwell. Rockwell and Elijah Muhammad are regular correspondents with each other. You can hate me for telling you this, but I'm going to tell it to you. Rockwell attended the rally because Elijah Muhammad put the okay on it. And Sharrieff, the captain of the FOI, and I had discussed it, wondering why Rockwell could come to our meeting because it didn't help us. But Elijah Muhammad said let him in, so he had to be let in. No one questioned what Elijah Muhammad said. Now, if you doubt that this is true, you get all of the back issues of Muhammad Speaks newspaper and you will find articles in it about the Ku Klux Klan actually praising him. Jeremiah interviewed—I think it was—J.B. Stoner for the Muslim newspaper, and the old devil even gave him a contribution that he reported about in that paper. Sure he did.

When the brothers in Monroe, Louisiana, were involved in trouble with the police, if you'll recall, Elijah Muhammad got old Venable. Venable is the Ku

Klux Klan lawyer. He's a Ku Klux Klan chieftain, according to the Saturday Evening Post, that was up on the witness stand. Go back and read the paper and you'll see that Venable was the one who represented the Black Muslim movement in Louisiana.

Now, brothers and sisters, until 1961, until 1960, until just before Elijah Muhammad went to the East, there was not a better organization among Black people in this country than the Muslim movement. It was militant. It made the whole struggle of the Black man in this country pick up momentum because of the unity, the militancy, created by the Muslim movement lent weight to the struggle of the Black man in this country against oppression.

But after 1960, after Elijah Muhammad went over there in December of '59 and came back in January of '60—when he came back, the whole trend or direction that he formerly had taken began to change. And in that change there's a whole lot of other things that had come into the picture. But he began to be more mercenary. More interested in money. More interested in wealth And, yes, more interested in girls.

And I guess many of you have heard it said that his financial support comes from a rich man in Texas. I heard that while I was in the movement. I've heard it more since I left the movement. A rich man in Texas. You can look up, any of you can look up his name. But the FBI knows that too. But they still don't touch him. And never have I seen a man—and this rich man who lives in Texas, by the way, lives in Dallas. His headquarters is in Dallas, his money is in Dallas, the same city where President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. And never have I seen a man in my life more afraid, more frightened than Elijah Muhammad was when John F. Kennedy was assassinated. I've never in my life seen a man as frightened as he was. And when I made the statement that I did, why he almost cracked up behind it because there were all kinds of implications to it that at that time were way above and beyond my understanding.

Now you may wonder, why is it so important to many interests for the Black Muslim movement to remain? But I told you, it has the most militant, most uncompromising, most dissatisfied Black people in America in it. Many have left it, many are still in it. The fear has been that if anything happened to Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslim movement were to crumble, that all those militants who formerly were in

it and were held in check would immediately become involved in the civil rights struggle, and they would add the same kinds of energy to the civil rights struggle that they gave to the Black Muslim movement. And there's a great fear. You know yourself, white people don't like for Black people to get involved in anything to do with civil rights unless those Black people are nonviolent, loving, patient, forgiving, and all of that. They don't like it otherwise.

And there has been a conspiracy across the country on the part of many factions of the press to suppress news that would open the eyes of the Muslims who are following Elijah Muhammad. They continue to make him look like he's a prophet somewhere who is getting some messages direct from God and is untouchable and things of that sort. I'm telling you the truth. But they do know that if something were to happen and all these brothers, their eyes were to come open, they would be right out here in every one of these civil rights organizations making these Uncle Tom Negro leaders stand up and fight like men instead of running around here nonviolently acting like women.

So they hope Elijah Muhammad remains as he is for a long time because they know that any organization that he heads, it will not do anything in the struggle that the Black man is confronted with in this country. Proof of which, look how violent they can get. They were violent, they've been violent from coast to coast. Muslims, in the Muslim movement, have been involved in cold, calculated violence. And not at one time have they been involved in any violence against the Ku Klux Klan. They're capable. They're qualified. They're equipped. They know how to do it. But they'll never do it—only to another brother. Now, I am well aware of what I'm setting in motion by what I'm saying up here tonight. I'm well aware. But I have never said or done anything in my life that I wasn't prepared to suffer the consequences for.

Now, what does this have to do with France, England, the United States? You and I are living at a time when there's a revolution going on. A worldwide revolution. It goes beyond Mississippi. It goes beyond Alabama. It goes beyond Harlem. There's a worldwide revolution going on. And it's in two phases.

Number one, what is it revolting against? The power structure. The American power structure? No. The French power structure? No. The

English power structure? No. Then what power structure? An international Western power structure. An international power structure consisting of American interests, French interests, English interests, Belgian interests, European interests. These countries that formerly colonized the dark man formed into a giant international combine. A structure, a house that has ruled the world up until now. And in recent times there has been a revolution taking place in Asia and in Africa, whacking away at the strength or at the foundation of the power structure.

Now, the man was shook up enough when Africa was in revolt and when Asia was in revolt. All of this revolt was actually taking place on the outside of his house, on the outside of his base, or on the outside of his headquarters. But now he's faced with something new. Just as the French and the British and the—the French, and the British, and the Americans formed one huge home or house or power structure, those brothers in Africa and Asia, although they are fighting against it, they also have some brothers on the inside of the house. And as fast as the brothers in Africa and Asia get their independence, get freedom, get strength, begin to rise up, begin to change their image from negative to positive, this African image that has jumped from negative to positive affects the image that the Black man in the Western Hemisphere has of himself.

Whereas in the West Indies and in Latin American countries and in the United States, you or I used to be ashamed of ourselves, used to look down upon ourselves, used to have no tendency whatsoever or desire whatsoever to stick together. As the African nations become independent and mold a new image a positive image, a militant image, an upright image, the image of a man, not a boy. How has this affected the Black man in the Western Hemisphere? It has taken the Black man in the Caribbean and given him some pride. It has given pride to the Black man in Latin America and has given pride to the Black man right here in the United States. So that when the Black revolution begins to roll on the African continent it affects the Black man in the United States and affects the relationship between the Black man and the white man in the United States.

When the Black man in the Caribbean sees the brother on the continent of Africa waking up and rising up, the Black man in the Caribbean begins to throw back his shoulders and stick out his chest and stand up. Now, when that Black man goes to England he's right inside the English power structure, ready to give it trouble. When the Black man from the French

West Indies goes to France, why the effect upon him of the African revolution is the same as the effect upon us here in the States by the African revolution. This is what you have to understand.

Now, up to now there have been Black people in France, divided. Black people in England, divided. Black people here in America, divided. What divided us? Our lack of pride. Our lack of racial identity. Our lack of racial pride. Our lack of cultural roots. We had nothing in common. But as the African nation got its independence and changed its image we became proud of it. And to the same degree that we became proud of it we began to have something in common to that same degree. So, whereas formerly it was difficult to unite Black people, today it is easier to unite Black people. Where formerly Black people didn't want to come together with Black people, but only with white people, today you find Black people want to come together with Black people. All they need is someone to start the ball rolling.

So this is what you have to understand. And as the brothers on the African continent lead the way, it has an effect and an impact upon the brothers here, upon the brothers here in the Western Hemisphere. So that when you find the Afro-American community in France uniting not only with itself, but for the first time beginning to unite and work in conjunction with the African community, this frightens old De Gaulle to death, because he sees some new problems in front of him.

And when the Afro and West Indian community, which is an Afro-American community in England, begins to unite and then unite also with the African community in England and reach out and get the Asian community, it's trouble for old John Bull. Trouble that he never foresaw before. And this is something that he has to face up to.

Likewise, here in America, with you and me. For the first time in our history here you find we have a tendency to want to come together. For the first time we have a tendency to want to work together. And, up to now, no organization on the American continent has tried to unite you and me with our brothers and sisters back home. At no time. None of them. Marcus Garvey did it. They put him in jail. They framed him. The government—framed him and put him in jail. Marcus Garvey tried.

The only fear that exists is that you and I once we get united will also unite

with our brothers and sisters. And since they knew that my calling in life, as a Muslim— number one, I'm a Muslim, for which I'm proud. And in no way has that changed, my being a Muslim. My religion is Islam. What's that? [Interjection from audience] Okay. Y'all sit down and be cool. Just sit down and be cool.

As a Muslim, when I left the Black Muslim movement, I realized that what we taught in there was not authentic Islam. My first journey was to Mecca to make myself an authentic Muslim. And to bring them there up to date on the problems that our people who are Muslims had. As soon as we established our religious authenticity with the Muslim world, we set up the Organization of Afro-American Unity and took immediate steps to make certain that we would be in direct contact with our African brothers on the African continent. So the first step that has been taken, brothers and sisters, since Garvey died, to actually establish contact between the 22 million Black Americans with our brothers and sisters back home was done by two organizations. Done first by the Muslim Mosque, which gave us direct ties with our brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa who are Muslims. And, you know we've got to unite with them, because there are 700 million Muslims and we surely need to stop being the minority and become part of the majority.

So, as Muslims, we united with our Muslim brothers in Asia and Africa. And as members of the Organization of African, or Afro-American Unity, we set out on a program to unite our people on this continent with our people on the mother continent. And this frightened many power—many interests in this country. Many people in this country who want to see us the minority and who don't want to see us taking too militant or too uncompromising a stand are absolutely against the successful regrouping or organizing of any faction in this country whose thought and whose thinking patterns is international, rather than national. Whose thought patterns, whose hopes and aspirations are worldly rather than just within the context of the United States border or the borderline of the United States.

So this has been the purpose of the OAAU and also the Muslim Mosque to give us direct links, direct contact, direct communication and cooperation with our brothers and sisters all over the earth. And once we are successful in uniting ourselves with our people all over the world, it puts us in a position where we no longer are a minority who can be abused and walked

upon. We become a part of the majority. And then if this man over here plays too rough, we have some brothers who can play as rough as he. So that's all I have to say about that.

I wanted you to know that my house was bombed. It was bombed by the Black Muslim movement upon the orders of Elijah Muhammad. And when the bomb was thrown, one of the bombs was thrown at the rear window of my house where my three little baby girls sleep. And I have no compassion or mercy or forgiveness or anything of that sort for anyone who attacks children. If you attack me, that's one thing. I know what to do when you start attacking me, but when you attack sleeping babies, why, you are lower than a God...

The only thing that I regret in all of this is that two Black groups have to fight and kill each other off. Elijah Muhammad could stop the whole thing tomorrow, just by raising his hand. Really, he could. He could stop the whole thing by raising his hand. But he won't. He doesn't love Black people. He doesn't even want to go forward. Proof of which, they're killing each other. They killed one in the Bronx. They shot another one in the Bronx. They tried to get six of us Sunday morning. And the pattern has developed across the country. The man has gone insane, absolutely out of his mind. Besides, you can't be seventy-years-old and surround yourself by a handful of sixteen-, seventeen-, eighteen-year- old girls and keep your right mind.

So, from tonight on, there'll be a hot time in the old town. With regret. With great regret. There's no organization in this country that could do more for the struggling Black man than the Black Muslim movement if it wanted to, but it has gotten into the possession of a man who's become senile in his old age and perhaps doesn't realize it. And then he has surrounded himself by his children, who are now in power and want nothing but luxury and security and comfort and will do anything to safeguard their own interests.

So, I feel responsible for having played a major role in developing a criminal organization. It was not a criminal organization at the outset. It was an organization that had the power, the spiritual power, to reform the criminal. And this is what you have to understand. As long as that strong spiritual power was in the movement, it gave the moral strength to the believer that would enable him to rise above all his negative tendencies. I know, because I went into the movement with more negative tendencies

than anybody in the movement. It was faith in what I was taught that made it possible for me to stop doing anything that I was doing and everything that I was doing. And I saw thousands of brothers and sisters come in who were in the same condition. And whatever they were doing, they would stop it overnight, just through faith and faith alone. And by this spiritual force, giving one the faith that enabled one to exercise some moral discipline, it became an organization that was to be respected as well as feared.

But as soon as the faith in the movement, the faith in the minds of the people in the movement was destroyed, now it has become a movement that's organized but not on a spiritual basis. And because there's no spiritual ingredient within the organization, there's no moral discipline. For it now consists of brothers and sisters who were once well meaning, but now who do not have the strength to discipline themselves. So they permit themselves to be used as a machine for a man who, as I say, has gone senile and is using them now to commit murder, acts of maiming and crippling other people.

And, I know that there's a brother sitting in here right now, tonight, who was beaten by them a couple of years ago—I'm not going to say. He knows. And if anybody should apologize to him, I should apologize to him. And I do apologize to him. Because he was beaten by the movement when I was in the movement, and I wasn't too far from him when he got beaten.

But this is what happens and this is what we have to contend with. I, for one, disassociate myself from the movement completely. And I dedicate myself to the organizing of Black people into a group that are interested in doing things constructive, not for just one religious segment of the community, but for the entire Black community. This is what the purpose of the Organization of Afro-American Unity is. 1b have an action program that's for the good of the entire Black community, and we are for it the betterment of the community by any means necessary.

And, since tonight we had to get into this old nasty, negative subject, we didn't want to bring up our program. We're going to have a rally here this coming Sunday at two o'clock in the afternoon, at two o'clock—is it two o'clock Brother Ruben? Two o'clock. At two o'clock, at it which time we will give you the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity; what our aims are, our objectives are, what our program is, whether or not you

want to be identified with it, and what active part you can play in helping us to straighten Harlem out. Nobody's going to straighten out Harlem but us. Nobody cleans up your house for you. You have to clean it up yourself. it Harlem is our house; we'll clean it up. But when we clean it up, we'll also control it. We'll control the politics. We'll control the economy. We'll control the school system and see that our people get a break.

So, on that note, I'm going to bring my talk to a close. I'm going to let you have a five minute recess, during which time we're going to take up a collection so that we it can pay for the expense of the hall. And then we'll take a fifteen-minute question period afterwards.

So, Brother James, is everything all set? Yes. We're going to have a—those lights are something else—we're going to have a collection period right now, and all we want you to do brothers and sisters, is to help us pay for the hall. And if each of you put a dollar in those white pails that's going by, we'll have the hall paid for. And I really want to apologize to you for taking your good time tonight to talk about a nasty, negative subject. But if you wake up in the middle of the night and see your house on fire all around you, with your babies crying, you'll take time to get on a nasty, negative subject, too.

* * *

Malcolm X: I want to thank you for your patience. And ask you to be patient just a couple—this microphone doesn't seem to be up at all. Sir, was there—there was some questions you wanted to ask, was it?

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yes, the press here wants to ask a couple questions. I just want to take time to answer them for them, then wel1 get right into our business. We can get rid of them and get right into our business.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Well, I'm not at the house, because the house was bombed out.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: I wouldn't say. Behind what has happened, I wouldn't ever say where I'm going to live.

Question: What do you mean when you say "there's a hot time in the old town tonight"?

Malcolm X: Well, that's an expression. Okay....This is the press. They want to get some questions out of the way. Please. When I said there'd be a hot time in the old town tonight, that's just a song, you know, that people sing. Yes, sir?

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yes, the house was bombed by the Black Muslim movement upon orders from Elijah Muhammad himself. And Raymond Sharrieff, the Supreme Captain of the FOI, stated in a telegram that he made public that the Muslims would not condone me making any statements about Elijah Muhammad. They let it be known where they stood and what they intended to do. And when they made such a statement, I was surprised that the police and the public didn't do something about it. But they were hoping that the Black Muslim movement could get to me and then they would move in on the Black Muslim movement. I know what they're up to. They want those fools to get me and then they'll move in on them. I can see all the way around that.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Do I feel that the police—wait a minute. Stop. Don't go anywhere. Do I feel that the New York police are providing enough protection, or do I have to have protection of my own? I look for protection from Allah.

Question: You mentioned a conspiracy between the Black Muslims and the right wing in this country. Could you elaborate?

Malcolm X: I mentioned the conspiracy between the Muslims and the right wing in this country? I know for a fact that there is a conspiracy between, among, between the Muslims and the Lincoln Rockwell Nazis and also the Ku Klux Klan. There is a conspiracy. Well, the Ku Klux Klan made a deal, or were trying to make a deal with Elijah Muhammad in 1960 in the

home of Jeremiah X, the minister in Atlanta at that time, in the presence of the minister in Philadelphia. They were trying to make a deal with him to make available to Elijah Muhammad a county-size tract of land in Georgia or South Carolina where Elijah Muhammad could then induce Negroes to migrate and make it appear that his program of a segregated state or separated state was feasible. And to what extent these negotiations finally developed, I do not know. Because I was not involved in them beyond the period of December 1960. But I do know that after that, Jeremiah, who was the minister throughout the South, could roam the entire South and the Klan not bother him in any way, shape, or form, nor would they bother any of the Black Muslims from then on. Nor would the Black Muslims bother the Klan.

Question: Are you inferring because of this conspiracy the attempt was made upon your life?

Malcolm X: The attempt could have been made upon my life at the...

Question: Are you inferring that because of this conspiracy the attempt was made upon your life?

Malcolm X: Not necessarily that conspiracy. The attempt was made upon my life because I speak my mind and I know too much and they know that I will speak it.

Question: Are you directing your followers to take any action?

Malcolm X: Am I directing my followers to take action against the Muslims? No. No.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Am I going to try to infiltrate their organization and win over some of their supporters? No, I have never tried to win supporters from Elijah Muhammad. Since I have left the Black Muslim movement, I've spoken at these rallies. Those who come, come; those who don't, don't. But I've never gone out of my way to win over any of his followers. And he himself is fearful, because he knows that you don't have to exercise too much energy to win his followers as soon as they know the truth and compare the two—by the way, this is the brother—this is Leon Ameer, who

was Cassius Clay's secretary, whom they beat unmercifully up in Boston. And the courts freed the men who beat him. They fined them $100—was it?—fined them $100 and he was on the inside of the Black Muslim specialty squad. And it was he who heard Elijah Muhammad, Jr., come to New York when Elijah Muhammad was at the armory in June of last year. Junior stood up and told the Fruit—many of whom are here now also—that I should have been killed. That my tongue should have been put in an envelope and sent back to Chicago by now. And because Fat Joseph had not done it, they demoted him. He remained captain, but Clarence up in Boston was put over Joseph and Joseph's authority was curtailed. And then Clarence, the captain from Boston, and John, the captain from Springfield, came to New York to assassinate me. And came to him to get a silencer and couldn't get it. So the police know this. It's not something that's new. They're just waiting until the job is done and then they step in.

Question: Do you know that Elijah Muhammad was behind this?

Malcolm X: Yes.

Question: Or is this your belief?

Malcolm X: Elijah Muhammad invited—called all of his officials, national officials, to Chicago in October and ordered them to kill or maim any of his followers who leave him to follow me.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Well, when you say, how do I know...many of the brothers who were in at that time are out now. And if this ever comes into the courts, there are plenty of witnesses who can stand up and testify to it.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: I'd rather not say at this time.

[Question unintelligible, protests from audience]

Malcolm X: Give them two more minutes and we'll end it.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yes, when I said that no one could clean up our homes but us, and that we will clean it up and that no one should control it but us, including the politics; what do I mean? I mean exactly that. That the Black people—[Interjection] What? Including who? Powell? Powell is one of us—

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: No, he's not a member of our organization, but when I say he is one of us I mean he's one of the family. And then no one outside the family can get up and talk about him. If we talk about him, we talk about him within the family. But nobody outside the family can instigate us against Powell.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yes, by controlling it politically I mean that the politics of the community of Harlem should be controlled by those of us who live in Harlem. Not by somebody sitting down in Gracie Mansion.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: No. But the Organization of Afro-American Unity intends to get involved in every kind of action that's going on in New York City. We don't intend to let anybody downtown influence us in any way, shape, or form. We want the influence to come from Harlem. And from other Harlems around the country. Now, this doesn't mean we're anti-outside-of-Harlem. This doesn't mean we're anti-Bronx or anti-White Plains or anti-white or anti-German or anything like that. But it means we're pro-Harlem. We're pro-ourselves. We want to start doing something for ourselves. That's all it means. It means that we want to stop begging you for your school; we want you to get out of the way and let us straighten out the schools in Harlem.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: I just answered this when I said from tonight on there will be a hot time in the old town. I answered it when this gentleman over here asked. The song will be the same. An implication? An implied threat? I never imply any threat to anyone. I am a Muslim, my religion is Islam—it's

a religion of peace.

Question: Do you think there will be any further attempts?

Malcolm X: Sir, yes I do believe there will be further attempts on my life. I know them. They are foaming at the mouth. The rank-and-file Muslim means well. It's those at the hierarchy, who are living off the fatted calf, who don't mean well. And this coming Sunday at two o'clock, as I say, our program will be unfolded. Elijah Muhammad knows—he has done some good things and he has done some bad things. He knows that if he had wanted to, he could have united our people with the Muslim world just by teaching the right religion of Islam. He could have done so. The entire Muslim world would have accepted him; as it is now, the Muslim world has rejected him. He can never go into the Muslim world and say that he is a prophet or that Allah came over here in the flesh—they would cut his head off if he said that. I mean he knows this. None of his followers can go over there without denouncing him. It is impossible for them to go to Mecca or any other place unless they subscribe to Islam, as it is subscribed to over there. So he was in a position to unite us with the Muslim world, those of us who were Muslim. He was also in a position to unite us with Africa. But you cannot read anything that Elijah Muhammad has ever written that's pro-African. I defy you to find one word in his direct writings that's pro-African. You can't find it.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Listen to this question this man got. What are you trying to get at?

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: No, he asked me. No. I got to tell them what you asked me. He asked me, don't I think if I got hurt, you know, wouldn't some of my followers retaliate? What are you trying to say? Or, what are you trying to get me to say? No. I mean, it's okay. I'm not going to get you into any trouble. These are your friends in here. I just I want them to hear what you're asking me. That's all. I just want them to hear what you're asking me. You're not going to get in no trouble for this. Would he? No. Yes sir, last question.

Question: You're under civil court order to get out of your house in Queens?

Malcolm X: I'm under a civil court order to get out of my house in Queens? You know, I only—somebody told me that they heard that on the radio. I know nothing about it. And I haven't discussed it with a lawyer yet and I won't make any comments until I've discussed it with a lawyer. But I just hope that nobody tries to go in there while what's left of my belongings are there.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Some have been in the vicinity, yes, and some policemen, too, have been nice enough to watch the house ever since it was bombed. I wish they had been watching it while it was bombed.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yeah, a great deal of my personal belongings were lost. They threw four bombs in there. I might point this out, that those who did it were so vicious and those who did it knew the whole layout of the house. They—and to show you why I believe in Allah—the bombs that were thrown into the front part of the house were thrown directly against the window, you know, so they came through. But before they threw the first one, l the neighbors saw someone go up to the window with a mop like instrument and break the windows, crack the glass, and then they threw the bombs in after the glass was broken and that was in the front part. Now if they had come around to...they had planned to do it from the front and the back so that I couldn't get out. They covered the front completely, the front door. Then they had come to the back but instead of getting directly in back of the house and throwing it this way, they stood at a forty-five degree angle and tossed it at the window so it glanced and went onto the ground. And the fire hit the window and it woke up my second oldest baby, but the fire burned on the outside of the house. But had that fire, had that gone through that window it would have fallen on a six-year-old girl, a four-year-old girl, and a two-year-old girl. Now I'm going to tell you, if it had done it, I'd taken my rifle and gone after anybody in sight. I would not wait. I say that because of this. The police know the criminal operation of the Black Muslim movement because they have thoroughly infiltrated it. There is no conversation that takes place in the Black Muslim movement

that the city police don't know about, because they have policemen in there. They don't let Black people form anything without some policemen in there. And while I was in the Black Muslim movement, over the Black Muslim movement, many of the police who were sent to infiltrate us—they're Black—would tell me, "Look, I'm a cop, but I have to come." They would tell me. I knew the Muslim movement was full of police. So don't you think anything is going down that they don't know about. The only thing that goes down is what they want to go down, and what they don't want to go down they don't let it go down.

Question: I have one last question.

Malcolm X: One last question, yes sir.

Question: The Muslims claim that you bombed your own house.

Malcolm X: Yes, that's what I said. The Muslims claim I bombed my house.

Question: Of course, they say, while you were there.

Malcolm X: Yeah. No, well, you can think what you want. The arson squad, the fire marshal, all of them are expert in this kind of thing And if anybody can find where I've bombed my house, they can put a rifle bullet through my head. It was my children and my own life and my wife's life that was at stake. Hey, let me tell you something, sir. I stood Sunday morning, you know what the degree—what the temperature was? It was about fifteen or twenty. I stood in my underwear, barefoot in the middle of my driveway with a gun in my hands for forty-five minutes waiting for the police or waiting for the fire department to come. If I'd wanted to put on a show I could find a better way than that to put it on. That's all.

[DISCUSSION PERIOD]

Malcolm X: There's a—brothers and sisters, there's a—here's the Saturday Evening Post dated February 27, 1965, and in it there's an article titled, "An ex-official tells - why the Black Muslims are a fraud." This is one of the brothers in Boston and who was formerly the secretary up there and who is the cousin of Ronald Stokes, the brother who was killed out in California in April of 1962. And I would like to say this before anything else, and that is, don't think that I don't know how bad I make myself look by

attacking an organization that I was once so inseparably a part of. Well, I'm not particularly concerned it with how bad it makes me look. My prime concern is to expose it to the fullest of my ability, let the chips fall where they may. And if the Black Muslim movement says that I'm wrong in what I say, then I say since they're so well qualified and equipped, let them attack the Klan. Let them go find out who—let them get the persons who bombed that it church in Birmingham. Because I'll go get them. I'll go attack the Klan. And attack Rockwell and any of the others. And I defy them to do so. They can't do it. Because they both have the same paymaster. So now our question period.. And you have to stand up because I can't see beyond this man's light. Yes sir.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Don't I think that we should become involved in some direct action, demonstrations? We are going to unveil our program on that next Sunday at two o'clock. Brother, I'm for anything you're for as long as it's going to get some results. I'm for anything you're for. As long as it's intelligent, as long as it's disciplined, as long as it's aimed in the right direction—I'm for it. And what determines what we should do, or shouldn't do, will in no way be influenced by what the man downtown thinks.

We don't need anybody on the outside laying the ground rules by which we are going to fight our battles. We'll study the battle, study the enemy, study what we're up against, and then outline or map our own battle strategy. And we'll get some results. But as long as you have someone coming in from the outside telling you how you should do it and how you shouldn't do it—and always what they tell you is nonviolence, peaceful, love everybody, forgive them Lord, they know not what they do. As long as you get into that kind of bag, why you'll never get anywhere. What we want is to let them know that our aims are just. Our aims are within the realm of justice. And since they are, we're justified in going after those aims. Don't you know it's a disgrace for the United States of America to let—to have Martin Luther King, my good friend, the Right Reverend Dr. Martin, in Alabama, using school children to do what the federal government should do. Think of this. Those school children shouldn't have to march. Why Lyndon Johnson is supposed to have troops down there marching.

Your children aren't supposed to have to get out there and demonstrate just to vote. Is it that bad? It shows our so-called leaders have been

outmaneuvered. Every day, you look on the television, you listen to the radio, you read the newspaper, and see where Black it people are going to jail by the hundreds, by the thousands. You don't do this in a civilized country. In any other country, the government would do its job. But this exists only because the government is not doing its job.

They've got Martin Luther King down there with crocodile tears crying his way into jail and still coming out and haven't got the ballot yet. We can get the ballot. Didn't they pass the civil rights bill? Just a minute, didn't they pass the civil rights bill and have made it legal. Don't you know that anywhere our people want to register and vote they're within their legal rights? All you and I have to do is show that we're men. And when we, and when they go to vote, we go with them. With them. With them. Prepared! Not prepared to make trouble. Not prepared to cause trouble. But prepared to protect ourselves in case trouble comes our way. And no one can find fault with that. Yes ma'am?

Question: My nephew is in Vietnam and—

Malcolm X: Your nephew is where?

Question: In South Vietnam—

Malcolm X: In Vietnam? You should have him in Alabama.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: You told him right. Sister, you're talking my kind of talk. Yeah.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: I know you would. I know you would. Who else? Yes ma'am? . . .

Question: Brother Malcolm [Unintelligible] have fallen out of a hospital window. We buried him Saturday. [Unintelligible] refuse to speak to anyone. They have not spoken to his mother or anyone else. We have sent delegations there and each time they tell us that there's no one available to speak to. I had a picket line there Saturday. Now can't something be done about this? A thirteen-year-old child?

Malcolm X: Fell out of the hospital window?

Question: So they say. But this child had lived on the top floor all of his life. What can we do and what must we do to avoid something else like this?

Malcolm X: This is what I meant earlier when I said concerning the importance of our controlling Harlem. As long as we have outsiders running our hospitals and our schools and our everything else, they will run us right on out of existence. I would suggest that you come over to the office and see what we can get our heads together on. And see what we can do. Anything I can do, I certainly will and I know all the brothers and sisters will. We have time for two more questions. Yes ma'am. Right in front.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: No, they're not. They're marching for their parents. Let me tell you. You know, I was in Selma, and when I got to Selma I talked to these children. I talked to them. And you know I have to say this. I have to expose the man. King's man did not want me to talk to them. They told me they didn't mind me coming in and all of that but they preferred that I didn't talk to the children. Because they knew what I was going to say. But the children insisted that I be heard. Otherwise, I wouldn't have gotten a hearing at all. And some of the, many of the students from SNCC also insisted that I be heard. This is the only way I got a chance to talk to them. And I might point out that one little girl who was only thirteen years old told me that she had been in jail the night before. She had just gotten out that morning. And she told of how they were using cattle prods, sticking it up against the heads of some of these little children and giving them headaches and things of that sort. Oh, yes. The most brutal form of punishment imaginable takes place down there and nothing is done about it. Old Lyndon is all tied up in South Vietnam and the Congo and other places, but he's not minding his business in Mississippi, in Alabama. But you see, I don't blame them. I blame us. Really, I blame us. Once we organize, we can straighten it out.

The government is not going to straighten it out. It's getting too corrupt. It has too many racists in it. Too many segregationists running the government. So how is somebody from Texas going to stop the Klan?

From Texas! Texas is a Klan state itself No. You and I have to do it. And I promised the brothers and sisters in Alabama when I was there that we'd be back. I'll be back, you'll be back, we'll be back. Well ease on in, brothers and sisters. Those people down there aren't afraid. They aren't afraid, they're just waiting for somebody to tell them what to do. That's all. And they don't go for that old turn-the-other-cheek stuff. No. That's why they got children doing it. And even those children don't go for turning the other cheek. And there's nothing wrong with my saying this. Any time you live in a government, a government in 1965, that will permit conditions to exist that force a Negro leader to take children—babies—and march them down the street to get the right to register and vote, why that government should come under question. Should come under examination. We should stop and take a second look at it. And if it's not the government, then it's the men in the government. But the blame has got to be put somewhere. But you know where I put it? On us. We're too easy. We're too forgiving. We're too loving. We're too forgetful. We're too compromising. And we're too peaceful. Time for one more question. Yes sir.... Yes, yes ma'am.

[Question unintelligible]

Malcolm X: Yes, Yes. Akbar Muhammad along with Wallace Muhammad. But Akbar Muhammad gave a press conference in Cairo completely disassociating himself from his father and pointing out that what Elijah Muhammad is teaching in this country is absolutely and diametrically opposed to the true teachings of Islam. This was in Cairo. And actually what Elijah Muhammad is teaching is an insult to the entire Muslim world, because Islam as the religion, as a religion, has nothing to do with color. There is no religion that has anything to do with color and Islam—as a religion, it doesn't use the color of a man's skin to measure him or as a yardstick. Islam, as a religion, judges a man by his intention, by his behavior, by his deeds. Now I can judge these crackers not 'cause they're white. I'm not talking about them 'cause they're white. I'm talking about them because what they do. Do you understand? Anything you hear me say here about whitey, or the white man, is not because he's white—no, I'll shake his hand if he's all right. But first he got to get all right.

The standard of judgment from a Muslim is behavior, intention, and deed. Do you understand? What Elijah Muhammad teaches is not that. Yes sir.

Question: Getting back to the action.

Malcolm X: The action, yes.

Question: You know, having power, wouldn't it be better if we were—I mean speaking of the Black man—to form a Black Ku Klux Klan7

Malcolm X: No. No. No. Don't let them maneuver you into forming anything that can be compared with the Klan. See, it is true we're the target of brutal, criminal treatment from the Klan. Now, we don't need a Black Ku Klux Klan. All we need is Black people who believe in the brotherhood of man and who will fight anyone who threatens the brotherhood of man. Now, the Klan is a threat to this brotherhood and we are legally within our rights to defend ourselves from this Klan. But if we call ourselves the Klan, what will happen— the press will pick up what you do and make what you do look wrong. Because they will make it look wrong anyway. So if you call yourself that, you help them. You help them hurt you. No we don't want anything to do with the Klan or anything like the Klan. We want to destroy the Klan. Disband it, destroy it, erase it from this earth. And we can do it.

You've been in the army. They taught you all those tricks. Well, use them. I got to say this; then we're going to close. You need to study guerrilla warfare. Get every book you can find on guerrilla warfare. There's nothing wrong with saying that. Yes, it's good to know everything. There's nothing wrong with knowing that. Why, the government teaches you that. They draft you to teach you that, don't they? Sure, they it taught it to your son. Well, go on and teach it to your son. But then tell your son how to use it. No, you study. We're going to have classes. The OAAU is going to have classes in all of the various sciences that you and I need to know—karate, judo. We've got some experts. This brother here is an expert judo man, expert karate man. He'd break that board right here like it wasn't even a board.

You come on in the OAAU and we'll train you. Show you how to protect yourself. Not so that you can go out and attack someone. You should never attack anybody. But at the same time whenever you, yourself, are attacked you are not supposed to turn the other cheek. Never turn the other cheek until you see the white man turn his cheek. The day that the white man turns the cheek, then you turn the cheek. If Martin Luther King was teaching white people to turn the other cheek, then I would say he was justified in teaching Black people to turn the other cheek. That's

all I'm against. Make it a two-way street. Make it even-steven. If I'm going to be nonviolent, then let them be nonviolent. But as long as they're not nonviolent, don't you let anybody tell you anything about nonviolence. No. Be intelligent. Brothers and sisters, we're going to have our program on Sunday at two o'clock. I hope that every one of you will be here. It will be one of the last programs that we have—please don't move; please don't move; please don't move. It's going to be one of the last programs we have, next Sunday, at two o'clock. It will be designed to unfold to you completely, what our program is, and as I said earlier—some of you came late—the only reason that I didn't do it tonight, I wanted to give you a complete clarification on what happened at my house Sunday morning, so that you would know.

And once you know, then you can stay way away from me or come on in, we'll get you, one of the two. But I don't want to get you into anything that you don't know what you're getting into. I'm not trying to get you in any trouble, but I am trying to get something organized that will enable us to take a direct action against the forces that have been holding us back. Thank you.

# Not Just an American Problem, But a World Problem (Feb. 16, 1965)

First, brothers and sisters, I want to start by thanking you for taking the time to come out this evening and especially for the invitation for me to come up to Rochester and participate in this little informal discussion this evening on matters that are of common interest to all elements in the community, in the entire Rochester community. My reason for being here is to discuss the Black revolution that is going on, that's taking place on this earth, the manner in which it's taking place on the African continent, and the impact that it's having in Black communities, not only here in America but in England and in France and in other of the former colonial powers today.

Many of you probably read last week I made an effort to go to Paris and was turned away. And Paris doesn't turn anybody away. You know anybody is supposed to be able to go to France, it's supposed to be a very liberal place. But France is having problems today that haven't been highly publicized. And England is also having problems that haven't been highly publicized, because America's problems have been so highly publicized. But all of these three partners, or allies, have troubles in common today that the Black American, or Afro-American, isn't well enough up on.

And in order for you and me to know the nature of the struggle that you and I are involved in, we have to know not only the various ingredients involved at the local level and national level, but also the ingredients that are involved at the international level. And the problems of the Black man here in this country today have ceased to be a problem of just the American Negro or an American problem. It has become a problem that is so complex, and has so many implications in it, that you have to study it in its entire world, in the world context or in its international context, to really see it as it actually is. Otherwise you can't even follow the local issue, unless you know what part it plays in the entire international context. And when you look at it in that context, you see it in a different light, but you see it with more clarity.

And you should ask yourself why should a country like France be so

concerned with a little insignificant American Negro that they would prohibit him from going there, when almost anybody else can go to that country whenever they desire. And it's primarily because the three countries have the same problems. And the problem is this: That in the Western Hemisphere, you and I haven't realized it, but we aren't exactly a minority on this earth. In the Western Hemisphere there are—there's the people in Brazil, two thirds of the people in Brazil are dark-skinned people, the same as you and I. They are people of African origin, African ancestry—African background. And not only in Brazil, but throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, and Canada, you have people here who are of African origin.

Many of us fool ourselves into thinking of Afro-Americans as those only who are here in the United States. America is North America, Central America, and South America. Anybody of African ancestry in South America is an Afro-American. Anybody in Central America of African blood is an Afro-American. Anybody here in North America, including Canada, is an Afro-American if he has African ancestry—even down in the Caribbean' he's an Afro-American. So when I speak of the Afro-American, I'm not speaking of just the 22 million of us who are here in the United States. But the Afro-American is that large number of people in the Western Hemisphere, from the southernmost tip of South America to the northernmost tip of North America, all of whom have a common heritage and have a common origin when you go back to the roots of these people.

Now, there are four spheres of influence in the Western Hemisphere, where Black people are concerned. There's the Spanish influence, which means that Spain formerly colonized a certain area of the Western Hemisphere. There's the French sphere of influence, which means that area that she formerly colonized. The area that the British formerly colonized, and then those of us who are in the United States.

The area that was formerly colonized by the Spanish is commonly referred to as Latin America. They have many dark-skinned people there, of African ancestry. The area which the French colonized here in the Western Hemisphere is largely referred to as the French West Indies. And the area that the British colonized are those that are commonly referred to as the British West Indies, and also Canada. And then again, there's the United States. So we have these four different classifications of Black people, or nonwhite people, here in the Western Hemisphere.

Because of the poor economy of Spain, and because it has ceased to be an influence on the world scene as it formerly was, not very many of the people from—not very many of the black-skinned people from the Spanish sphere of influence migrate to Spain. But because of the high standard of living in France and England, you find many of the Black people from the British West Indies have been migrating to Great Britain, many of the Black people from the French West Indies migrate to France, and then you and I are already here.

So it means that the three major allies, the United States, Britain, and France, have a problem today that is a common problem. But you and I are never given enough information to realize that they have a common problem. And that common problem is the new mood that is reflected in the overall division of the Black people within continental France, within the same sphere of England, and also here in the United States. So that—and this mood has been changing to the same degree that the mood on the African continent has been changing. So when you find the African revolution taking place, and by African revolution I mean the emergence of African nations into independence that has been going on for the past ten or twelve years, has absolutely affected the mood of the Black people in the Western Hemisphere. So much so that when they migrate to England, they pose a problem for the English. And when they migrate to France, they pose a problem for the French. And when they—already here in the States—but when they awaken, and this same mood is reflected in the Black man in the States, then it poses a problem to the white man here in America.

And don't you think that the problem that the white man in America has is unique. France is having the same problem. And Great Britain is having the same problem. But the only difference between the problem in France and Britain and here is there have been many Black leaders that have risen up here in the Western Hemisphere, in the United States, that have created so much sort of militancy that has frightened the American whites. But that has been absent in France and England. And it has only been recently that the American Negro community and the British West Indian community, along with the African community in France, have begun to organize among themselves, and it's frightening France to death. And the same thing is happening in England. It is—up until recently it was disorganized completely. But recently, the West Indians in England, along with the

African community in England, along with the Asians in England began to organize and work in coordination with each other, in conjunction with each other. And this has posed England a very serious problem.

So I had to give you that background, in order for you to understand some of the current problems that are developing here on this earth. And in no time can you understand the problems between Black and white people here in Rochester or Black and white people in Mississippi or Black and white people in California, unless you understand the basic problem that exists between Black and white people not confined to the local level, but confined to the international, global level on this earth today. When you look at it in that context, you'll understand. But if you only try to look at it in the local context, youl1 never understand. You have to see the trend that is taking place on this earth. And my purpose for coming here tonight is to try and give you as up-to-date an understanding of it all as is possible.

As many of you know, I left the Black Muslim movement and during the summer months, I spent five of those months on the—in the Middle East and on the African continent. During this time I visited many countries, first of which was Egypt, and then Arabia, then Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Tanganyika—which is now Tanzania—Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Algeria. And then the five months that I was away I had an opportunity to hold lengthy discussions with President Nasser in Egypt, President Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Milton Obote in Uganda, Azikiwe in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, and Sekou Toure in Guinea. And during conversations with these men, and other Africans on that continent, there was much information exchanged that definitely broadened my understanding, and I feel, broadened my scope. For since coming back from over there, I have had no desire whatsoever to get bogged down in any picayune arguments with any bird-brained or small-minded people who happen to belong to organizations, based upon facts that are very misleading and don't get you anywhere when you have problems as complex as ours that are trying to get solved.

So I'm not here tonight to talk about some of these movements that are clashing with each other. I'm here to talk about the problem that's in front of all of us. And to do it in a very informal way. I never like to be tied down to a formal method or procedure when talking to an audience, because I find that usually the conversation that I'm involved in revolves around race, or things racial, which is not my fault. I didn't create the race problem.

And you know, I didn't come to America on the Mayflower or at my own volition. Our people were brought here involuntarily, against our will. So if we pose the problem now, they shouldn't blame us for being here. They brought us here.

One of the reasons I feel that it is best to remain very informal when discussing this type of topic, when people are discussing things based on race, they have a tendency to be very narrow-minded and to get emotional and all involved in , especially white people. I have found white people that usually are very intelligent, until you get them to talking about the race problem. Then they get blind as a bat and want you to see what they know is the exact opposite of the truth.

So what I would rather we try and do is be very informal, where we can relax and keep an open mind, and try and form the pattern or the habit of seeing for ourselves, hearing for ourselves, thinking for ourselves, and then we can come to an intelligent judgment for ourselves.

To straighten out my own position, as I did earlier in the day at Colgate, I'm a Muslim, which only means that my religion is Islam. I believe in God, the Supreme Being, the creator of the universe. This is a very simple form of religion, easy to understand. I believe in one God. It's just a whole lot better. But I believe in one God, and I believe that that God had one religion, has one religion, always will have one religion. And that that God taught all of the prophets the same religion, so there is no argument about who was greater or who was better: Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, or some of the others. All of them were prophets who came from one God. They had one doctrine, and that doctrine was designed to give clarification of humanity, so that all of humanity would see that it was one and have some kind of brotherhood that would be practiced here on this earth. I believe in that.

I believe in the brotherhood of man. But despite the fact I that I believe in the brotherhood of man, I have to be a realist and realize that here in America we're in a society that doesn't practice brotherhood. It doesn't practice what it preaches. It preaches brotherhood, but it doesn't practice brotherhood. And because this society doesn't practice brotherhood, those of us who are Muslim—those of us who left the Black Muslim movement and regrouped as Muslims, in a movement based upon orthodox Islam—we believe in the brotherhood of Islam.

But we also realize that the problem facing Black people in this country is so complex and so involved and has been here so long, unsolved, that it is absolutely necessary for us to form another organization. Which we did, which is a nonreligious organization in which—is known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and it is so structured organizationally to allow for active participation of any Afro-American, any Black American, in a program that is designed to eliminate the negative political, economic, and social evils that our people are confronted by in this society.

And we have that set up because we realize that we have to fight against the evils of a society that has failed to produce brotherhood for every member of that society. This in no way means that we're anti-white, anti-blue, anti-green, or anti-yellow We're anti-wrong. We're anti-discrimination. We're anti-segregation. We're against anybody who wants to practice some form of segregation or discrimination against us because we don't happen to be a color that's acceptable to you...

We don't judge a man because of the color of his skin. We don't judge you because you're white; we don't judge you because you're black; we don't judge you because you're brown. We judge you because of what you do and what you practice. And as long as you practice evil, we're against you. And for us, the most—the worst form of evil is the evil that's based upon judging a man because of the color of his skin. And I don't think anybody here can deny that we're living in a society that just doesn't judge a man according to his talents, according to his know-how, according to his possibility—background, or lack of academic background. This society judges a man solely upon the color of his skin. If you're white, you can go forward, and if you're Black, you have to fight your way every step of the way, and you still don't get forward.

We are living in a society that is by and large controlled by people who believe in segregation. We are living in a society that is by and large controlled by a people who believe in racism, and practice segregation and discrimination and racism. We believe in and I say that it is controlled, not by the well-meaning whites, but controlled by the segregationists, the racists. And you can see by the pattern that this society follows all over the world. Right now in Asia you have the American army dropping bombs on darkskinned people. You can't say that—it's as though you can justify being

that far from home, dropping bombs on somebody else. If you were next door, I could see it, but you can't go that far away from this country and drop bombs on somebody else and justify your presence over there, not with me.

It's racism. Racism practiced by America. Racism which involves a war against the dark-skinned people in Asia, another form of racism involving a war against the dark-skinned people in the Congo, as it involves a war against the dark-skinned people in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Rochester, New York. So we're not against people because they're white. But we're against those who practice racism. We're against those who drop bombs on people because their color happens to be of a different shade than yours. And because we're against it, the press says we're violent. We're not for violence. We're for peace. But the people that we're up against are for violence. You can't be peaceful when you're dealing with them. They accuse us of what they themselves are guilty of. This is what the criminal always does. They'll bomb you, then accuse you of bombing yourself. They'll crush your skull, then accuse you of attacking him. This is what the racists have always done the criminal, the one who has criminal processes developed to a science. Their practice is criminal action. And then use the press to make you victim—look like the victim is the criminal, and the criminal is the victim. This is how they do it.

And you here in Rochester probably know more about this than anybody anywhere else. Here's an example of how they do. They take the press, and through the press, they beat the system, or through the white public, because the white public is divided. Some mean good, and some don't mean good. Some are well meaning, and some are not well meaning. This is true. You got some that are not well meaning, and some are well meaning. And usually those that are not well meaning outnumber those that are well meaning. You need a microscope to find those that are well meaning. So they don't like to do anything without the support of the white public. The racists, that are usually very influential in the society, don't make their move without first going to get public opinion on their side. So they use the press to get public opinion on their side.

When they want to suppress and oppress the Black community, what do they do? They take the statistics, and through the press, they feed them to the public. They make it appear that the role of crime in the Black community is higher than it is anywhere else. What does this do? This

message—this is a very skillful message used by racists to make the whites who aren't racists think that the rate of crime in the Black community is so high. This keeps the Black community in the image of a criminal. It makes it appear that anyone in the Black community is a criminal. And as soon as this impression is given, then it makes it possible, or paves the way to set up a police-type state in the Black community, getting the full approval of the white public when the police come in, use all kind of brutal measures to suppress Black people, crush their skulls, sic dogs on them, and things of that type. And the whites go along with it. Because they think that everybody over there's a criminal anyway. This is what—the press does this.

This is skill. This skill is called—this is a science that's called "image making." They hold you in check through this science of imagery. They even make you look down upon yourself, by giving you a bad image of yourself. Some of our own Black people who have eaten this image themselves and digested it—until they themselves don't want to live in the Black community. They don't want to be around Black people themselves.

It's a science that they use, very skillfully, to make the criminal look like the victim, and to make the victim look like the criminal. Example: In the United States during the Harlem riots, I was in Africa, fortunately. During these riots, or because of these riots, or after the riots, again the press, very skillfully, depicted the rioters as hoodlums, criminals, thieves, because they were abducting some property.

Now mind you, it is true that property was destroyed. But look at it from another angle. In these Black communities, the economy of the community is not in the hands of the Black man. The Black man is not his own landlord. The buildings that he lives in are owned by someone else. The stores in the community are run by someone else. Everything in the community is out of his hands. He has no say-so in it whatsoever, other than to live there, and pay the highest rent for the lowest type boarding place, pays the highest prices for food, for the lowest grade of food. He is a victim of this, a victim of economic exploitation, political exploitation, and every other kind. Now, he's so frustrated, so pent-up, so much explosive energy within him, that he would like to get at the one who's exploiting him. But the one who's exploiting him doesn't live in his neighborhood. He only owns the house. He only owns the store. He only owns the neighborhood. So that when the Black man explodes, the one that he wants to get at isn't there. So he destroys the property. He's not a thief. He's not

trying to steal your cheap furniture or your cheap food. He wants to get at you, but you're not there. And instead of the sociologists analyzing it as it actually is, trying to understand it as it actually is, again they cover up the real issue, and they use the press to make it appear that these people are thieves, hoodlums. No! They are the victims of organized thievery, organized landlords who are nothing but thieves, merchants who are nothing but thieves, politicians who sit in the city hall and who are nothing but thieves in cahoots with the landlords and the merchants.

But again, the press is used to make the victim look like the criminal and make the criminal look like the victim.... This is imagery. And just as this imagery is practiced at the local level, you can understand it better by an international example. The best recent example at the international level to bear witness to what I'm saying is what happened in the Congo. Look at what happened. We had a situation where a plane was dropping bombs on African villages. An African village has no defense against the bombs. And an African village is not sufficient threat that it has to be bombed! But planes were dropping bombs on African villages. When these bombs strike, they don't distinguish between enemy and friend. They don't distinguish between male and female. When these bombs are dropped on African villages in the Congo, they are dropped on Black women, Black children, Black babies. These human beings were blown to bits. I heard no outcry, no voice of compassion for these thousands of Black people who were slaughtered by planes.

Why was there no outcry? Why was there no concern? Because, again, the press very skillfully made the victims look like they were the criminals, and the criminals look like they were the victims.
They refer to the villages as "rebel held," you know. As if to say, because they are rebel-held villages, you can destroy the population, and it's okay. They also refer to the merchants of death as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." This made it okay. Because these pilots, these mercenaries—you know what a mercenary is, he's not a patriot. A mercenary is not someone who goes to war out of patriotism for his country. A mercenary is a hired killer. A person who kills, who draws blood for money, anybody's blood. You kill a human being as easily as you kill a cat or a dog or a chicken. So these mercenaries, dropping bombs on African villages, caring nothing as to whether or not there are innocent, defenseless women and children and babies being destroyed by their bombs. But because they're called "mercenaries," given a glorified name, it doesn't excite you.

Because they are referred to as "American-trained" pilots, because they are American-trained, that makes them okay. "Anti-Castro Cubans," that makes them okay. Castro's a monster, so anybody who's against Castro is all right with us, and anything they can do from there, that's all right with us.... They put your mind right in a bag and take it wherever they want, as well.

But it's something that you have to look at and answer for. Because they are American planes, American bombs, escorted by American paratroopers, armed with machine guns. But, you know, they say they're not soldiers, they're just there as escorts, like they started out with some advisers in South Vietnam. Twenty thousand of them— just advisers. These are just "escorts." They're able to do all of this mass murder and get away with it by labeling it "humanitarian," an act of humanitarianism. Or "in the name of freedom," "in the name of liberty." All kinds of high-sounding slogans, but it's cold-blooded murder, mass murder. And it's done so skillfully, so you and I, who call ourselves sophisticated in this twentieth century, are able to watch it, and put the stamp of approval upon it. Simply because it's being done to people with black skin, by people with white skin.

They take a man who is a cold-blooded murderer, named Tshombe. You've heard of him, Uncle Tom Tshombe. He murdered the prime minister, the rightful prime minister, Lumumba. He murdered him. Now here's a man who's an international murderer, selected by the State Department and placed over the Congo and propped into position by your tax dollars. He's a killer. He's hired by our government. He's a hired killer. And to show the type of hired killer he is, as soon as he's in office, he hires more killers in South Africa to shoot down his own people. And you wonder why your American image abroad is so bankrupt. Notice I said, "Your American image abroad is so bankrupt." They make this man acceptable by saying in the press that he's the only one that can unite the Congo. Ha. A murderer. They won't let China in the United Nations because they say she declared war on UN troops in Korea. Tshombe declared war on UN troops in Katanga. You give him money and prop him up. You don't use the same yardstick. You use the yardstick over here, change it over here.

This is true everybody can see you today. You make yourself look sick in the sight of the world trying to fool people that you were at least once wise with your trickery. But today your bag of tricks have absolutely run out. The whole world can see what you're doing. The press whips up hysteria in the white public. Then it shifts gears and starts working trying to get the

sympathy of the white public. And then it shifts gears and gets the white public to support whatever criminal action they're getting ready to involve the United States in.

Remember how they referred to the hostages as "white hostages." Not "hostages." They said these "cannibals" in the Congo had "white hostages." Oh, and this got you all shook up. White nuns, white priests, white missionaries. What's thp difference between a white hostage and a Black hostage? What's the difference between a white life and a Black life? You must think there's a difference, because your press specifies whiteness. "Nineteen white hostages" cause you to grieve in your heart. During the months when bombs were being dropped on Black people by the hundreds and the thousands, you said nothing. And you did nothing. But as soon as a few—a handful of white people who didn't have any business getting caught up in that thing in the first place——as soon as their lives became involved, you got concerned.

I was in Africa during the summer when they—when the mercenaries and the pilots were shooting down Black people in the Congo like flies. It wouldn't even get mentioned in the Western press. It wasn't mentioned. If it was mentioned, it was mentioned in the classified section of the newspaper. Someplace where you'd need a microscope to find it. And at that time the African brothers, at first they weren't taking hostages. They only began to take hostages when they found that these pilots were bombing their villages. And then they took hostages, moved them into the village, and warned the pilots that if you drop bombs on the village, you'll hit your own people. It was a war maneuver. They were at war. They only held a hostage in a village to keep the mercenaries from murdering on a mass scale the people of those villages. They weren't keeping them as hostages because they were cannibals. Or because they thought their flesh was tasty. Some of those missionaries had been over there for forty years and didn't get eaten up. If they were going to eat them they would have eaten them when they were young and tender. Why you can't even digest that old white meat on an old chicken.

It's imagery. They use their ability to create images, and then they use these images that they've created to mislead the people. To confuse the people and make the people accept wrong as right and reject right as wrong. Make the people actually think that the criminal is the victim and the victim is the criminal. Even as I point this out, you may say, "What does this all have

to do with the Black man in America? And what does it have to do with the Black and white relations here in Rochester?"

You have to understand it. Until I959 the image of the African continent was created by the enemies of Africa. Africa was a land dominated by outside powers. A land dominated by Europeans. And as these Europeans dominated the continent of Africa, it was they who created the image of Africa that was projected abroad. And they projected Africa and the people of Africa in a negative image, a hateful image. They made us think that Africa was a land of jungles, a land of animals, a land of cannibals and savages. It was a hateful image. And because they were so successful in projecting this negative image of Africa, those of us here in the West of African ancestry, the Afro-American, we looked upon Africa as a hateful place. We looked upon the African as a hateful person. And if you referred to us as an African it was like putting us as a servant, or playing house, or talking about us in the way we didn't want to be talked.

Why? Because those who oppress know that you can't make a person hate the root without making them hate the tree. You can't hate your own and not end up hating yourself. And since we all originated in Africa, you can't make us hate Africa without making us hate ourselves. And they did this very skillfully. And what was the result? They ended up with 22 million Black people here in America who hated everything about us that was African. We hated the African characteristics, the African characteristics. We hated our hair. We hated our nose, the shape of our nose, and the shape of our lips, the color of our skin. Yes we did. And it was you who taught us to hate ourselves simply by shrewdly maneuvering us into hating the land of our forefathers and the people on that continent.

As long as we hated those people, we hated ourselves. As long as we hated what we thought they looked like, we hated what we actually looked like. And you call me a hate teacher. Why, you taught us to hate ourselves. You taught the world to hate a whole race of people and have the audacity now to blame us for hating you simply because we don't like the rope that you put around our necks. When you teach a man to hate his lips, the lips that God gave him, the shape of the nose that God gave him, the texture of the hair that God gave him, the color of the skin that God gave him, you've committed the worst crime that a race of people can commit. And this is the crime that you've committed.

Our color became a chain, a psychological chain. Our blood—African blood—became a psychological chain, a prison, because we were ashamed of it. We believe they would tell it to your face, and say they weren't; they were! We felt trapped because our skin was black. We felt trapped because we had African blood in our veins. This is how you imprisoned us. Not just bringing us over here and making us slaves. But the image that you created of our motherland and the image that you created of our people on that continent was a trap, was a prison, was a chain, was the worst form of slavery that has ever been invented by a so-called civilized race and a civilized nation since the beginning of the world.

You still see the result of it among our people in this country today. Because we hated our African blood, we felt inadequate, we felt inferior, we felt helpless. And in our state of helplessness, we wouldn't work for ourselves. We turned to you for help, and then you wouldn't help us. We didn't feel adequate. We turned to you for advice and you gave us the wrong advice. Turned to you for direction and you kept us going in circles. But a change has come about. In us. And what from? Back in '55 in Indonesia, at Bandung, they had a conference of dark-skinned people. The people of Africa and Asia came together for the first time in centuries. They had no nuclear weapons, they had no air fleets, no navy. But they discussed their plight and they found that there was one thing that all of us had in common—oppression, exploitation, suffering. And we had a common oppressor, a common exploiter.

If a brother came from Kenya and called his oppressor an Englishman; and another came from the Congo, he called his oppressor a Belgian; another came from Guinea, he called his oppressor French. But when you brought the oppressors together there's one thing they all had in common, they were all from Europe. And this European was oppressing the people of Africa and Asia.

And since we could see that we had oppression in common and exploitation in common, sorrow and sadness and grief in common, our people began to get together and determined at the Bandung Conference that it was time for us to forget our differences. We had differences. Some were Buddhists, some were Hindus, some were Christians, some were Muslim, some didn't have any religion at all. Some were socialists, some were capitalists, some were communists, and some didn't have any economy at all. But with all of the differences that existed, they agreed on

one thing, the spirit of Bandung was, from there on in, to de-emphasize the areas of difference and emphasize the areas that we had in common.

And it was the spirit of Bandung that fed the flames of nationalism and freedom not only in Asia, but especially on the African continent. From '55 to '60 the flames of nationalism, independence on the African continent, became so bright and so furious, they were able to burn and sting anything that got in its path. And that same spirit didn't stay on the African continent. It somehow or other—it slipped into the Western Hemisphere and got into the heart and the mind and the soul of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere who supposedly had been separate from the African continent for almost 400 years.

But the same desire for freedom that moved the Black man on the African continent began to burn in the heart and the mind and the soul of the Black man here, in South America, Central America, and North America, showing us we were not separated. Though there was an ocean between us, we were still moved by the same heartbeat. The spirit of nationalism on the African continent—It began to collapse; the powers, the colonial powers, they couldn't stay there. The British got in trouble in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and other areas of the continent. The French got in trouble in the entire French Equatorial North Africa, including Algeria. Became a trouble spot for France. The Congo wouldn't any longer permit the Belgians to stay there. The entire African continent became explosive from '54'55 on up to 1959. By 1959 they couldn't stay there any longer. It wasn't that they wanted to go. It wasn't that all of a sudden they had become benevolent. It wasn't that all of a sudden they had ceased wanting to exploit the Black man of his natural resources. But it was the spirit of independence that was burning in the heart and mind of the Black man. He no longer would allow himself to be colonized, oppressed, and exploited. He was willing to lay down his life and take the lives of those who tried to take his, which was a new spirit.

The colonial powers didn't leave. But what did they do? Whenever a person is playing basketball, if—you watch him—the players on the opposing team trap him and he doesn't want to get rid of, to throw the ball away, he has to pass it to someone who's in the clear, who's on the same team as he. And since Belgium and France and Britain and these other colonial powers were trapped—they were exposed as colonial powers—they had to find someone who was still in the clear, and the only one in the clear so far

as the Africans were concerned was the United States. So they passed the ball to the United States. And this administration picked it up and ran like mad ever since. As soon as they grabbed the ball, they realized that they were confronted with a new problem. The problem was that the Africans had awakened. And in their awakening they were no longer afraid. And because the Africans were not afraid, it was impossible for the European powers to stay on that continent by force. So our State Department, grabbing the ball and in their new analysis, they realized that they had to use a new strategy if they were going to replace the colonial powers of Europe.

What was their strategy? The friendly approach. Instead of coming over there with their teeth gritted, they started smiling at the Africans. "We're your friends. But in order to convince the African that he was their friend he had to start off pretending like they were our friend.

You didn't get the man to smile at you because you were bad, no. He was trying to impress your brother on the other side of the water. He smiled at you to make his smile consistent. He started using a friendly approach over there. A benevolent approach. A philanthropic approach. Call it benevolent colonialism. Philanthropic imperialism. Humanitarianism backed up by dollarism. Tokenism. This is the approach that they used. They didn't go over there well meaning. How could you leave here and go on the African continent with the Peace Corps and Cross Roads and these other outfits when you're hanging Black people in Mississippi? How could you do it? How could you train missionaries, supposedly over there to teach them about Christ, when you won't let a Black man in your Christ's church right here in Rochester, much less in the South. You know that's something to think about. It gets me hot when I think about it.

From 1954 to 1964 can easily be looked upon as the era of the emerging African state. And as the African state emerged from '54 to '64, what impact, what effect did it have on the Afro-American, the Black American? As the Black man in Africa got independent, it put him in a position to be master of making his own image. Up until 1959 when you and I thought of an African, we thought of someone naked, coming with the tom-toms, with bones in his nose. Oh yeah! This was the only image you had in your mind of an African. And from '59 on when they begin to come into the UN and you'd see them on the television you'd get shocked. Here was an African who could speak better English than you. He made more sense

than you. He had more freedom than you. Why places where you couldn't go——places where you couldn't go, all he had to do was throw on his robes and walk right past you. It had to shake you up. And it was only when you'd become shook up that you began to really wake up.

So as the African nations gained their independence and the image of the African continent began to change, the things agreed as the image of Africa switched from negative to positive. Subconsciously. The Black man throughout the Western Hemisphere, in his subconscious mind, began to identify with that emerging positive African image.

And when he saw the Black man on the African continent taking a stand, it made him become filled with the desire also to take a stand. The same image, the same just as the African image was negative—and you hear about old hat in the hand, compromising, fearful looks— we were the same way. But when we began to read about Jomo Kenyatta and the Mau Mau and others, then you find Black people in this country began to think along the same line. And more closely along the same line than some of them really want to admit.

When they saw—just as they had to change their approach with the people on the African continent, they also then began to change their approach with our people on this continent. As they used tokenism and a whole lot of other friendly, benevolent, philanthropic approaches on the African continent, which were only token efforts, they began to do the same thing with us here in the States. Tokenism. They came up with all kinds of programs that weren't really designed to solve anybody's problems. Every move they made was a token move. They never made a real down-to-earth move at one time to really solve the problem. They came up with a Supreme Court desegregation decision that they haven't put into practice yet. Not even in Rochester, much less in Mississippi. They fooled the people in Mississippi by trying to make it appear that they were going to integrate the University of Mississippi. They took one Negro to the university backed up with about 6,000—15,000 troops, I think it was. And I think it cost them $6 million.

And three or four people got killed in the act. And it was only an act. Now, mind you, after one of them got in, they said there's integration in Mississippi. They stuck two of them in the school in Georgia and said there's integration in Georgia. Why you should be ashamed. Really, if I was

white, I'd be so ashamed I'd crawl under a rug. And I'd feel so low while I was under that rug I wouldn't even leave a hump.

This tokenism, this tokenism was a program that was designed to protect the benefits of only a handful of handpicked Negroes. And these handpicked Negroes were given big positions, and then they were used to open up their mouths to tell the world, "Look at how much progress we're making." He should say, look at how much progress he is making. For while these handpicked Negroes were eating high on the hog, rubbing elbows with white folk, sitting in Washington, D.C., the masses of Black people in this country continued to live in the slum and in the ghetto. The masses, the masses of Black people in this country remain unemployed, and the masses of Black people in this country continue to go to the worst schools and get the worst education. Along during the same time appeared a movement known as the Black Muslim movement. The Black Muslim movement did this: Up until the time the Black Muslim movement came on the scene, the NAACP was regarded as radical. They wanted to investigate it. They wanted to investigate it. CORE and all the rest of them were under suspect, under suspicion. King wasn't heard of. When the Black Muslim movement came along talking that kind of talk that they talked, the white man said, "Thank God for the NMCP." The Black Muslim movement has made the NMCP acceptable to white folks. It made its leaders acceptable. They then began to refer to them as responsible Negro leaders. Which meant they were responsible to white folk. Now I am not attacking the NMCP. I'm just telling you about it. And what makes it so bad, you can't deny it.

So this is the contribution that that movement made. It frightened a lot of people. A lot of people who wouldn't act right out of love begin to act right out of fear. Because Roy [Wilkins] and [James] Farmer and some of the others used to tell white folk, look if you don't act right by us you're going to have to listen to them. They used us to better their own position, their own bargaining position. No matter what you think of the philosophy of the Black Muslim movement, when you analyze the part that it played in the struggle of Black people during the past twelve years you have to put it in its proper context and see it in its proper perspective. The movement itself attracted the most militant, the most dissatisfied, the most uncompromising elements of the Black community. And also the youngest elements of the Black community. And as this movement grew, it attracted such a militant, uncompromising, dissatisfied element.

The movement itself was supposedly based upon the religion of Islam and therefore supposedly a religious movement' But because the world of Islam or the orthodox Muslim world would never accept the Black Muslim movement as a bona fide part of it, it put those of us who were in it in a sort of religious vacuum. It put us in a position of identifying ourselves by a religion, while the world in which that religion was practiced rejected us as not being bona fide practicers…practitioners of that religion. Also the government tried to maneuver us and label us as political rather than religious so that they could charge us with sedition and subversion. This is the only reason But although we were labeled political, because we were never permitted to take part in politics we were in a vacuum politically. We were in a religious vacuum. We were in a political vacuum. We were actually alienated, cut off from all type of activity with even the world that we were fighting against. We became a sort of a religious/political hybrid, all to ourselves. Not involved in anything but just standing on the sidelines condemning everything. But in no position to correct anything because we couldn't take action.

Yet at the same time, the nature of the movement was such that it attracted the activists. Those who wanted action. Those who wanted to do something about the evils that confronted all Black people. We weren't particularly concerned with the religion of the Black man. Because whether he was a Methodist or a Baptist or an atheist or an agnostic, he caught the same hell.

So we could see that we had to have some action, and those of us who were activists became dissatisfied, disillusioned. And finally dissension set in and eventually a split. Those who split away were the real activists of the movement who were intelligent enough to want some kind of program that would enable us to fight for the rights of all Black people here in the Western Hemisphere.

But at the same time we wanted our religion. So when we left, the first thing we did we regrouped into a new organization known as the Muslim Mosque, headquartered in New York. And in that organization we adopted the real, orthodox religion of Islam, which is a religion of brotherhood. So that while accepting this religion and setting up an organization which could practice that religion—and immediately this particular Muslim Mosque was recognized and endorsed by the religious officials of the Muslim world. We realized at the same time we had a problem in this

society that went beyond religion. And it was for that reason we set up the Organization of Afro-American Unity in which anybody in the community could participate in an action program designed to bring about complete recognition and respect of Black people as human beings.

And the motto of the Organization of Afro-American I Unity is By Any Means Necessary. We don't believe in fighting a battle that's going to—in which the ground rules are to be laid down by those who suppress us. We don't believe that we can win in a battle where the ground rules are laid down by those who exploit us. We don't believe that we can carry on a struggle trying to win the affection of those who for so long have oppressed and exploited us.

We believe that our fight is just. We believe that our grievances are just. We believe that the evil practices against Black people in this society are criminal and that those who engage in such criminal practices are to be looked upon themselves as nothing but criminals. And we believe that we are within our rights to fight those criminals by any means necessary. This doesn't mean that we're for violence. But we do—we have seen that the federal government has shown its inability, its absolute unwillingness, to protect the lives and the property of Black people. We have seen where organized white racists, Klansmen, Citizens' Councilmen, and others can come into the Black community and take a Black man and make him disappear and nothing be done about it.

We reanalyzed our condition. When we go back to 1939, Black people in America were shining shoes. Some of the most educated were shining in Michigan, where I came from, in Lansing, the capital. The best jobs you could get in the city were carrying trays out at the country club to feed white people. And usually the waiter at the country club was looked upon as the town big shot 'cause he had a good job around "good" white folks, you know.

He had the best education, but he'd be shining shoes right at the State House, the capitol. Shining the governor's shoes, and the attorney general's shoes, and this made him in the know, you know, 'cause he could shine white folks' shoes who were in big places. Whenever the people downtown wanted to know what was going on in the Black community, he was their boy. He was what's known as the "town Negro," the Negro leader. And those who weren't shining shoes, the preachers, also had a big voice in the

community. That's all they'd let us do is shine shoes, wait on tables, and preach.

In 1939, before Hitler went on the rampage, or rather at the time yeah, before Hitler went on the rampage, a Black man couldn't even work in the factory. We were digging ditches on WPA. Some of you all have forgotten too quick. We were ditch-digging on the VVPA. Our food came from the welfare, they were stamped "not to be sold." I got so many things from the store called "not to be sold," I thought that was a store some place. This is the condition the Black man was in, and that's till 1939.... Until the war started, we were confined to these menial tasks. When the war started, they wouldn't even take us in the army. A Black man wasn't drafted. Was he or was he not? No! You couldn't join the navy. Remember that? Wouldn't draft one. This was as late as 1939 in the United States of America!

They taught you to sing "sweet land of liberty" and the rest of that stuff. No! You couldn't join the army. You couldn't join the navy. They wouldn't even draft you. They only took white folks. They didn't start drafting us until the Negro leader opened up his big mouth, talking about, "If white folks must die, we must die too."

The Negro leader got a whole lot of Negroes killed in World War II who never had to die. So when America got into the war, immediately she was faced with a manpower shortage. Up until the time of the war, you couldn't get inside of a plant. I lived in Lansing, where Oldsmobile's factory was and Reo's. There was about three in the whole plant and each one of them had a broom. They had education. They had gone to school. I think one had gone to college. But he was a "broomologist." When times got tough and there was a manpower shortage, then they let us in the factory. Not through any effort of our own. Not through any sudden moral awakening on their part. They needed us. They needed manpower. Any kind of manpower. And when they got desperate and in need, they opened up the factory door and let us in. So we began to learn to run machines. Then we began to learn how to run machines, when they needed us. Put our women in as well as our men. As we learned to operate the machines, we began to make more money. As we began to make more money, we were able to live in a little better neighborhood. When we moved to a little better neighborhood, we went to a little better school. And when we went to that better school, we got a little better education and got in a little better position to get a little better job. It was no change of heart on their part. It was no sudden

awakening of their moral consciousness. It was Hitler. It was Tojo. It was Stalin. Yes, it was pressure from the outside, at the world level, that enabled you and me to make a few steps forward. Why wouldn't they draft us and put us in the army in the first place? They had treated us so bad, they were afraid that if they put us in the army and give us a gun and showed us how to shoot it— they feared that they wouldn't have to tell us what to shoot at.

And probably they wouldn't have had. It was their conscience. So I point this out to show that it was not change of heart on Uncle Sam's part that permitted some of us to go a few steps forward. It was world pressure. It was threat from outside. Danger from outside that made it—that occupied his mind and forced him to permit you and me to stand up a little taller. Not because he wanted us to stand up. Not because he wanted us to go forward. He was forced to.

And once you properly analyze the ingredients that opened the doors even to the degree that they were forced open, when you see what it was, you'll better understand your position today. And you'll better understand the strategy that you need today. Any kind of movement for freedom of Black people based solely within the confines of America is absolutely doomed to fail.

As long as your problem is fought within the American context, all you can get as allies is fellow Americans. As long as you call it civil rights, it's a domestic problem within the jurisdiction of the United States government. And the United States government consists of segregationists, racists. Why the most powerful men in the government are racists. This government is controlled by thirty-six committees, twenty congressional committees and sixteen senatorial committees. Thirteen of the twenty congressmen that make up the congressional committees are from the South. Ten of the sixteen senators that control the senatorial committees are from the South. Which means, that of the thirty-six committees that govern the foreign and domestic directions and temperament of the country in which we live, of the thirty-six, twenty-three of them are in the hands of racists. Outright, stone-cold, dead segregationists. This is what you and I are up against. We are in a society where the power is in the hands of those who are the worst breed of humanity. Now how are we going to get around them? How are we going to get justice in a Congress that they control? Or a Senate that they control? Or a White House that they control? Or from a Supreme Court that they control?

Look at the pitiful decision that the Supreme Court handed down. Brother, look at it! Don't you know these men on the Supreme Court are masters of legal—not only of law, but legal phraseology. They are such masters of the legal language that they could very easily have handed down a desegregation decision on education so worded that no one could have gotten around. But they come up with that thing worded in such a way that here ten years have passed, and there's all kind of loopholes in it. They knew what they were doing. They pretend to give you something while knowing all the time you can't utilize it.

They come up last year with a civil rights bill that they publicized all around the world as if it would lead us into the promised land of integration. Oh yeah! Just last week, the Right Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King come out of the jail house and went to Washington, D.C., saying he's going to ask every day for new legislation to protect voting rights for Black people in Alabama. Why? You just had legislation. You just had a civil rights bill. You mean to tell me that that highly publicized civil rights bill doesn't even give the federal government enough power to protect Black people in Alabama who don't want to do anything but register? Why it's another foul trick, 'cause they tricked us year in and year out. Another foul trick.

So, since we see...I don't want you to think I'm teaching hate. I love everybody who loves me. But I sure don't love those who don't love me. Since we see all of this subterfuge, this trickery, this maneuvering—it's not only at the federal level, the national level, the local level, all levels. The young generation of Blacks that's coming up now can see that as long as we wait for the Congress and the Senate and the Supreme Court and the president to solve our problems, you'll have us waiting on tables for another thousand years. And there aren't no days like those.

Since the civil rights bill—I used to see African diplomats at the UN crying out against the injustice that was being done to Black people in Mozambique, in Angola, the Congo, in South Africa, and I wondered why and how they could go back to their hotels and turn on the TV and see dogs biting Black people right down the block and policemen wrecking the stores of Black people with their clubs right down the block, and putting water hoses on Black people with pressure so high it tear our clothes off, right down the block. And I wondered how they could talk all that talk

about what was happening in Angola and Mozambique and all the rest of it and see it happen right down the block and get up on the podium in the UN and not say anything about it.

But I went and discussed it with some of them. And they said that as long as the Black man in America calls his struggle a struggle of civil rights—that in the civil rights context, it's domestic and it remains within the jurisdiction of the United States. And if any of them open up their mouths to say anything about it, it's considered a violation of the laws and rules of protocol. And the difference with the other people was that they didn't call their grievances "civil rights" grievances, they called them "human rights" grievances. "Civil rights" are within the jurisdiction of the government where they are involved. But "human rights" is part of the charter of the United Nations.

All the nations that signed the charter of the UN came up with the Declaration of Human Rights and anyone who classifies his grievances under the label of "human rights" violations, those grievances can then be brought into the United Nations and be discussed by people all over the world. For as long as you call it "civil rights" your only allies can be the people in the next community, many of whom are responsible for your grievance. But when you call it "human rights" it becomes international. And then you can take your troubles to the World Court. You can take them before the world. And anybody anywhere on this earth can become your ally.

So one of the first steps that we became involved in, those of us who got into the Organization of Afro American Unity, was to come up with a program that would make our grievances international and make the world see that our problem was no longer a Negro problem or an American problem but a human problem. A problem for humanity and a problem which should be attacked by all elements of humanity. A problem that was so complex that it was impossible for Uncle Sam to solve it himself and therefore we want to get into a body or conference with people who are in such positions that they can help us get some kind of adjustment for this situation before it gets so explosive that no one can handle it.

Thank you.

# Stan Bernard Interviews Malcolm X (February 18, 1965)

Stan Bernard: And what is the Black Muslim movement? Is it a bona fide religion or just a terror organization? Tonight on "Stan Bernard: Contact" we're going to have a look at the Muslims and the Black nationalists in general. And my guests tonight: Malcolm X, once the number-two man in the Black Muslims, now broken with Elijah Muhammad; he says he's a marked man and that a number of attempts have been made on his life. And also in the studio, or we hope very shortly, Aubrey Barnette. There's been some difficulty tonight, just before air time, and Aubrey may join us and he may not. He's also split from the organization, and he's written an article in this week's Saturday Evening Post labeled simply "The Black Muslims Are a Fraud." And here is Aubrey Barnette now. And my third guest tonight, Gordon Hall, an expert on extremist organizations. Aubrey Barnette, in your article you call the Black Muslims a fraud. Now does this just apply to the mosque's methods of raising money or what? Do you think it's a religious fraud as well?

Aubrey Barnette: I think the entire Black Muslim movement is a fraud. And Webster's Dictionary defines a fraud as deceit, trickery, or a trick. The Black Muslims have deceived the public. They've used trickery on trying to attract the Negroes and they have outright tricked the poor Black Muslim members. That's why I say they are a fraud.

Bernard: Now, okay, they've tricked them. Now this is in terms of the religion itself as well as the money raising?

Barnette: Well, as far as the religion of Islam is concerned, I might say right here that any similarity between the Black Muslims and the true religion of Islam is purely coincidental.

Bernard: Malcolm X, I said at the outset that you were once the number-two man. I think I can rightfully say that, easily you were certainly as well known as, almost as well known, or as well known as Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X: But I never was the number-two man.

Bernard: You never were the number-two man.

Malcolm X: The press said I was the number-two man, but there were others ahead of me.

Bernard: How do you feel about this comment from Aubrey Barnette?

Malcolm X: What he's saying is true, especially about the first, especially about the religion. The religion of Islam itself is a religion that is based upon brotherhood and a religion in which the persons who believe in it in no way judge a man by the color of his skin. The yardstick of measurement in Islam is one's deeds, one's conscious behavior. And the yardstick of measurement that was used by Elijah Muhammad was based upon the color of the skin.

Bernard: Malcolm, it wasn't too long ago that you were preaching separation, Black supremacy, you were...or separation at any rate; if not Black supremacy, it sounded like Black supremacy to a lot of people. How do you equate that now with what you're saying today?

Malcolm X: There's not one person who is a Muslim who believes in Elijah Muhammad today who believes in him more strongly than I did. When I was with him I believed in him 100 percent. And it was my strong belief in him that made me go along with everything he taught. And I think if you check back on my representation of him while I was with him, I represented him 100 percent.

Bernard: What is your status now, Malcolm?

Malcolm X: How do you mean?

Bernard: Right now. Have you broken...

Malcolm X: I'm a Muslim. When I...you must understand that the Black Muslim movement, although it claimed to be a religious movement, based upon Islam, it was never acceptable to the orthodox Muslim world. Although at the same time it attracted the most militant, the most dissatisfied of the Black community into it. And by them getting into it and the movement itself not having a real action program, it comprised a number of persons who were extremely young and militant but who

could not...and who were activists by nature but who couldn't participate in things. So the inactivity of the movement caused a great deal of dissatisfaction until finally dissension broke in and division, and those of us who left regrouped into a Muslim movement based upon orthodox Islam.

Bernard: So now that you've broken away, let me ask you a question and this calls for numbers. You're no longer a member. Are you in a membership fight now with Elijah Muhammad?

Malcolm X: No, no, I have never at any time involved myself in a membership fight with Elijah Muhammad. In fact, if you go back to the release that I made public at the time of my official departure, I pointed out that I was in no way trying to take away the followers of Elijah Muhammad, but that I myself was going to become a Muslim, but would work among the 22 million non-Muslim Negroes and try to establish some kind of program that would be beneficial to the Black American, period.

Bernard: There were a lot of numbers that were thrown around some time ago. I guess it was two years ago or so. The numbers said something like 100,000 Muslims across the United States. And you, in your article Aubrey Barnette, talk about these numbers. You specify quite clearly. And you ask a question at one point. You say: "How large was our membership? The most accurate estimate I ever heard of our strength in Boston came during a radio debate between Gordon Hall a specialist on extremist organizations, and Malcolm X." And that radio debate took place on "Bob Kennedy: Contact" in Boston; our sister station WBZ held that debate between you, Gordon, and Malcolm X. And I heard the tape of that debate. It was quite heated, and it was a very good debate, it was very entertaining, and I enjoyed it. What did you do...what now, when you talk about numbers today, and you, Aubrey, mention in your article you say something like fifty-five members in all of Boston, fifty-seven in another place.

Barnette: I say...

Bernard: Small membership numbers.

Barnette: I'm speaking of the present membership of the mosque right now. In Boston they have probably fifty-five male members and Springfield probably thirty-five or forty, and Providence, Rhode Island, maybe ten or

fifteen members. The membership has just about dwindled in half. And before I comment on the actual sense of the movement at its peak, I'd like to add something to what Malcolm had just said. That not only did the Black Muslim movement attract dissatisfied Negroes, it attracted Negroes who were...contrary to the popular public belief, they did attract some Negroes who were doing very well in the world but...Negroes who thought that the Black Muslims had a program for improving the condition of the Negro in America. I was one of those Negroes. I was not very much dissatisfied as an individual when I came to the Muslim movement, but I knew that there was a problem existing in the Negro community. I knew that many Negroes were suffering from discrimination, they were frustrated, and there were many problems that were besetting our communities. And I thought the Muslims, Black Muslims, had a program for economic upliftment, a program of moral upliftment. I thought the Muslims had a program for combating juvenile delinquency.

Bernard: And you saw this as a myth now, or you see it...

Barnette: I see it as a myth now.

Bernard: I see. Gordon, you have been a critic of all extremist organizations. You sort of pinpointed the strength of the Muslim organization. And you say that the strength is basically a myth, with these hundred thousand numbers. How did you arrive at your own figures?

Gordon Hall: Well, I do this work full time to begin with, and I've done this work for close to twenty years, and when you follow extremists around, whether they're Negro extremists or white extremists, if you follow the Klan around the way that I did, and penetrated their movements and found out numbers, you'll find out that they make a lot of noise all out of proportion to their numbers, just as currently the Negro nationalists in the New York area are making noise all out of proportion to their numbers. And I think the real tip-off, Stan, came when Elijah was supposed to speak at the Boston Arena a few summers ago, I think it was July of 1962, and I flew back from a speaking date in Minneapolis and told the press that they couldn't possibly fill the Boston Arena, which seats 7,200 people, even if they brought in all of the people from the other mosques around the Eastern Seaboard: Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and so on. I also predicted that Elijah Muhammad would not show up, that he's an incoherent old man, he does not speak well he doesn't make any sense in

his public appearances, and I felt that Malcolm probably would carry the load that day. And it worked out precisely that way. This was a prediction long before they even opened the doors in the arena. And then lo and behold, despite all the efforts to allow the white public in, plus all the sisters and brothers, and all the fiddle-faddle about the whole show, they couldn't even fill downstairs in the arena.

Bernard: And they brought in three thousand I think was the figure, right?

Hall: Yes, something like that, and that was the clear tip-off to me that this thing was built on quicksand, that they'd never had any members, really, and this is pretty much the history of extremist movements in general, that they make noise all out of proportion to their numbers. This was based really on the reality of the situation and not listening to all the grandiose statements made by men like Malcolm X.

Malcolm X: What year was that?

Hall: I don't have the figures with me, Malcolm. I think it was the summer of '62, if I remember correctly. You were the main speaker.

Bernard: [To Barnette] You mention that in your article. And you say there were three thousand there. And, Malcolm, you were the main speaker.

Hall: And there were a lot of white people there too.

Malcolm X: No, there were about two hundred, which was a lot for those days. But I think you'll find that the Muslim movement reached its peak in strength in 1960, '59 and '60. And it began to taper off in '61 and '62.

Hall: Do you agree with Aubrey's figures that the peak strength was about fifteen-thirteen-to-fifteen thousand? Would that be your estimate, as well, of the total Muslim movement?

Malcolm X: No, the peak in 19-, yes, the peak in 1959 and '60 was reached, but it began to go down after Elijah Muhammad took a trip abroad, plus became involved in other personal problems. And the movement itself began to deteriorate only after Elijah Muhammad put members of his own family in positions of authority, which weakened the structure and caused internal bickering and division and eventually the movement just petered

out.

Hall: Just one more point, Stan. I think the whole point of this last discussion between Aubrey and Malcolm and myself would be to point out that the three of us agree that the peak figure of say fifteen thousand, regardless of the year, whether it was 1960 or '59, this is far below what the press had been estimating all over the country And fifteen thousand Muslims in any country are not very many Muslims when you figure that we have, let's say, a Negro population of close to twenty two million. This is just a drop in the bucket.

Bernard: C. Eric Lincoln came up with a figure of 100,000.

Hall: That's because he doesn't study extremists. That's why he came up with that figure.

Malcolm X: No, I have to contend with that. And I won't go along with what you're saying.

Bernard: In what way? Malcolm, in what way?

Malcolm X: C. Eric Lincoln is the person who was probably first to mention a number in regards to Black Muslims. But you will never find any figure given out at any time, in any way, not by me, concerning the numerical strength of the Muslims. I have never stated...my standing answer was that the best part of the tree is the root, and I never defined the extent of the tree beyond that.

Bernard: Malcolm...

Hall: I don't quite follow what...

Malcolm X: The thing that you have to consider, Mr. Hall is, like, when you say that when you study extremist groups usually they are very small and don't have much of an impact upon the public or drawing among the public. Whether you're in the North, South, East, or West, here in the States, where the nationalists are concerned, usually nationalists have an "anti-press," whereas the civil rights groups or the accepted civil rights groups, usually the press, the city government, all of the machinery that has to do with molding public opinion goes along with civil rights groups.

And whenever they're giving something, they have everything going for them toward promoting what they're giving. But when it comes to the nationalists, usually you'll find that they have to almost fight their way into print, in advance, if they're going to give something. And despite those obstacles and that type of organized opposition, still you'll find the nationalist groups, especially in the New York area, command a large following. I'll give you an example. This coming Sunday, at two o'clock at the Audubon Ballroom, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which I'm presently involved in, which is considered nationalist, are having a rally, and you are welcome to attend that: white, black brown, red, yellow, green, or whatever else you have. And I think you'll find that despite the fact that we get no help whatsoever from the press, that we're able, here in the New York area, to attract larger crowds to our rallies than any other kind of rally that's given, and they are given the complete support of the press.

Hall: But that doesn't prove anything, Malcolm, because Harlem is a big place. You'll get a lot of Negroes in, you'll get curious whites, that doesn't... that's not your membership.

Malcolm X: No, nobody...

Hall: Just as, just as when...

Malcolm X: Listen...

Hall: ...the Grand Dragon of the Klan speaks on campus he will outdraw the vice president.

Malcolm X: He doesn't have to have membership to still be the influencing factor in the South. You can't tell me that the Klan is a handful of people in Alabama and then the whole government is supposed to be behind Martin Luther King, and the handful of Klansmen are keeping Dr. King in jail and marching Negro children down the road.

Hall: I'm not saying that at all.

Malcolm X: Well then you can't say that extremist groups are not effective and do not represent an influencing factor in this society.

Bernard: Gentlemen, I want to ask...

Hall: I'm saying the Muslims and nationalists in the Negro community are not an important factor.

Bernard: I have a question to ask at this point.

Malcolm X: But the Klan is an important factor in the white community.

Hall: It has been historically, yes.

Bernard: Malcolm, Malcolm, you say attempts have been made on your life. And that was at this afternoon's press conference. You say five different attempts recently. How were they attempted?

Malcolm X: Yes, more than five.

Bernard: Of course, there was the bombing of the house...

Malcolm X: Yes.

Bernard: ...which we know about, that occurred Sunday.

Malcolm X: Yes. First of all, I would like to point out about that bombing of the house, because the press has also been used during the past week to imply that I bombed my own house. I would like to point out right here and now that I have no life insurance. My wife has no life insurance. I have four baby girls, none of whom have life insurance. We don't have health insurance. We don't have fire insurance. We have no kind of insurance whatsoever. And the only group that stood to gain anything from the bombing of that house was the Black Muslim movement in which the insurance is actually...the insurance is in their name. And I really felt hurt that the press would allow itself to be used to give the public the impression that I would throw a bomb or light a fire to a home in which my family, which my wife and family are asleep. The deputy chief fire marshal, I think his name is Vincent Canty, pointed out to me, in the presence of witnesses on that same night, that a fireman picked up a bottle of gasoline from my living room that had not exploded, and because this bottle of gasoline was in a whiskey bottle, this fireman placed that bottle on a dresser in my baby's room, thinking that it was a bottle of whiskey. And when my wife

came in and saw the bottle there she asked the fireman what was it. And the fireman said it was whiskey. And well we know that there's no whiskey in our house, and so she touched it and said, "This isn't whiskey, this is something inflammable." And then they took it out. Now despite that, the deputy marshal, deputy fire chief marshal, having this knowledge, and the police having this knowledge, still this knowledge is kept back from the press. And in the vacuum that exists, then this man James down at 116th Street steps in and tries to give the impression that all of this was done by me. And I think that it is a worse injustice on the part of the press and the police and the firemen, to let such an impression be given, even than the people who threw the bombs in the house themselves.

Bernard: Aubrey, you were attacked in Boston by a group that you say were members of a Muslim goon squad. How did that come about?

Barnette: Right. Well I think that I should be angry with Malcolm, because I think in a way Malcolm was responsible for my being attacked. And the reason I was attacked was because the Black Muslim movement, losing strength, had to build an enemy. And the enemy they projected was the Black nationalists. Now because I had left the mosque and put the Black Muslim behind, they branded me as a Black nationalist, even though I had left the mosque sometime before Malcolm ever thought of leaving the mosque. I was still accused of being a follower of Malcolm, although they should have turned it around and said Malcolm was following me, because I left first.

Malcolm X: That's right.

Barnette: Anyway, I can testify to the brutality of the Black Muslims, because I was viciously attacked by the Black Muslims and put in the hospital for a week with a fractured...rather I was hospitalized for a week and at home in bed for another week. I had a fractured rib, a fractured ankle, two fractured vertebrae, and internal injuries. And the reason I was attacked was primarily because I had the audacity to quit the Black Muslim movement. And I might point out as far as the Black Muslims' manufacturing stories. One of the most fantastic stories I ever heard was the Black Muslims' testimony in the trial in which they were, incidentally, were all found guilty of assault and battery on myself and the other fellow...

Bernard: You pressed charges.

Barnette: Yes sir. I was one of the first cases in the country where a Black Muslim ex-member had pressed charges against the Black Muslims for being beat up. I'm not the first one who was beat up. I'm the first one who actually took the...had the courage to take them into court. And during this trial they made some outrageous charges. First of all they charged that John Thimas and myself attacked the mosque, two men, attacked the mosque.

Bernard: You were a mighty 135 pounds.

Barnette: I weigh 130 pounds soaking wet; with all my clothes on and probably with a pair of combat boots on I don't weigh 130 pounds. But anyway I...John Thimas and myself attacked the mosque where there may be...according to the Black Muslim members they would have you believe there's a thousand members there, but there were only probably fifty-five, but two men against fifty-five is pretty good odds. But this is the story they gave, that I attacked the mosque and during the course of the trial...I went to...after I was attacked I was taken to the city hospital by the Boston police. I stayed there for about two hours, and then the police took me to the Beth Israel...I mean I had myself transferred to the Beth Israel Hospital. So the lawyer, during the trial, said that I got together with the Beth Israel Hospital and faked all of these injuries. I faked the X rays, showing my fractured ribs. I faked the X rays, showing...

Malcolm X: Who was the lawyer?

Barnette: The lawyer was Edward Jacko.

Malcolm X: From New York City, Harlem?

Barnette: From New York City, yes.

Malcolm X: You mean Edward Jacko came to Boston and accused you of faking these charges?

Barnette: Yes, apparently he wasn't very familiar with the Beth Israel Hospital because it's one of the biggest hospitals in Boston, and how I ever got together with the Beth Israel Hospital to fake these records is beyond me. And why the Beth Israel didn't take him up on that is beyond me also. But they will fabricate any charges, make up the wildest stories.

Bernard: Gentlemen, we're going to get to the telephones in just one moment.

Malcolm X: Can I ask him just a question?

Bernard: Yes.

Malcolm X: Was Edward Jacko retained by the Muslims in Boston or was he retained by the Chicago headquarters?

Barnette: He was retained by the Chicago headquarters; because the Black Muslims were found guilty in lower court and advised by the judge to plead guilty and pay me restitution, $2,000, for the damages that I had sustained, and he would give them suspended sentences. But they, on orders of Chicago, they appealed the sentence, and they fired the other lawyer and imported Edward Jacko from New York.

Bernard: Okay, let's get to our...do you have something, Gordon?

Hall: One quick comment on this general discussion of the courts and such. Aubrey took his case into the courts, placed it in the hands of what he feels is of a reasonably fair and uncorrupt courts and justices and so on, and his case has been settled. I would charge that Malcolm's one-sided account of what actually happened in his home and everything will have to be settled by the courts through investigation and all the rest. And I warn your listeners not to simply accept this at face value, but to watch the newspapers and see what does develop in this current case.

Barnette: Hey, wait a minute. Hold it.

Malcolm X: What do you mean by that?

Barnette: The case was settled...

Hall: I mean just what I said by that.

Barnette: ...not satisfactorily. These Muslims, I must point out, were given suspended sentences...

Hall: But they were convicted.

Barnette: ...against the law. Against the laws of Massachusetts. The statutes of Massachusetts say that you cannot give a person a suspended sentence when he's been convicted of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon.

Bernard: Well, there's another point. There were actual suspects in that case. And let me say this about, in terms of fair play on this station. The Muslims are going to have a chance on March 3rd to answer every single charge that has been made here tonight against them.

Malcolm X: Well actually you should have had the Muslims here tonight.

Bernard: Well there's a little problem with that, and we are going to arrange a program for them. And they are going to be appearing, including...and by the way there's a good chance that Elijah Muhammad may appear on the program via the telephone. And we're looking forward to that, of course. We're trying to arrange that now. As soon as they were apprised of the fact that you were coming on the program tonight, they asked for equal time. And although it doesn't really come under the equal time provisions by the FCC, we are going ahead and are giving them a program. I believe it's March 3rd or March 4th. Well let's get to our telephones. We have an awful lot of...

Hall: That was not the point, however, that I made. My only point was this, Stan. Simply that there are charges and countercharges leveled by dissident factions within the Negro community, the small dissident factions we're talking about tonight. But these things will be thoroughly investigated by law enforcement agencies, including the FBI and justice will be done in the end, just as the Black Liberation Front will claim that they weren't really trying to blow up anything, but the evidence is clear that they were trying to blow up the Statue of Liberty, despite their charges now that they're being framed.

Malcolm X: Mr. Hall today we demanded that the FBI launch an immediate investigation of the bombing of my home on Sunday morning...

Hall: Very good. And I'm confident that...

Malcolm X: ...because we were charging a conspiracy on the part of some

firemen, some policemen, and some newsmen to work together to cover up the part played by Elijah's followers in the bombing and to give the public the impression that I bombed it myself, by withholding valuable information from the public and telling half-truths through the press. We demanded the FBI investigation...

Hall: Very good, very good.

Malcolm X: ...and I pointed out that my attorney had suggested that I and my wife submit ourselves to a lie detector test and that every policeman and fireman who entered that house that night do likewise. And we also suggest to the minister of the local temple here who represents Elijah that he too submit himself to a lie detector test and Joseph, the fat one, submit himself to a lie detector test since he has implied that the bombing was done by people other than himself. So we're not in any way, sir, ducking away from any kind of investigation. We just demand...

Hall: Very good.

Malcolm X: ...that it be done by an impartial body and that it be done immediately.

Bernard: We haven't taken a single phone call yet, gentlemen, and I would like to very much right now. Let's find out what's going on out there. The WINS "Contact" number: Judson 2-6405. This is Stan Bernard "Contact" you're on the air.

Caller: Yes, I'd like to say that there's one thing about this business about Malcolm's home being bombed that really bothers me. He charges that the Black Muslims did this. There's one thing. They happen to own this home. It's not Malcolm's home. It's the Black Muslims' home. Now it seems very odd to me that the Black Muslims would want to destroy their own property. It would seem more likely to me that Malcolm X would want to destroy the Black Muslims' property. In other words, that he would try to just throw a couple of innocuous bombs in there that aren't going to hurt anybody. He knows they're not going to hurt anybody. They won't do too much damage. And he'll have a lot of publicity for himself. And then he can charge all he wants to "I'll take a lie detector test" because he knows the lie detector test is not admissible in court as evidence of anything.

Bernard: Malcolm, how do you answer that?

Malcolm X: I say this: that the Black Muslim movement has never had as their motive the acquiring of that home. The possession of the home itself means nothing. Elijah Muhammad lives in a $150,000 house in Phoenix, Arizona. That house is worth less than $15,000. It's not the home itself, the material home itself, that is the object of the present court battle. There's more to it than that. And anybody...I should think people should question the deputy fire marshal and the others who investigated the bombing out there that night, and let them give their story as to whether or not I could have set those bombs. And this is why I say I charged a conspiracy on the part of some of the firemen, and some of the police, and some of the press, to give the impression that I set it. Anybody...

Bernard: Why would they side with the Black Muslim organization against you though, Malcolm? I don't understand that.

Malcolm X: Well...

Bernard: Why you, not them; why them, not you?

Malcolm X: Let's answer your question this way. The press, whenever I mention that an attempt has been made on my life, they print it in such a way that I am implying that an attempt has been made. The Black Muslim movement tried to kill me in Los Angeles airport, two weeks ago, while I was in the company of the Los Angeles police. The Los Angeles police stopped the TWA airlines from taking off. They stopped the airline's flight from taking off. They slipped me into a private room, onto the plane through the basement, because of the presence of these persons in the airport, who were completely heedless of the presence of the police. Now this airliner was held up an hour and a half. Every passenger aboard it was taken off, his luggage was searched. I was kept on the plane. My luggage was searched. And then the TW Airlines security agent flew to Chicago from Los Angeles with me. I was met at the airport in Chicago by the assistant attorney general of the state of Illinois and at least twenty different detectives. I was held in their custody for twenty-four hours. I appeared on the Kupcinet show. When I came out of the studio, officials of the Black Muslim movement in Chicago even tried to attack the police to get at me. This was...the Los Angeles incident was not reported in the press. The Chicago incident was not reported in the press. A couple days later

I appeared on David Susskind's "Hot Line" on a Tuesday night, February 2nd. Entering the studio that night, the police department had to clash with about thirty members of the local Black Muslim movement who tried to inflict physical harm upon those who were appearing on the program. None of this was mentioned in the press whatsoever.

By this type of incident being kept from the press, then when I jump out and say that somebody is trying to kill me, the implication is given that I'm trying to do some publicity seeking, or that I'm just making these stories up. But the police department from coast to coast in this country have the Black Muslim movement well infiltrated, just as they have any other group well infiltrated. They are well aware of these plots and discussions that take place.

Bernard: Malcolm, I...

Malcolm X: They could stop them if they wanted to.

Bernard: Malcolm, as a member of the press I have to say at this point that I've never heard anybody say to me or to anybody else, "Do not print anything about Malcolm X." Or do not...or suppress a story. I have never heard that happen. When your house was bombed it was handled as a lead story, all the way. And whenever anybody that I know, who is a member of the press, is apprised of anything to do with Malcolm X, you're news.

Malcolm X: Sir, but here's the point. I'm news as long as what the news is about is something to project me in the image of someone with horns. But when it comes to objective reporting on things...

Bernard: I have you on this program tonight. I have you on this program tonight, and I don't think anybody is knocking you. And I don't think anybody...I don't want to get this kind of personality...

Malcolm X: No, I'm not saying that. I'm not dealing with your program. I'm not dealing with your program. I'm dealing with this: that the impression like this man here, who just called in, tried to imply that I bombed my own home. Now, if he were aware of the physical attempts that have been made upon my life during the past year and the number of attempts that have been made, why it wouldn't be difficult at all for him to see the...

Hall: ...go on television the day that your home was bombed. And I too am a public lecturer who travels from state to state giving lectures before large audiences. You were smiling and you were about to board a plane to go to Detroit. On the same day that your home was bombed, you carried out a speaking engagement. If that happened in my home, I would never think of leaving my loved ones for fear that something might happen while I'm gone. You got on the plane and went to Detroit and gave a lecture.

Malcolm X: The Black Muslim movement had its origin, as you know...

Hall: But is that not true that you did that?

Malcolm X: Hold it a minute. I'm going to explain it. The Black Muslim movement, as you, an expert, supposedly knows, had its origin in Detroit, Michigan. Now those who are in the Black Muslim movement symbolically regard Detroit as the
Mecca, the root or the focal point of the origin or beginning of Elijah Muhammad's movement in this country. The fact that I was to appear at a rally in Detroit had been highly publicized in Detroit. My wife and I felt that one of the purposes of the bombing of the house was to keep me from going to Detroit. We discussed it. And she encouraged me not to delay my trip. I went to Detroit, made the speaking engagement, and flew right back here.

Bernard: The WINS "Contact" number: Judson 2-6405. This is Stan Bernard "Contact" you're on the air.

Caller: Hello. Bernard: Yes.

Caller: Hello. I'd like to address my question to Malcolm X.

Bernard: Go, right ahead.

Caller: Hello, Malcolm?

Malcolm X: Yes Sir.

Caller: I don"t sound-mean to sound rude, but aren't you kind of a hypocrite, because you went all around the country preaching for the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X: No, I think I'm quite honest, because as long as I believed in what Elijah Muhammad was teaching and what he represented, I represented him 100 percent. Now, I know how bad it makes me look to tell you today what Elijah Muhammad is doing. That does not concern me. As long as I believed in him, I represented him. But there were things about Elijah Muhammad that his followers right now know and that I know. That when he became faced with it he didn't stand up to it as a man. And when he failed to be able to stand up to his own problem as a man, it was then that those of us who left the movement realized, not only was he not divine, but he wasn't even a man. And it was then that we began to reexamine all of what he taught. And I was fortunate enough to be able to go into the Muslim world and discuss the whole situation with the Muslims there, and since then I have been trying to practice the orthodox religion of Islam. But despite the fact that I'm trying to practice the orthodox religion of Islam, I don't blind myself to the fact that our people in this country still have a problem that goes above and beyond religion. So we set up another organization that is not religious in order for all of us who want to participate in the struggle against these social-economic, and political evils in this country that confront our people, participate in them. And I don't think it's hypocritical at all for a person to be wrong and admit that he was wrong.

Bernard: Aubrey...

Malcolm X: I think it's hypocritical when you pretend to still believe in something when you cease believing in it.

Bernard: Aubrey, you stopped believing, too. You left the Muslim movement. You wrote this article, "The Black Muslims Are a Fraud." What were some of the specific things you saw in the movement that drove you away from it?

Barnette: Well some of the specific things that I saw that drove me away from it was...I'll take for example the economic myth. The Muslims in their propaganda have projected the thought that they had a vast economic empire in Chicago. This is one of the things that really attracted me to the movement. When I first became aware of the movement, I was a college student and I had graduated from...I was just in the process of graduating from Boston University and I got a degree in, a bachelor of science degree

in business administration. And when I started attending meetings, they used to tell me about the big businesses they had out in Chicago. Eleven months after I joined the movement, I finally went and saw these big businesses. And they consisted of a grocery store, a barbershop, a restaurant, and a dress factory, which had three power sewing machines in it. Now I was greatly disillusioned when I saw these things and...but this was the extent of the great Muslim empire that they had been speaking about.

Bernard: Well, was it just size? I mean a lot of people...you were...were you just disappointed in the fact that the size wasn't everything that everybody thought it was going to be?

Barnette: I was disappointed, because they had projected this as being... in fact in their literature they had described it as Elijah Muhammad had invented a great communal system where the people, you know, the Negroes could get together and build businesses that would employ, give employment, you know, to all Negroes who needed jobs. And when I got out there I found out that these are businesses that Negroes had been establishing all across the country without inventing any new communal system. I was very disappointed.

Malcolm X: May I say something about that economic...what he's saying is true, but I think I can shed a little clearer light on it. The businesses that the Muslim movement had established from coast to coast, all of them operated in the red. There was only one business in the entire Muslim movement that operated in the black and that was the restaurant there on 116th Street, right here in New York. In fact, the only businesses, the only Muslims in business, who operated businesses in the black were the Muslims in the New York area. And one of the bones of contention that developed between the factions in the Black Muslim movement was the jealousy that developed in Chicago toward the New York Muslims because they were more successful than the ones there in Chicago.

Barnette: There was another business, I think that operated in the black...

Malcolm X: Which one?

Barnette: And that was the dress factory. And the reason that operated in the black was because they had a captive market. One of the things that

the Black Muslim members had to do was to buy these long robes for the women to wear. Now although the Muslim movement encouraged to learn how to sew, they were also forbidden to sew their own garments so they had to buy these garments from the dress factory in Chicago which, incidentally, was owned by the daughter of Elijah Muhammad, Ethel Sharrieff. So this was a very successful business, since in order to buy all these outfits you had to spend $200 to get the complete outfit.

Bernard: Gordon.

Hall: A point of fact, I think that also should be mentioned in connection with the businesses, that most of the Muslim businesses, Stan, around the country, those advertising in the paper, and so on, were not businesses established by men who joined the mosque and then became businessmen. They were businessmen who had established businesses, who then joined the mosque, and the Muslims claimed these businesses as their own. Is that not true, Malcolm?

Malcolm X: In some, in part. I think there are instances where...one thing the Muslim movement did do, persons who never thought in terms of business; they were taught so much business, so much talk about business was stressed that many who didn't have any business knowledge at all would become involved in a business venture. And then that venture would fold, which actually was worse for the movement than it was good for the movement. But I want to point out that the businesses in Chicago, as Elijah Muhammad has told me from his own mouth, were such a failure that he subsidized them himself. He used to run those businesses with money out of his own pocket, so that they would serve as a front. And he always pointed out that the...none of his...especially his sons and those around him, had any business ability, and it developed within them a lot of envy and jealousy toward the New York Muslims, because the most successful businessmen among the Muslims were those right here in the New York area.

Bernard: This is Stan Bernard "Contact" you're on the air. Go right ahead. You there? No? Let's try the next one, Steve. This is "Contact," you're on the air.

Caller: I'd like to address my question to Malcolm. I'd like to know, sir, why do you still use your X? And as far as the public opinion about you, maybe

it's because of your abrupt change in the Black Muslim group, to form your own national group, that the public is sort of like, they don't exactly know where you stand. I mean they figured, like you said before, that you were with the Black Muslims and you were definitely with Muhammad. I'm sure that some in the public feel that, now that you're with someone else, that they're sort of like, uh, influencing you as far as your beliefs are concerned.

Malcolm X: That's why I've been very slow, since I returned From Africa, to really go all out in the formation, or rather I should say the formation of the two organizations in which I am involved. If you recall, when I was in Mecca I wrote a letter back saying that when I returned to America I wouldn't rest until I exposed Elijah Muhammad as the religious faker that he was. I was 100 percent sincere in saying that. But when I returned, one of the reasons that I've avoided, that I initially avoided any kind of discussion or talk about Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslim movement...after leaving Mecca, rather before going to Mecca, I had an hour and a half conversation with President Nasser in Egypt. After leaving Mecca I spent three hours with President Julius Nyerere in what was then Tanganyika, is now Tanzania. I spent a couple days with President Jomo Kenyatta and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, and also President Azikiwe in Nigeria, President Nkrumah in Ghana, President Sekou Toure in Guinea. And I had an opportunity to discuss the problem of Black people on the African continent, plus the plight of our people in this country. And I won't hesitate to say that conversations with these men broadened my scope tremendously, beyond what it was before I went over there. And I felt, when I came back that many things that I had learned would be constructive, or could be used constructively by Black people in this country in our struggle for human dignity. And I felt that I would be wasting my time entering into some kind of dispute with Elijah Muhammad and his followers. And so I spent my time, when I first came back here, trying to get the Organization of Afro-American Unity consolidated, plus the Muslim Mosque, which is based upon orthodox Islam. But the Black Muslim movement was fearful that if I was ever left alone long enough to get my feet firmly planted on the ground, and get our program out here in the public, that it would be too much competition for what they had already projected or had in mind.

Bernard: Let me ask you this, Malcolm. You at one time espoused complete separation of the races.

Malcolm X: I must say this concerning what Elijah Muhammad said about separation. He didn't espouse separation. What he said was this: that the government should...if the government can't give complete equality right now, then the government should permit Black people to go back to Africa. He didn't ever say back to Africa. Elijah Muhammad has never made one statement that's pro-African. And he has never, in any of his speeches, or written or oral, said anything to his followers about Africa.

Bernard: What about a Black state in the United States?

Malcolm X: He was as anti-African as he was anti-white.

Bernard: Did you say a Black state in the United States?

Malcolm X: No. So what he said was, "We should go back to our own." And he phrased it like that, because if he spelled it out, he would have to point to some geographic area, and he would have to have the consent of the people in that geographic area, which he knew he couldn't get. So he just kept it elusive and said, "Let's go back to our own." And if the government wouldn't let us go back to our own, then he said separation should set up right here. But at no time did he ever enter into any kind of activity or action that was designed to bring any of this into existence. And it was this lack of action that led many of the activists within the movement to become disillusioned and dissatisfied and eventually leave it.

Bernard: Let's go right back to the phones. The WINS "Contact" number: Judson 2-6405. This is Stan Bernard "Contact," you're on the air.

Caller: I'd like to direct my question to Malcolm.

Bernard: Yes.

Caller: I've traced the Muslims' history. I'm a student in college right now, and I've done some research on this, and I've heard a lot about the FOI, the secret police, and I've tried to dig up some information on it, but everywhere the information has eluded me. I wonder if Malcolm could fill me in on some of the details of the FOI.

Malcolm X: Well in this article by Aubrey in this week's Saturday Evening Post, he points out—I think it's pointed out beautifully for the first time,

too—that the FOI was not a special group among the Muslims, but every Muslim man, when he became a registered follower of Elijah Muhammad, was an FOI. But the press got the impression that it was a special or select group within the Muslims that constituted the FOI.

Bernard: So, there's your answer.

Malcolm X: And then I might even point out too that if you go back and examine the Muslim philosophy and its general overall temperament up until 1960, you'll find that it was a group of people who tried to practice religion. I don't think that the real rot set in until after 1960. This is why I was pointing out to Mr. Hall that it began to deteriorate and decline after 1960.

Bernard: What were some of the rules, Aubrey, that you came in contact with? You used to read the charges, according to your article, against people who were brought up by charges in your mosque. What kind of rules were they that were broken?

Barnette: Well the Black Muslims have their own rules and regulations that each member must follow. They have such strict rules as you can't go to the theater, you couldn't go to a sporting event, you couldn't attend a Christian funeral or even a Christian wedding, even if it was a relative of yours. Now there's a very specific reason they do this. There are two reasons. One reason is because it costs money to do these things, and the other reason is they're teaching total dissatisfaction with the present society. So that you can do anything to gain any satisfaction whatsoever from today's society and you're contradicting what they are teaching. So a member would be punished he could be put out of the mosque or punished in other ways for going to a theater.

Bernard: Gordon...

Malcolm X: And for adultery or fornication. If a Muslim man or woman had anything to do whatsoever with any man or woman to whom he or she was not married, that person would be given from one to five years out of the society. That is, they would be brought in front of the Muslim body and totally humiliated, which is the worst form of psychological treatment that you can receive. Then they would be isolated into a category where they would have no intercourse whatsoever with the Muslim

community for a solid year. And if they came back on probation, they'd be on probation for four years. Now in 1954 a young girl who was a secretary in Chicago became pregnant. And she was brought in front of the Muslim community. She was humiliated. She was isolated by the judge, who was Elijah Muhammad. And everyone took it for granted that the father of her child was a non-Muslim, because the other half was never brought to trial. In 1956 it happened to another young secretary in Chicago. In 1960 it happened to four more young secretaries in Chicago. And everyone at each time took it for granted that this was, that the father of these offspring was a non-Muslim.

Bernard: I know the charge you're going to make.

Malcolm X: I'm not going to make any charge, because I know what your libel laws are. I wouldn't say that, but here's what I'm pointing out. Anytime you find a judge who will sit on a bench and a young girl will come before him and that young girl will be charged with adultery, and he will humiliate her, almost castigate her, and then sentence her into oblivion, solely to keep the court from knowing that he himself is the father of her children, that judge is not only unfit to be a judge, but he is not even a man, because he doesn't even accept the fatherhood of the children which he is responsible for having brought into this world. And this type of rot is what caused the moral deterioration within the Black Muslim movement today. Formerly, if you notice, no matter what kind of criticism you had of the Muslims, they were disciplined morally. They didn't drink. They didn't smoke. They tried to show respect for people. And there was that force within it, which was a spiritual force, that made the rank-and-file one who believed in it capable of abstaining from many of the moral weaknesses. But after the real faith, the religious side, or the real spiritual power began to fade from the Black Muslim movement, the power that used to enable the brothers and sisters to let their higher tendencies dominate, rather than their lower tendencies, it was switched around. So that today the reason you have so much incidence of Muslim attacking Muslim is because the spiritual force that used to exist in the movement, among the rank and file is gone. So now you have an organized group of people who do not have the moral strength to rise above or contain themselves from falling victim to their own low desires.

Bernard: Gordon?

Hall: This is...this is...you know I wish we had time. This is such a bundle of contradictions. All these words. Malcolm is the greatest one in the world for eating up the clock. He does it every time that I sit across the table from him. Now he said at the outset that Aubrey's piece, or Aubrey Barnette's piece, is a wonderful piece, and Aubrey says that the religious emphasis in the Muslim movement was a total fraud from start to finish and...

Malcolm X: No, no, no, no, no...

Hall: And now we're getting the story about this great uplift and the deterioration.

Malcolm X: No, no, no. The religious ingredient in the Black Muslim movement was a fraud in the sense that it identified itself as an Islamic movement, as an Islamic...of being of an Islamic nature. It was a fraud in that it had, it was diametrically opposed to Islam. It was...Elijah Muhammad himself is anti-Arab. He's more anti-Arab than probably the Israelis are. Now when I say about the religion: the religion, sir, is belief in something. You don't have to be of a specific persuasion...

Hall: I'm well aware of that.

Malcolm X: ...for it to be a religion.

Hall: You don't have to define it for me.

Malcolm X: No, what the Black Muslims believe in, they believe in it religiously. We believed in Yacub. We believed in what Elijah Muhammad taught about an airplane up in the sky. We believed...

Hall: I know.

Malcolm X: ...in some of the most fantastic things that you could ever imagine.

Hall: One of the distressing aspects of a discussion like this with limited time is that with this great outpouring of words on the part of someone like Malcolm, an average listener, both Negro and white, might get the idea that this is what life is all about in the Negro community. And this isn't what life is all about in the Negro community. We're still talking about a handful of

Muslims and a much smaller handful of followers of Malcolm X.

Bernard: Well, I want to ask you a question though. You know we were talking about...we were talking about terror.

Hall: Yes.

Bernard: We were talking about terror. Malcolm X says that he's in a sense terrorized. He's not frightened.

Malcolm X: No, wait a minute.

Bernard: Well, no, no.

Malcolm X: Terrorized how?

Bernard: No, I don't mean you're scared. I don't mean you're scared. I mean...

Malcolm X: Well, I'm not terrorized either.

Bernard: Threats have been made on your life.

Malcolm X: Well, that's still...threats are a far cry from me being terrorized.

Hall: Well, a man...

Bernard: Excuse me. Somebody can run down the street at you and he can threaten you and you can call it, you can stick a label on it, and you can say that somebody is terrorizing a community.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Bernard: And they can be, indeed, and you can say that, well they're... you're not frightened. That's okay...

Malcolm X: With all due respect to you, sir, nobody's terrorizing me.

Bernard: Okay, you're not terrorized, but you are being threatened.

Malcolm X: Yes.

Bernard: Let's accept that. You are being threatened. Five times, you say, recently, and your house has been bombed. You're an expert on extremist organizations, Gordon Hall

Hall: And I get threatened, I might add, a good deal. And the last place that I take threats on my body...and I have also been beaten up very badly, too. The last place that I take them is to the press to tell them all about it, because it gives other people ideas. I keep these things to myself. This is one of the hazards of being in the field that I am in, and I don't go announcing to the press every chance that I get.

Bernard: That's all your attitude. [To Malcolm X] You announce it all the time. Why?

Malcolm X: No, I have not announced it all of the time. I have answered the charges made by the Black Muslim movement on 116th Street.

Bernard: Um hm. The charges.

Malcolm X: The charges that I'm seeking publicity and pretending to be threatened.

Bernard: What did you do when you were beaten, Aubrey?

Barnette: How?

Bernard: Did you...did it get into the papers right away?

Barnette: It got in the papers but in a distorted way. The papers unfortunately accepted the Black Muslim view of what had happened. And, as I said before, that I was immediately labeled as a rival of the Black Muslims, although I had left the movement and forgotten all about them, I thought.

Malcolm X: Why were you labeled as a rival of the Black Muslims?

Barnette: I was labeled as a rival of the Black Muslims because I think the Black Muslims needed a scapegoat. They needed someone to point to as

an enemy, as all mass movements do. They have to have an enemy. A mass movement can exist without a god, but it can't exist without a devil.

Malcolm X: What I was getting at, sir, is they tried to identify you with me.

Barnette: Yes.

Malcolm X: And any time you were ident—the only time Elijah Muhammad gets favorable publicity is when it's against me. They side with him and anything his followers do, as long as it's against me.

Bernard: Gordon.

Hall: A cogent point, I hope, about the press. I've had a good deal to do with the press, too, and I've written a good many articles for the press. One of the reasons that the press is confused about these things is here you have people running around with phony names and initials like X on their name, with unlisted telephone numbers, engaging in all sorts of countercharges of conspiracy and counter-conspiracies. It's little wonder that the press is confused; the members themselves of these movements are confused.

Bernard: But Gordon...

Malcolm X: No, no. The press isn't confused.

Barnette: The press, the press...using my name, address, age, and everything else, without ever once consulting me, and labeling me as a Black nationalist, when I've never joined any Black nationalist organization, or any other organization after I left the Black Muslims.

Bernard: Gentlemen, we're going to...

Malcolm X: The press is more frightened of the Black nationalists than of the Black Muslims. And if you doubt it, all you have to do is pick up any story written, that involves Black Muslims and Black nationalists, and you'll always find the press slants it skillfully in favor of the Black Muslims, despite the fact that the Black Muslim movement teaches that every white individual that comes into the world is a devil by nature, by nature. And the Black nationalists don't do that. The Black nationalists judge people

by their behavior, by their deeds, not by their color. But still the press knows that the Black Muslim movement is a hybrid, a hybrid, political and religious hybrid that will ever do anything against the Ku Klux Klan or against the organized white elements in this society that are brutalizing Black people. But that same Black Muslim movement will give the order for Black people within it to murder and cripple other black people in the community. The Black Muslim movement has never at any time been involved in any kind of strike against the Ku Klux Klan or the Citizens' Council. Even in the South or the North. But they give the orders to fight each other. When the brother was killed in Los Angeles, no order was given. In fact, the brothers who wanted to go into action were restrained many of them right here in New York, by little fat Joseph were restrained. But that same Joseph gives his crew orders to go out and cripple other Black persons who have left the movement through dissatisfaction over what they've learned.

Bernard: We ought to go right back to the telephone and see what's doing out there, because we haven't taken very many phone calls. I have to apologize. We've really been very wordy in the studio tonight and battling it out in here. This is "Contact," you're on the air.

Caller: Hello, may I speak with Mr. X?

Bernard: Yes.

Caller: Mr. X?

Malcolm X: Yes.

Caller: Oh, it's just so wonderful to hear you. I've attended several of your meetings. And if prayer will save you and your family, there will never be any harm to you.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

Caller: And I admire you for what you've done for these little Black children. You'd be surprised. They are glad to be Black now.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

Caller: So, God bless you. Whatever God it may be. Any Supreme Being, protect you and your family.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

Bernard: Thank you for your call. This is "Contact" you're on the air.

Caller: Yes, I'd like to address a question to Malcolm. I'd like to ask him why, after his suspension, then his decision to leave the Muslim movement, then he decided to tell all. Why did he not tell his people about the children, the misappropriation of funds? So what purpose is it going to serve now? And secondly, why does he think someone wants to take his life? What purpose is it going to serve?

Malcolm X: This is a very good question. When I...first, the Black Muslim movement, one thing that the Black Muslim movement did, positive, here in this country, the militancy that it projected, made the Black people in this country more militant than they had ever been. The whole civil rights struggle was affected by the general posture reflected, or projected, by the Black Muslim movement.
When I first came into the knowledge of the crisis within Elijah Muhammad's family in Chicago and what it would mean to the Black Muslim movement if it were out, I chose myself to remain silent, because... not to save Elijah Muhammad, but I felt...I was afraid of the psychological harm it would do his followers, plus the effect it would have on the struggle that Black people are waging in this country, period. When I first left the movement, I left and took the full blame. I even made it appear that I was leaving. I never left the Black Muslim movement. I was put out. And because the law in the movement is that when a person is put out they must first be brought before the membership and given a hearing, Elijah Muhammad was afraid to bring me before the membership and give me a hearing, for fear of what I might say in my own defense. So I was put in limbo, so to speak, suspended, and the Muslims in the temple here in New York were told that I would be back in ninety days. But at the same time they were being told that I would be back in ninety days, brothers were sent out by Joseph to take my life and those brothers are with me now; the police know about it. This is a fact. It was only after I was out of the movement, and then Elijah Muhammad began to use every pulpit in every temple in the Nation to blaspheme against me, plus Muhammad Speaks newspaper, to poison the minds of his followers into thinking that I had

actually committed some kind of treacherous deed against him, that I felt it necessary for me to tell his followers the real reason for which I came out of the movement. And I've been doing that ever since.

Bernard: Gordon, you're a professional observer of extremist organizations, and you classify the Black nationalists, and of course the Muslims, as extremist organizations. How do you appraise this political warfare that's going on in the Black nationalist organization?

Hall: Well to be perfectly frank with you, and I do believe in speaking frankly, I think at the moment the Muslims are a dying organization, they're on the way out, they've made no impact in the Negro community nationally at any point, and even less so now. Malcolm has no place to go, which is why he's floundering so badly. For example, he's been breaking bread with the communists downtown...

Malcolm X: What communists, what communists have I been...

Hall: Socialist Workers Party...

Malcolm X: You are absolutely out of your mind, I have never broken bread with...

Hall: You have given several speeches which they have reprinted...

Malcolm X: Well, that's not breaking bread. I speak anywhere, I spoke in London, England, and...

Hall: You were very glad to go back several times, and they are reprinting one of your major addresses in The Militant...

Malcolm X: I spoke in a church, I spoke in a church in Rochester a couple of nights ago. Does that make me a Methodist?

Hall: We're not talking about churches, we're not talking about churches, we're talking about the Socialist Workers Party...

Malcolm X: Just because you speak somewhere doesn't make you that. You speak to the public and you speak on any platform...

Hall: Oh, I don't, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: ...and I speak to the public and I speak on any platform.

Hall: I'm afraid that's not the case, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: If speaking on the socialist platform makes me a socialist, then when I speak in a Methodist church...

Hall: It was a communist platform...

Malcolm X: I was in Selma, Alabama, last week, speaking in Martin Luther King's church. Does that make me a follower of Martin Luther King? No, your line of reasoning, sir, doesn't fit me.

Hall: I was just saying that I was asked a question by Stan, and I think that at the moment the nationalist movement has no place to go, they're floundering, and they're putting out lines everywhere. And there is an alliance in the general Harlem area between some of the Peking-based communists, the Progressive Labor Movement, and some of the others, the Bill Epton crowd. Bill Epton is a self-confessed avowed communist—you'd agree to that, wouldn't you, Malcolm?

Malcolm X: I know nothing about what Bill Epton's political philosophy is. Bill Epton, in my opinion, is one of the militant leaders in Harlem. Now, what his political beliefs are, I think that he has a right to them.

Hall: I didn't say he didn't have a right, I'm just saying what he is.

Malcolm X: Well—

Hall: He has stated to me personally—

Malcolm X: Well, whatever they are—

Hall: I have interviewed him, he told me that he was an avowed communist—

Malcolm X: So whatever they are, he has a right to them.

Hall:—and he'd like to see this system of ours completely junked, as well. All I'm saying is that there's a lot of warfare—

Malcolm X: I think you'll find that a lot of the children that are out there in Brooklyn—

Hall: May I speak, Malcolm, may I speak—

Malcolm X:—on the rampage against the segregated school system here in New York City—

Hall: May I speak?

Malcolm X:—and King and some of his followers in Alabama right now are fighting against the same system.

Hall: You're a great clock-killer, but you don't let other people speak.

Malcolm X: Well, say your words.

Hall: I'm trying to...if you would be kind enough to let me speak—

Bernard: Go ahead.

Malcolm X: Go right ahead, Mr. Hall. Dr. Hall.

Hall: Well, at any rate, they're floundering now, and there's a lot of internecine warfare going on in the Harlem section, and most of the movements are small and splintered, and are splinters of splinters. And I suppose only the future will tell which one will emerge victorious and perhaps claim the most members. I would make a prediction, and I think we could come back a year from now, Stan, and I think you may find Malcolm preaching a completely separate doctrine, and leading some other kind of movement.

Malcolm X: Well, you know, one of the best compliments that Dr. Hall here can pay me is just the things that he says. When he begins to pat me on the back, I'll be worried...

Hall: I'm not patting you on the back. I told you up in Boston...

Malcolm X: I said, when you begin to pat me on the back...

Hall: ...give a little time and you'd be preaching a new line, and you are.

Malcolm X: I said, when you begin to pat me on the back, I'll be worried. When you begin, people of your profession, who make a profession out of dealing with groups in this country. When you begin to pat me on the back, then I'll be worried, sir. Now I would advise you, if you think that nationalism has no influence whatsoever, the nationalists, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, are having a rally at the Audubon Ballroom on Broadway...

Hall: I think you mentioned it earlier, you're getting in a couple of plugs.

Malcolm X: I'm going to mention it again. I wouldn't come on the program and not mention it. Because one of the most difficult things for nationalists to do is to let the public know what they're doing. So we're having this rally at the Audubon...

Hall: The public is engaged in a vast conspiracy against you; it's obvious from what you say...

Malcolm X: You're going to make me mention it four or five times. We're having this rally at the Audubon Ballroom this coming Sunday at 2 o'clock and people just like you, who consider themselves experts on nationalists, are given front-seat invitations, and I would advise you, since it's your profession to know what nationalists and other so-called extremists are doing, to come and be our guest. Now, one thing I'd like to point out to you, Dr. Hall, whenever you find black...

Hall: You know perfectly well I'm not a doctor, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: Well, you sound like you're an expert on something, I thought you were a doctor. Whenever you find the condition that black people are confronted by in this country, being permitted by the government to exist so long, the condition in itself is extreme—and any black man, who really feels about this situation that our people are confronted by, his feelings are extreme. You can't take a cough syrup and cure somebody who has pneumonia. And the black people are becoming more extreme every

day. I was in Alabama a couple of weeks ago, before I went to England, down there with Dr. King and some of the others, who are trying to just register and vote. Now I'll tell you frankly, with King supposed to be the most moderate, most conservative, most loving, most endorsed, most supported—

Hall: The word is responsible, but go ahead.

Malcolm X: O.K., responsible to the white power structure. To me, when white people talk about responsible...

Hall: He's a responsible American, that's what he is.

Malcolm X: When people like you usually refer to Negroes as responsible, you mean Negroes who are responsible in the context of your type of thinking. So, getting right back to Dr. King, any time you find a person who goes along with the government, to the degree that Dr. King does, and still Dr. King's followers, children, are made to run down the road by brute policemen who are nothing but Klansmen, and the federal government can step in and do nothing about it, I will guarantee you that you are producing extremists by the thousands. Now when I was down there, they wanted me to speak to the press, but didn't want me to speak to the church, or the children or the students. It was the students themselves that insisted that I speak, that gave me the opportunity to speak.

Bernard: Malcolm, how do you think that's going to be changed?

Malcolm X: Sir, I think that—

Bernard: How? I mean, I know you're talking about these children being made into extremists, but how, how is the situation going to be changed? Do you think by warfare?

Malcolm X: It's not going to be changed by making believe that it doesn't exist to the intense degree that it exists. And it's not going to be changed by putting out polls, like Newsweek magazine did last week, implying that Negroes are satisfied with the rate of progress. This is deluding yourself. And my contention is that white people do themselves a disservice by putting out these kinds of things to make it appear that Negroes are satisfied when the most explosive situation, racially, that has ever existed in

this country, exists right now. And all of your so-called responsible leaders, when they speak about the situation, they say everything is in check. Yet every day you find Negro children becoming more explosive than ever—

Bernard: You're not answering my question, you're avoiding it. I asked you how is it going to change? Is it going to change through extreme behavior, let's call it extreme reaction—in other words, you are going to react extremely to a situation that you don't like? Now, how extreme can your reaction be?

Malcolm X: Well, sir, when Russia put missiles in Cuba, the only thing that made Russia get her missiles out of Cuba was when America pointed missiles right back at Russia.

Bernard: Are you suggesting revolution?

Malcolm X: No, I'm saying this: that when you respect the intelligence of black people in this country as being equal to that of whites, then you will realize that the reaction of the black man to oppression will be the same as the reaction of the white man to oppression. The white man will not turn the other cheek when he's being oppressed. He will not practice any kind of love of a Klan or a Citizens Council or anyone else. But at the same time the white man is asking the black man to do this. So all I'm saying is, I absolutely believe the situation can be changed. But I don't think it can be changed by white people taking a hypocritical approach, pretending that it is not as bad as it is, and by black leaders, so-called responsible leaders, taking a hypocritical approach, trying to make white people think that black people are patient and long-suffering and are willing to sit around here a long time, or a great deal of time longer, until the problem is made better.

Bernard: Let's go back to the phone. The WINS Contact number: Judson 2-6405. This is Contact, you're on the air.

Caller: Hello, Malcolm?

Malcolm X: Yes?

Caller: The Ku Klux Klan should get you.

Malcolm X: Ha-ha-ha-ha.

Bernard: Thank you very much.

Malcolm X: Let me point something out to this lady. I'm invited to Mississippi next week. I'll be going to Mississippi next week. The Ku Klux Klan will have all the opportunity it wants to get me. I was in Alabama last week; they had an opportunity then. You don't always have to go down South to find the Ku Klux Klan. Evidently one is your father, or you wouldn't be able to speak as you do.

Bernard: This is Contact, you're on the air.

Caller: I'd like to ask Mr. Barnette a question. In Louis Lomax's book, When the Word Is Given..., he says none of the rumors about the Muslims receiving help from outside, communist or segregationist sources has proved true. Does Mr. Barnette have any information that will verify or refute that statement?

Bernard: I didn't quite get it, but Mr. Barnette has left the room. He's left the studio during this last part of the debate, and he's not here to answer it.

Caller: Could Mr. Hall answer it?

Bernard: Could Mr. Hall answer it?

Hall: I didn't quite understand your question. Could you quote that again for us?

Caller: Yes. Louis Lomax says that none of the rumors about Muslims receiving help from outside, communist or segregationist sources has proved true. And I'd like to know what they think about this.

Hall: I would agree with Mr. Lomax's statement on that. I think that's an actual statement. I'm not so sure that that is applicable to other militant groups in the Negro community, but I think it's applicable to the Muslims.

Bernard: I'm not sure—

Malcolm X: They don't get any help from outside sources?

Hall: She's talking about outside communist or segregationist sources.

Malcolm X: Do they get any help from inside segregationist sources? You're the expert.

Hall: I would doubt that very much. I have no evidence of that, and neither do you; and if you do, then—

Malcolm X: I'm not saying that I do.

Hall:—put up, Malcolm. You're implying; you're a very sly implier.

Malcolm X: Because you give me the impression, all of a sudden, that you're a protector of the Black Muslim movement—

Hall: Not a bit, not a bit.

Malcolm X:—when it comes to rallying them against the black nationalists. Because you know that the Black Muslim movement is in a bag, and has no place to go.

Hall: I'm the one, I'm the one—just to show how faulty your logic is—let me speak. Just to show you how faulty your logic is, I arranged for the Saturday Evening Post story, which you have praised with your own mouth tonight as the best thing ever written on the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X: Not because you arranged it—

Hall: I arranged it.

Malcolm X: It's the best, not because you arranged it. That doesn't make it best. It's best because Aubrey—

Bernard: Mr. Hall is saying that he arranged for it to be written because he thought it was valid and valuable.

Malcolm X: What he arranged, what he did, is immaterial to me. I'm not commenting on—

Hall: You never want to louse up an argument with facts, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: Sir, I'm not commenting on what you did; it's immaterial to me.

Hall: But you said it was a wonderful piece.

Malcolm X: I'm saying what Aubrey did. Aubrey is the one who did the piece. You can arrange for Rockwell to write a piece.

Hall: Aubrey came to me—

Malcolm X: You can arrange for Rockwell to write a piece.

Hall:—because he knew that I could get this story told in the best fashion.

Malcolm X: You can arrange for Rockwell, you can arrange for the Klan to write a piece.

Hall: No, I could not, I could not.

Malcolm X: So what you can arrange doesn't impress me.

Hall: Malcolm, you know perfectly well that I couldn't. That's just a smear.

Malcolm X: You could, sir. You're a mercenary.

Hall (to Bernard): You can't see the technique?

Malcolm X: No, you're a professional, you said that yourself; that's why I call you a doctor—

Bernard: Next call, can we go on to our next call? Now?

Hall: I like it when he talks this way, because he exposes himself.

Malcolm X: No, I'm exposing you as a mercenary, an opportunist.

Bernard: Here we go, it's the next call time, here we go. This is Contact, you're on the air.

Caller: I'd like to direct a question to Malcolm X.

Bernard: Go ahead.

Caller: I heard him on a newsreel say that Charlie's enemies are his enemies, and this was supposed to refer to the white man as Charlie.

Malcolm X: Charlie is the Ku Klux Klan, and the White Citizens Council, and white people who practice discrimination and segregation against black people.

Caller: Right. Then I'd like to ask you, something which you mentioned about aid from Red China.

Malcolm X: I've never mentioned anything about aid from Red China. Ask Dr. Hall here, he's an expert; I think he'll even have to agree to that.

Caller: This man asked you if the aid to fight Charlie came from the Red Chinese, would you accept it? You said from anybody.

Malcolm X: Well, that doesn't specify Red China. I said this, that when you're in the den of a wolf, and a fox comes along and offers to help you, you'll accept help from any source available against that wolf.

Bernard: Yeah, but they asked you—

Malcolm X: This doesn't mean that you love foxes.

Bernard: Did they specify when they asked you the question whether they—

Malcolm X: I don't think they said Communist China; if I recall, I could be wrong, but I don't think they specified Communist China. Although let me say this about Communist China: China is a nation of 700 million people. Physically they exist; physically they exist. I don't go along with the American reaction of pretending that 700 million Chinese don't exist. When I was in Africa during the summer, everywhere I looked, I saw Chinese. It's only when I get back to America that I don't see any Chinese. I just don't think it's mature to pretend that 700 million people don't exist.

Hall: That doesn't happen to be U.S. policy, to pretend that they don't exist, Malcolm. You just say things that aren't so.

Malcolm X: No, but I—

Hall: The United States is well aware of Red China.

Malcolm X: She certainly is. They just detonated some nuclear bombs over there. Plus their forces have the United States soldiers tied down in Saigon. She'd have to be well aware. She has half of your forces tied up. You'd be crazy not to be aware of her existence. But at the same time you're trying to give the public, the people over here, the impression that they don't exist.

Hall: You're just saying that; that's not the case at all.

Malcolm X: They're human beings, just the same as you and I are.

Bernard: You, of course, espouse recognition of Red China and her admission into the United Nations?

Malcolm X: Many of your senators in Washington, D.C., espouse the same thing. I think most intelligent, progressive people, who are up to date in their thinking, have finally reached intellectual and political maturity to the point where they feel that when you've got that many people on this earth, you'd better recognize them and deal with them as human beings, and then they will deal with you as human beings. If you say you shouldn't deal with them because they are communist, then why deal with Russia? Or if you say you shouldn't deal with them because they fought United Nations forces in Korea, then why deal with Tshombe? Tshombe also fought United Nations forces in Katanga. If you use the same yardstick to measure these people all the time, I think you'll end up with better results.

Bernard: All right, let's go on to our next call. Our WINS Contact number—Judson 2-6405. This is Stan Bernard's Contact, you're on the air.

Caller: Hello? Malcolm, I'd like to ask you whether you feel that the recent action of the Gaullist government in refusing you entry into France is in any way inconsistent with France's general policy towards the Afro-Asian community and Africa in particular.

Malcolm X: Yes, I dispatched a wire to Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State here today, demanding an investigation into the reason why the French government could ban an American citizen and no reaction come from the American Embassy whatsoever. But I might point out, I was in Paris last November and was successful in organizing a good organization—another one that Dr. Hall over here can investigate in his capacity—in the American Negro community in Paris, and they have been working in conjunction with the African community. And it was the African community and the Afro-American community in Paris that invited me there to address a mass rally, and the French government permitted my entry into that country. And I might point out that it was the Communist trade-union workers in Paris that refused to let them have the hall initially, blocked their attempt to get the second hall, and eventually exercised influence in the French government to stop it. The Communist trade-union workers, one of the largest unions in that country. The reason I was in London—I had been invited there to attend the first congress that had been given by the Council of African Organizations, who had a four-day congress, and invited me to make the closing address, because they were interested in the struggle of the black man in this country in his quest for human dignity and human rights.

Bernard: O.K., we're going to move on to our next call. This is Contact, you're on the air.

Caller: Hello. May I speak to Malcolm X, please?

Bernard: Yes, go right ahead.

Caller: I would like to—I don't have a question for Malcolm X. I would like to tell him that I am 100 per cent with him for whatever he goes along with toward helping the Negro. I think it's an awful shame that anyone should throw a bomb into a house where there's human beings, particularly children. And I don't go along at all with the Muslims, the so-called Muslims, because to me they're only teaching hate.

Malcolm X: Well, I confess that I was one of the leaders in projecting the Muslim movement and causing so many people to believe in the distorted version of Islam that is taught there. But at the same time I have to point out that there are some progressive elements, right-meaning

persons, in the Muslim movement. All of them are not wrong. There are many in there that mean well but are just being misled by the hierarchy, many of which do not mean well. But there is a large progressive element within the movement, and usually they are the ones who come in, they stay a year and they get disillusioned, and they go back out. But I was responsible for giving the people the impression that the Black Muslim movement was more than what it is, and I take that responsibility. You can put the complete blame upon me. But at the same time that I take that responsibility, I want to point out that no white man or white group or agency can use me against Elijah Muhammad or against the Black Muslim movement. When you hear me open up my mouth against another black man, no white man can put words in my mouth, nor can any white man sic me on another black group. When I have analyzed the man and the group with my own understanding, and feel that it is detrimental to the interests of the black community, then I'm going to attack it with that same intensity.

Bernard: Gordon, you were going to say something?

Hall: Well, again, as you know, it's more words. He began by saying that he has to confess that he was responsible for misleading so many people on the Muslim count. There were never very many Muslims. Let's always come back to the fact that not very many people were ever misled. The white press was misled into believing there were a lot of Muslims.

Malcolm X: Dr. Hall—

Hall: There were never more than 15,000 Muslims in America, and there are only now 6,000. And we have 22 million Negroes in the United States. Keep these facts uppermost in one's mind.

Malcolm X: Dr. Hall—

Bernard: You admitted this at the very beginning, Malcolm. You said the 15,000 figure is correct.

Hall: These are facts, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: Here's another fact you have to keep in mind. There were never many Mau Mau. There never were. There were always more Kikuyu, more Kenyans, than Mau Mau.

Hall: What is this supposed to prove?

Malcolm X: But it was the Mau Mau who brought independence to Kenya. And the man that was regarded as an extremist and a monster, just five years ago, Jomo Kenyatta, is the president of the Republic of Kenya today; and it is this same man, who five years ago—

Hall: The situation in colonial Africa today is not like it is in the United States.

Malcolm X: Well, this is colonial. Any time you have a system, in 1965, that will take children and let them be marched down the road by not the criminal elements but—

Bernard: But in numbers you have to draw one big analogy. In the United States, the Negro is still a minority. In the United States. And when you are talking about minorities within minorities within minorities, and you start boiling it all down, you can't really draw that analogy with a colony.

Malcolm X: I say this: The Mau Mau was also a minority, a microscopic minority, but it was the Mau Mau who not only brought independence to Kenya, but—

Bernard: Within a vast Negro majority.

Malcolm X: But it brought it—that wick. The powder keg is always larger than the wick. The smallest thing in the powder keg is the wick. You can touch the powder all day long and nothing happens. It's the wick that you touch that sets the powder off.

Bernard: I wouldn't want to, I think it'll blow up.

Malcolm X: It's the wick that you touch that sets the powder off. You go here in Harlem, and you take all these moderate Negroes that Dr. Hall here puts the stamp of approval on, and regards them as responsible—they don't explode. It's the wick, it's that small element that you refer to as nationalist and other—

Hall: You're doing all you can to encourage it, Malcolm, with your

demagogic language—

Malcolm X: No, no, I don't encourage it—

Hall: Oh, yes you do.

Malcolm X: I don't encourage it; but I'm not going to sit here and pretend that it doesn't exist.

Bernard: Don't you incite, Malcolm? Don't you incite?

Malcolm X: I don't think so. How are you going to incite people who are living in slums and ghettos? It's the city structure that incites. A city that continues to let people live in rat-nest dens in Harlem and pay higher rent in Harlem than they pay downtown. This is what incites it. Who lets merchants outcharge or overcharge people for their groceries and their clothing and other commodities in Harlem, while you pay less for it downtown. This is what incites it. A city that will not create some kind of employment for people who are barred from having jobs just because their skin is black. That's what incites it. Don't ever accuse a black man for voicing his resentment and dissatisfaction over the criminal condition of his people as being responsible for inciting the situation. You have to indict the society that allows these things to exist. And this is where I differ with Dr. Hall.

Bernard: Well, in a sense—

Hall: We differ in many places, Malcolm.

Malcolm X: This is another one of the many places where we differ, Dr. Hall.

Bernard: Well, in a sense, didn't Hitler also talk about different points of view, didn't he say that conditions existed, and didn't he also incite?

Malcolm X: I don't know anything about Hitler, I wasn't in Germany. I'm in America.

Bernard: Don't—don't, please, Malcolm—

Malcolm X: I say, I wasn't in Germany.

Bernard: You know about Hitler as well as—

Malcolm X: You can't point to Hitler and Germany behind what's going on here in America! Turn on the television tonight and see what's—

Bernard: In Harlem—

Malcolm X: No, no, no—turn on the television tonight and see what they're doing to Dr. King.

Hall: Dr. King's methods are not your methods. You couldn't do in Alabama what he is doing.

Malcolm X: Sir—sir—

Hall: You could not do—

Malcolm X: Sir, you had better pray that I don't go and try to do what he is doing. Any time Dr. King—

Hall: Oh, these are just, these are just words, Malcolm—

Malcolm X: Any time Dr. King goes along with people like you—like you—you should put forth more effort to keep him out of jail. You should put forth more effort to protect him. And you should put forth more effort to protect the people who go along with him and display this love and this patience. If you would do more for those people and spend some of your time trying to help those people instead of trying to attack me, probably this country would be a much better place in which to live. You spend too much of your time, doctor, trying to investigate—

Hall: I rarely ever mention you, Malcolm, you're hardly worth mentioning—

Malcolm X: You spend too much of your time, doctor, running around trying to keep track of dissatisfied black people whom you label as extremists—

Hall: Hardly, hardly—

Malcolm X:—whereas if you would spend some of your time in these places where Dr. King is fighting, then you would make this country a better place to live in.

Hall: Malcolm, I lectured all over the state of Alabama, when you had nothing to do with the Muslims or anybody else.

Malcolm X: Did you have on a white sheet? Did you have on a white sheet?

Hall: See what I mean?

Bernard: Gentlemen, time. Bell—here we go— bell. O. K., that's round 15. We've just had it.

Malcolm X: Dr. Hall, come up to the Audubon Sunday at 2 o'clock, and we'll continue from there.

Hall: I have more important things to do.

Bernard: Gentlemen, we have to move on. Time has run out. I'd like to thank all of you for showing up tonight. Thank you very much, Gordon— Malcolm— and, of course, Aubrey Barnette.

# Interview with Al-Muslimoon Magazine (February, 1965)

*This interview is a set of answers to written questions from the Arabic-language monthly Al-Muslimoon, published by the Islamic Center in Geneva, Switzerland. He wrote most of the responses the night of the fire-bombing of his home and wrote the last two the night before his death.*

Al-Muslimoon: The Black Muslim Movement is one of the most controversial movements in the United States. Having been for a considerable period [of time] its main organizer and most prominent spokesman, could you kindly give us some concise firsthand picture of the background of this movement, its history, its main ethics and its actual strength?

Malcolm X: Elijah Muhammad allowed himself to become insanely jealous of my own popularity, which went even beyond his own followers and into the non-Muslim community, while his own prestige and influence was limited largely among his immediate followers. While I was still in the movement and blind to his faults by my own uncompromising faith in him, I always thought the jealousy and envy which I saw -- constant signs of was stemming mainly and only from his immediate family, and it was quite shocking to me whenever members of his own family would warn me that it was their father (Elijah Muhammad himself) who had become almost insane with jealousy.

When Elijah learned that his son Wallace had told me how his father had seduced his teenage secretaries (by telling them that he was the prophet Muhammad, and making each of them think she was to be his favorite and most beautiful wife Aisha) Elijah feared that my position of influence in the movement was a threat to him and his other children who were now controlling the movement and benefiting from its wealth. Because they feared my popularity with the rank-and-file Muslims, they were careful about any immediate or open move to curtail my authority without good cause, so they patiently waited until they felt that my statement about the late President Kennedy's assassination would give them the proper public support in any kind of action they'd take to curtail or remove me.

At the time they announced I was to be suspended and silenced for ninety

days, they had already set in motion the machinery to have me completely ousted from the movement, and Elijah Muhammad himself had already given the order to have me killed because he feared I would expose to his followers the secret of his extreme immorality.

Al-Muslimoon: Should these differences be of a basically ethical nature and on essential matters of faith? What, in your opinion, are the prospects of radical reform within Elijah Muhammad's followers now or in the future?

Malcolm X: No, Elijah Muhammad himself will never change. At least I doubt it. He's too old, dogmatic, and has already gone too far in teaching that he is a greater prophet than Muhammad ibn Abdullah. He is too proud to confess to his followers now that he has deliberately taught them falsehood. But as his well-meaning followers become exposed to the true religion of Islam, they themselves will leave him and practice Islam as it should be. This is why it is so important for centers to be established immediately where true Islam can be taught. And these centers should be located at this time primarily in Black communities, because at this particular time the American Blacks are the ones showing the most interest in [the] true religion.

Al-Muslimoon: Have any of Elijah Muhammad's followers left the movement with you, and do you think that your breakaway from the movement has affected its main body in any considerable way?

Malcolm X: Yes, many of Elijah's followers could not go along with his present immorality, and this opened their eyes to the other falsities of his doctrine. But we have not been able to regroup and reorganize them as we should. It takes finance, and we left all treasuries and properties with Elijah, and he uses this wealth that we amassed for him to fight us and keep us from getting organized. He is fanatically opposed to American Negroes hearing true Islam, and has ordered his own well meaning followers to cripple or kill anyone of his followers who wants to leave him to follow true Islam. He fears that true Islam will expose and destroy the power of his false teachings.

Al-Muslimoon: Do you plan to just stop at voicing your opposition against Elijah Muhammad and his group or do you have any course of action in mind towards establishing some new organization in the field? If so, on what basis and for what specific near or distant goals?

Malcolm X: With what little finance we could raise, we have founded the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with headquarters here in Harlem. Our sole interest is to help undo the distorted image [that] we have helped spread about Islam. Our mosque also is for those who want to learn how to live the life of a true Muslim.

However, since we live as Black Americans in a white racist society, we have established another organization which is non-religious, known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), and which is designed to unite all Black Americans regardless of their religious affiliation into a group that can fight against American racism and the economic, political, and social evils that stem from white racism here in this American society. With the Muslim Mosque we are teaching our people a better way of life, and with the OAAU we are fighting on an even broader level for complete respect and recognition as human beings for all Black Americans, and we are ready and willing to use any means necessary to see that this goal is reached.

Al-Muslimoon: What have you been actually doing since you broke away from Elijah Muhammad's movement?

Malcolm X: I have traveled to the Middle East and Africa twice since leaving Elijah Muhammad in March of 1964, mainly to get a better understanding of Islam and the African countries, and in turn to give the Muslim world a better understanding of problems facing those of us here in America who are trying to become Muslims. Also, in Africa to give our people there a better understanding of the problems confronting Black Americans in our struggle for human rights.

Al-Muslimoon: Is it true that even after your breakaway from Elijah Muhammad you still hold the Black color as a main base and dogma for your drive under the banner of liberation in the United States? How could a man of your spirit, intellect, and worldwide outlook fail to see in Islam its main characteristic, from its earliest days, as a message that confirms beyond doubt the ethnological oneness and quality of all races, thus striking at the very root of the monstrosity of racial discrimination. Endless are the texts of the Qu'ran (Koran) and prophetic sayings to this effect and nothing would testify to that more than the historic fact that heterogeneous races, nations, and linguistic entities have always mingled peacefully in the homeland.

Malcolm X: As a Black American I do feel that my first responsibility is to my twenty-two million fellow Black Americans who suffer the same indignities because of their color as I do. I don't believe my own personal problem is ever solved until the problem is solved for all twenty-two million of us.

Much to my dismay, until now, the Muslim world has seemed to ignore the problem of the Black American, and most Muslims who come here from the Muslim world have concentrated more effort in trying to convert white Americans than Black Americans.

*[Note by Malcolm X to Al-Muslimoon editors: I had arrived back in the States from London at 4:30 p.m. on February 13, and had worked until 12:30 -- just after midnight -- on the above. I got very tired at midnight, decided to leave the above pages in the typewriter and finish early in the morning. I retired at 12:30 and exploding bombs that were thrown into my home by would be murderers rocked me and my wife and four baby daughters from sleep at 2:30 a.m. Only Allah saved us from death. This is only one of the many examples of the extremes to which the enemies of Islam will go to see that true Islam is never established on these shores. And they know that if I was so successful in helping to spread Elijah Muhammad's distorted version of Islam, it is even easier for me to organize the spread of true Islam.]*

There are two groups of Muslims in America: (1) those who were born in the Muslim world and migrated here, and were already Muslims when they arrived here. lf these total over 200,000, they have not succeeded in converting 1,000 Americans to Islam. (2) American-born persons who have been converted to Islam are 98 percent Black Americans. Up to now it has been only the Black American who has shown interest even in Sunni Islam.

If a student of agriculture has sense enough to concentrate his farming efforts on the most fertile area of his farm, I should think the Muslim world would realize that the most fertile area for Islam in the West is the Black American. This in no way implies discrimination or racialism, but rather shows that we are intelligent enough to plant the good seed of Islam where it will grow best; later on we can "doctor up" or fertilize the less fertile areas, but only after our crop is already well planted in the heart and mind of these Black Americans who already show great signs of receptiveness.

Was it not Bilal, the Black Ethiopian, who was [one of] the first to receive the seed of Islam from the Prophet himself in Arabia 1,400 years ago?

Al-Muslimoon: Now that you have visited and revisited many Muslim countries, what are your major impressions regarding Islam and Muslims both in the present and in the future?

Malcolm X: We are standing at the threshold of the nuclear age. Education is a must, especially in this highly technical era. In my opinion, Muslim religious leaders have not stressed the importance of education to the Muslim communities, especially in African countries. Thus when African countries become independent, the non-Muslim areas have the higher degree of educated Africans who are thus the ones best qualified to occupy the newly created positions in government. Muslim religious leaders of today need a more well-rounded type of education and then they will be able to stress the importance of education to the masses, but ofttimes when these religious leaders themselves have very limited knowledge, education, and understanding, sometimes they purposely keep their own people also ignorant in order to continue their own personal position of leadership. They keep the people narrow-minded because they themselves are narrow-minded.

In every Middle East or African country I have visited, I noticed the country is as '"advanced" as its women are, or as backward as its women. By this I mean, in areas where the women have been pushed into the background and kept without education, the whole area or country is just as backward, uneducated, and "underdeveloped." Where the women are encouraged to get education and play a more active role in the allaround affairs of the community and the country, the entire people are more active, more enlightened, and more progressive. Thus, in my opinion, the Muslim religious leaders of today must re-evaluate and spell out with clarity the Muslim position on education in general and education for women in particular. And then a vast program must be launched to elevate the standard of education in the Muslim world. An old African proverb states: "Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate an entire family."

Al-Muslimoon: Africa seems to have captured most of your attention and eager concern. Why? And now that you have visited almost every part of it, where do you think Islam actually stands? And what, in your opinion,

could be done to save it from both the brainlessness of many, or rather most of those who are considered to be the champions of its cause, and from the malicious, resourceful alliance of Zionism, atheism, and religious fanaticism against Islam?

Malcolm X: I regard Africa as my fatherland. I am primarily interested in seeing it become completely free of outside political and economic influence that has dominated and exploited it. Africa, because of its strategic position, faces a real crisis. The colonial vultures have no intention of giving it up without a fight. Their chief weapon is still "divide and conquer." In East Africa there is a strong anti-Asian feeling being nourished among the Africans. In West Africa there is a strong anti-Arab feeling. Where there are Arabs or Asians there is a strong anti-Muslim feeling.

These hostilities are not initiated by the above-mentioned people who are involved. They have nothing to benefit from fighting among themselves at this point. Those who benefit most are the former colonial masters who have now supplanted the hated colonialism and imperialism with Zionism. The Zionists have outstripped all other interest groups in the present struggle for our mother continent. They use such a benevolent, philanthropic approach that it is quite difficult for their victims to see through their schemes. Zionism is even more dangerous than communism because it is made more acceptable and is thus more destructively effective.

Since the Arab image is almost inseparable from the image of Islam, the Arab world has a multiple responsibility that it must live up to. Since Islam is a religion of brotherhood and unity those who take the lead in expounding this religion are duty-bound to set the highest example of brotherhood and unity. It is imperative that Cairo and Mecca (the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs and the Muslim World League) have a religious "summit" conference and show a greater degree of concern and responsibility for the present plight of the Muslim world, or other forces will rise up in this present generation of young, forward-thinking Muslims and the "power centers" will be taken from the hands of those that they are now in and placed elsewhere. Allah can easily do this.

# Organization of Afro-American Unity Program (February 21, 1965)

*This was originally supposed to be presented on Feb. 15, but since Malcolm's home was fire-bombed, this was delayed for a week and was to be presented on Feb. 21, the day he was assassinated.*

Pledging unity...

Promoting justice...

Transcending compromise...

We, Afro-Americans, people who originated in Africa and now reside in America, speak out against the slavery and oppression inflicted upon us by this racist power structure. We offer to downtrodden Afro-American people courses of action that will conquer oppression, relieve suffering, and convert meaningless struggle into meaningful action.

Confident that our purpose will be achieved, we Afro-Americans from all walks of life make the following known:

ESTABLISHMENT

Having stated our determination, confidence, and resolve, the Organization of Afro-American Unity is hereby established on the 15th day of February, 1965, in the city of New York.

Upon this establishment, the Afro-American people will launch a cultural revolution which will provide the means for restoring our identity that we might rejoin our brothers and sisters on the African continent, culturally, psychologically, economically, and share with them the sweet fruits of freedom from oppression and independence of racist governments.

1. The Organization of Afro-American Unity welcomes all persons of African origin to come together and dedicate their ideas, skills, and lives to free our people from oppression.

2. Branches of the Organization of Afro-American Unity may be

established by people of African descent wherever they may be and whatever their ideology -- as long as they be descendants of Africa and dedicated to our one goal: freedom from oppression.

3. The basic program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity which is now being presented can and will be modified by the membership, taking into consideration national, regional, and local conditions that require flexible treatment.

4. The Organization of Afro-American Unity encourages active participation of each member since we feel that each and every Afro-American has something to contribute to our freedom. Thus each member will be encouraged to participate in the committee of his or her choice.

5. Understanding the differences that have been created amongst us by our oppressors in order to keep us divided, the Organization of Afro-American Unity strives to ignore or submerge these artificial divisions by focusing our activities and our loyalties upon our one goal: freedom from oppression.

BASIC AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Self-determination

We assert that we Afro-Americans have the right to direct and control our lives, our history, and our future rather than to have our destinies determined by American racists, we are determined to rediscover our true African culture, which was crushed and hidden for over four hundred years in order to enslave us and keep us enslaved up to today...

We, Afro-Americans -- enslaved, oppressed, and denied by a society that proclaims itself the citadel of democracy, are determined to rediscover our history, promote the talents that are suppressed by our racist enslavers, renew the culture that was crushed by a slave government and thereby -- to again become a free people.

National unity

Sincerely believing that the future of Afro-Americans is dependent upon our ability to unite our ideas, skills, organizations, and institutions...

We, the Organization of Afro-American Unity pledge to join hands and hearts with all people of African origin in a grand alliance by forgetting all the differences that the power structure has created to keep us divided and enslaved. We further pledge to strengthen our common bond and strive toward one goal: freedom from oppression.

THE BASIC UNITY PROGRAM

The program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity shall evolve from five strategic points which are deemed basic and fundamental to our grand alliance. Through our committees we shall proceed in the following general areas.

I. Restoration

In order to enslave the African it was necessary for our enslavers to completely sever our communications with the African continent and the Africans that remained there. In order to free ourselves from the oppression of our enslavers then, it is absolutely necessary for the Afro-American to restore communications with Africa.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will accomplish this goal by means of independent national and international newspapers, publishing ventures, personal contacts, and other available communications media.

We, Afro-Americans, must also communicate to one another the truths about American slavery and the terrible effects it has upon our people. We must study the modern system of slavery in order to free ourselves from it. We must search out all the bare and ugly facts without shame for we are still victims, still slaves -- still oppressed. Our only shame is believing falsehood and not seeking the truth.

We must learn all that we can about ourselves. We will have to know the whole story of how we were kidnapped from Africa; how our ancestors were brutalized, dehumanized, and murdered; and how we are continually kept in a state of slavery for the profit of a system conceived in slavery, built by slaves and dedicated to keeping us enslaved in order to maintain itself.

We must begin to reeducate ourselves and become alert listeners in order

to learn as much as we can about the progress of our motherland -- Africa. We must correct in our minds the distorted image that our enslaver has portrayed to us of Africa that he might discourage us from reestablishing communications with her and thus obtain freedom from oppression.

II. Reorientation

In order to keep the Afro-American enslaved, it was necessary to limit our thinking to the shores of America -- to prevent us from identifying our problems with the problems of other peoples of African origin. This made us consider ourselves an isolated minority without allies anywhere.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will develop in the Afro-American people a keen awareness of our relationship with the world at large and clarify our roles, rights, and responsibilities as human beings. We can accomplish this goal by becoming well-informed concerning world affairs and understanding that our struggle is part of a larger world struggle of oppressed peoples against all forms of oppression. We must change the thinking of the Afro-American by liberating our minds through the study of philosophies and psychologies, cultures and languages that did not come from our racist oppressors. Provisions are being made for the study of languages such as Swahili, Hausa, and Arabic. These studies will give our people access to ideas and history of mankind at large and thus increase our mental scope.

We can learn much about Africa by reading informative books and by listening to the experiences of those who have traveled there, but many of us can travel to the land of our choice and experience for ourselves. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will encourage the Afro-American to travel to Africa, the Caribbean, and to other places where our culture has not been completely crushed by brutality and ruthlessness.

III. Education

After enslaving us, the slave masters developed a racist educational system which justified to its posterity the evil deeds that had been committed against the African people and their descendants. Too often the slave himself participates so completely in this system that he justifies having been enslaved and oppressed.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will devise original educational methods and procedures which will liberate the minds of our children from the vicious lies and distortions that are fed to us from the cradle to keep us mentally enslaved. We encourage Afro-Americans themselves to establish experimental institutes and educational workshops, liberation schools, and child-care centers in the Afro-American communities.

We will influence the choice of textbooks and equipment used by our children in the public schools while at the same time encouraging qualified Afro-Americans to write and publish the text books needed to liberate our minds. Until we completely control our own educational institutions, we must supplement the formal training of our children by educating them at home.

IV. Economic security

After the Emancipation Proclamation, when the system of slavery changed from chattel slavery to wage slavery, it was realized that the Afro-American constituted the largest homogeneous ethnic group with a common origin and common group experience in the United States and, if allowed to exercise economic or political freedom, would in a short period of time own this country. Therefore racists in this government developed techniques that would keep the Afro-American people economically dependent upon the slave masters -- economically slaves -- twentieth-century slaves.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will take measures to free our people from economic slavery. One way of accomplishing this will be to maintain a technician pool: that is, a bank of technicians. In the same manner that blood banks have been established to furnish blood to those who need it at the time it is needed, we must establish a technician bank. We must do this so that the newly independent nations of Africa can turn to us who are their Afro-American brothers for the technicians they will need now and in the future. Thereby we will be developing an open market for the many skills we possess and at the same time we will be supplying Africa with the skills she can best use. This project will therefore be one of mutual cooperation and mutual benefit.

V. Self-defense

In order to enslave a people and keep them subjugated, their right to self-defense must be denied. They must be constantly terrorized, brutalized, and murdered. These tactics of suppression have been developed to a new high by vicious racists whom the United States government seems unwilling or incapable of dealing with in terms of the law of this land. Before the emancipation it was the Black man who suffered humiliation, torture, castration, and murder. Recently our women and children, more and more, are becoming the victims of savage racists whose appetite for blood increases daily and whose deeds of depravity seem to be openly encouraged by all law enforcement agencies. Over five thousand Afro-Americans have been lynched since the Emancipation Proclamation and not one murderer has been brought to justice!

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, being aware of the increased violence being visited upon the Afro-American and of the open sanction of this violence and murder by the police departments throughout this country and the federal agencies -- do affirm our right and obligation to defend ourselves in order to survive as a people.

We encourage the Afro-Americans to defend themselves against the wanton attacks of racist aggressors whose sole aim is to deny us the guarantees of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights and of the Constitution of the United States.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will take those private steps that are necessary to insure the survival of the Afro-American people in the face of racist aggression and the defense of our women and children. We are within our rights to see to it that the Afro-American people who fulfill their obligations to the United States government (we pay taxes and serve in the armed forces of this country like American citizens do) also exact from this government the obligations that it owes us as a people, or exact these obligations ourselves. Needless to say, among this number we include protection of certain inalienable rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, the Organization of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done—whatever the price and by any means necessary.

NATIONAL CONCERNS

General terminologies:

We Afro-Americans feel receptive toward all peoples of goodwill. We are not opposed to multiethnic associations in any walk of life. In fact, we have had experiences which enable us to understand how unfortunate it is that human beings have been set apart or aside from each other because of characteristics known as "racial" characteristics.

However Afro-Americans did not create the prejudiced background and atmosphere in which we live. And we must face the facts. A "racial" society does exist in stark reality, and not with equality for Black people; so we who are nonwhite must meet the problems inherited from centuries of inequalities and deal with the present situations as rationally as we are able.

The exclusive ethnic quality of our unity is necessary for self-preservation. We say this because our experiences backed up by history show that African culture and Afro-American culture not be accurately recognized and reported and cannot be respectably expressed nor be secure in its survival if we remain the divided, and therefore the helpless, victims of an oppressive society.

We appreciate the fact that when the people involved have real equality and justice, ethnic intermingling can be beneficial to all. We must denounce, however, all people who are oppressive through their policies or actions and who are lacking in justice in their dealings with other people, whether the injustices proceed from power, class, or "race." We must be unified in order to be protected from abuse or misuse.

We consider the word "integration" a misleading, false term. It carries with it certain implications to which Afro-Americans cannot subscribe. This terminology has been applied to the current regulation projects which are supposed]y "acceptable" to some classes of society. This very "acceptable" implies some inherent superiority or inferiority instead of acknowledging the true source of the inequalities involved.

We have observed that the usage of the term "integration" was designated and promoted by those persons who expect to continue a (nicer) type of

ethnic discrimination and who intend to maintain social and economic control of all human contacts by means of imagery, classifications, quotas, and manipulations based on color, national origin, or "racial" background and characteristics.

Careful evaluation of recent experiences shows that "integration" actually describes the proccess by which a white society is (remains) set in a position to use, whenever it chooses to use and however it chooses to use, the best talents of nonwhite people. This power-web continues to build a society wherein the best contributions of Afro-Americans, in fact of all nonwhite people, would continue to be absorbed without note or exploited to benefit a fortunate few while the masses of both white and nonwhite people would remain unequal and unbenefited.

We are aware that many of us lack sufficient training and are deprived and unprepared as a result of oppression, discrimination, and the resulting discouragement, despair, and resignation. But when we are not qualified, and where we are unprepared, we must help each other and work out plans for bettering our own conditions as Afro-Americans. Then our assertions toward full opportunity can be made on the basis of equality as opposed to the calculated tokens of "integration." Therefore, we must reject this term as one used by all persons who intend to mislead Afro-Americans.

Another term, "negro," is erroneously used and is degrading in the eyes of informed and self-respecting persons of African heritage. It denotes stereotyped and debased traits of character and classifies a whole segment of humanity on the basis of false information. From all intelligent viewpoints, it is a badge of slavery and helps to prolong and perpetuate oppression and discrimination.

Persons who recognize the emotional thrust and plain show of disrespect in the Southerner's use of "nigra" and the general use of "nigger" must also realize that all three words are essentially the same. The other two. "nigra" and "nigger" are blunt and undeceptive. The one representing respectability, "negro," is merely the same substance in a polished package and spelled with a capital letter. This refinement is added so that a degrading terminology can be legitimately used in general literature and "polite" conversation without embarrassment.

The term "negro" developed from a word in the Spanish language which

is actually an adjective (describing word) meaning "black," that is, the color black. In plain English, if someone said or was called a "black" or a "dark," even a young child would very naturally question: "a black what?" or "a dark what?" because adjectives do not name, they describe. Please take note that in order to make use of this mechanism, a word was transferred from another language and deceptively changed in function from an adjective to a noun, which is a naming word. Its application in the nominative (naming) sense was intentionally used to portray persons in a position of objects or "things." It stamps the article as being "all alike and all the same." It denotes: a "darkie," a slave, a subhuman, an ex-slave, a "negro."

Afro-Americans must re-analyze and particularly question our own use of this term, keeping in mind all the facts. In light of the historical meanings and current implications, all intelligent and informed Afro-Americans and Africans continue to reject its use in the noun form as well as a proper adjective. Its usage shall continue to be considered as unenlightened and objectionable or deliberately offensive whether in speech or writing.

We accept the use of Afro-American, African, and Black man in reference to persons of African heritage. To every other part of mankind goes this measure of just respect. We do not desire more nor shall we accept less.

General considerations:

Afro-Americans, like all other people, have human rights which are inalienable. This is, these human rights cannot be legally or justly transferred to another. Our human rights belong to us, as to all people, through God, not through the wishes nor according to the whims of other men.

We must consider that fact and other reasons why a proclamation of "Emancipation" should not be revered as a document of liberation. Any previous acceptance of and faith in such a document was based on sentiment, not on reality. This is a serious matter which we Afro-Americans must continue to reevaluate.

The original root-meaning of the word emancipation is: "To deliver up or make over as property by means of a formal act from a purchaser." We must take note and remember that human beings cannot be justly bought

or sold nor can their human rights be legally or justly taken away.

Slavery was, and still is, a criminal institution, that is: crime en masse. No matter what form it takes. subtle rules and policies, apartheid, etc., slavery and oppression of human rights stand as major crimes against God and humanity. Therefore, to relegate or change the state of such criminal deeds by means of vague legislation and noble euphemisms gives an honor to horrible commitments that is totally inappropriate.

Full implications and concomitant harvests were generally misunderstood by our foreparents and are still misunderstood or avoided by some Afro-Americans today. However, the facts remain; and we, as enlightened Afro-Americans, will not praise and encourage any belief in emancipation. Afro-Americans everywhere must realize that to retain faith in such an idea means acceptance of being property and, therefore, less than a human being. This matter is a crucial one that Afro-Americans must continue to reexamine.

## WORLDWIDE CONCERNS

The time is past due for us to internationalize the problems of Afro-Americans. We have been too slow in recognizing the link in the fate of Africans with the fate of Afro-Americans. We have been too unknowing to understand and too misdirected to ask our African brothers and sisters to help us mend the chain of our heritage.

Our African relatives who are in a majority in their own country have found it very difficult to gain independence from a minority. It is that much more difficult for Afro-Americans who are a minority away from the motherland and still oppressed by those who encourage the crushing of our African identity.

We can appreciate the material progress and recognize the opportunities available in the highly industrialized and affluent American society. Yet, we who are nonwhite face daily miseries resulting directly or indirectly from a systematic discrimination against us because of our God-given colors. These factors cause us to remember that our being born in America was an act of fate stemming from the separation of our foreparents from Africa; not by choice, but by force.

We have for many years been divided among ourselves through deceptions and misunderstandings created by our enslavers, but we do here and now express our desires and intent to draw closer and be restored in knowledge and spirit through renewed relations and kinships with the African peoples. We further realize that our human rights, so long suppressed, are the rights of all mankind everywhere.

In light of all of our experiences and knowledge of the past, we, as Afro-Americans, declare recognition, sympathy, and admiration for all peoples and nations who are striving, as we are, toward self-realization and complete freedom from oppression.

The civil rights bill is a similarly misleading, misinterpreted document of legislation. The premise of its design and application is not respectable in the eyes of men who recognize what personal freedom involves and entails. Afro-Americans must answer this question for themselves: What makes this special bill necessary?

The only document that is in order and deserved with regard to the acts perpetuated through slavery and oppression prolonged to this day is a Declaration of condemnation. And the only legislation worthy of consideration or endorsement by Afro-Americans, the victims of these tragic institutions, is a Proclamation of Restitution. We Afro-Americans must keep these facts ever in mind.

We must continue to internationalize our philosophies and contacts toward assuming full human rights which include all the civil rights appertaining thereto. With complete understanding of our heritage as Afro-Americans, we must not do less.

Committees of the Organization of Afro-American Unity:

The Cultural Committee

The Economic Committee

The Educational Committee

The Political Committee

The Publications Committee

The Social Committee

The Self-Defense Committee

The Youth Committee

Staff committees: Finance, Fund-raising, Legal, Membership

For further information on the Organization of Afro-American Unity, write:

Organization of Afro-American Unity,
2090 Seventh Ave.,
Suite 128
New York 27, N.Y.

For speedier responses, address correspondence to a particular committee. For example, if you are interested in joining or establishing a chapter:

Membership Committee,
Organization of Afro-American Unity,
2090 Seventh Ave.,
Suite 128,
New York 27, NY.