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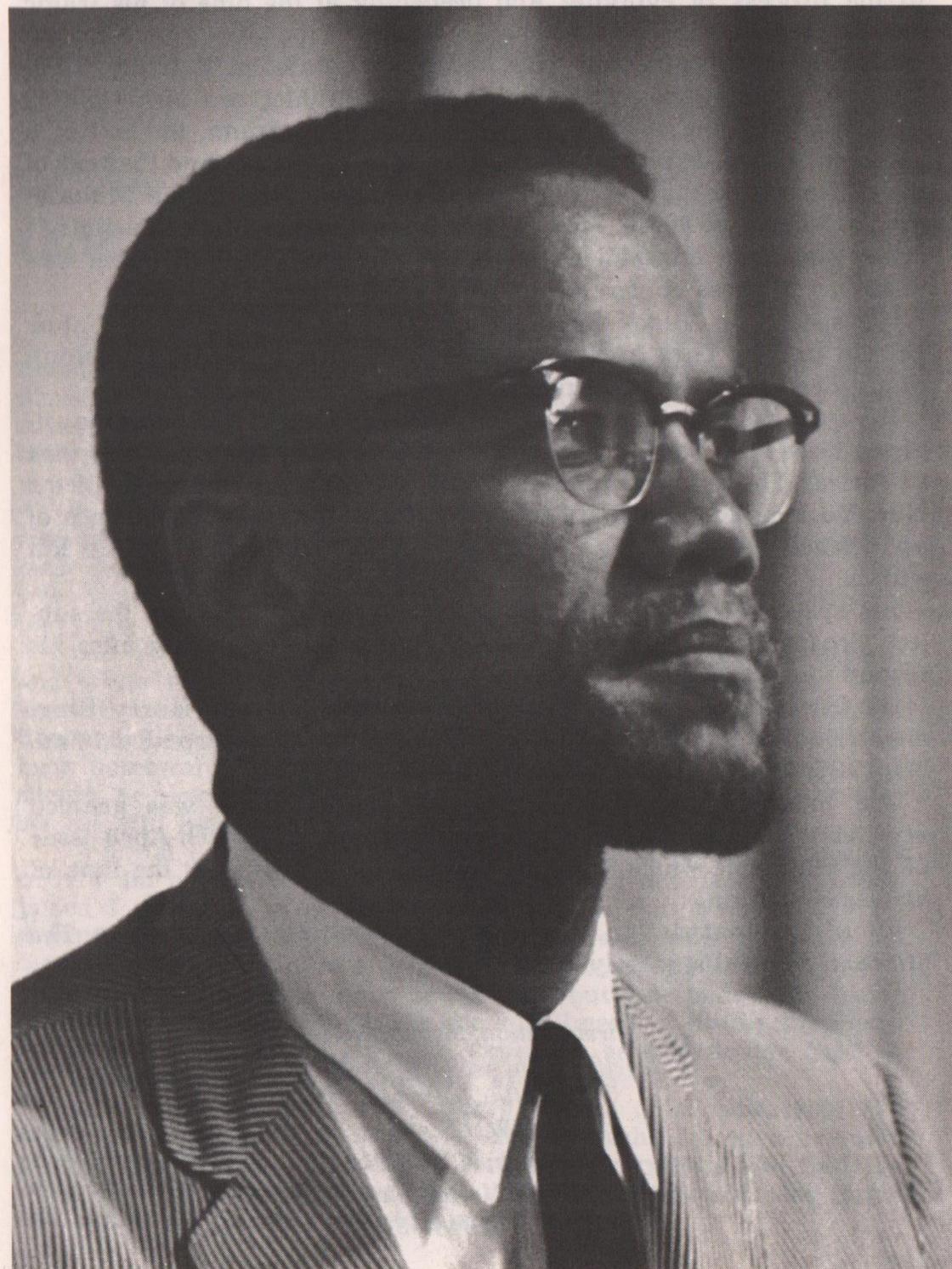
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INTRODUCTION

Malcolm X was one of the most slandered public figures of our time. In life and in death, the propaganda machine of the American power structure smeared him as a "racist," a "hate-monger" and a "terrorist."

Malcolm X was none of these things. He was an honest and fearless leader of his people and the most forward thinking figure in the movement for black emancipation. He was unique in the freedom-now movement in that his outlook was global and his thinking still in the process of evolving and deepening at the time of his tragic death.

To help make known the truth about what Malcolm X really stood for, we have made available in this pamphlet two of his major speeches, plus the remarks he made at a symposium, the text of a radio interview, excerpts from a magazine interview and the text of the statement he made at the time of his break with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, more widely known as the Black Muslims.

The statement announcing his break with the Nation of Islam was made at a press conference in New York March 12, 1964.

His speech on "Black Revolution," delivered at the Militant Labor Forum in New York April 8, 1964, was the first full-scale exposition of his views following the break.

His remarks at the May 29, 1964, Militant Labor Forum symposium in New York came a few days after his return from his first visit to Africa. The symposium was on the then current campaign of the New York police and press to promote the hoax of the existence of an alleged gang of young black "Blood Brothers" sworn to kill whites.

His speech at the Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7, 1965, on the subject "Prospects for Freedom in 1965" was delivered shortly after his second tour of Africa.

His interview over New York Station WBAI-FM with Harry Ring, member of the editorial staff of *The Militant*, was broadcast Jan. 28, 1965, less than a month before his death.

The interview with the magazine *Young Socialist*, was granted around the same time and was published in the March-April issue of the magazine which was just coming off the press at the time of his assassination.

All of the material in this pamphlet originally appeared in *The Militant*, a socialist weekly.

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The following is the text of the statement delivered by Malcolm X in opening his press conference March 12, 1964, on the occasion of his break from the Nation of Islam.

* * *

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 non-violence.

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 are my credentials.

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, Inc. 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, Inc., 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 sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., 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 non-violence: 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, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. 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.

Speech on "Black Revolution"

New York, April 8, 1964

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'm still a Muslim, that is, my religion is still Islam. I still believe that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammad is the apostle of Allah. That just happens to be my personal religion. But in the capacity which I am functioning in today, I have no intention of mixing my religion with the problems of 22,000,000 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 Sukarno of Indonesia to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, it was nationalism which 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 is black nationalism, to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to

encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and the politicians of our own community.

Our economic philosophy is that we should gain economic control over the economy of our own community, the businesses and the other things which 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 means that we feel that 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, adultery that leads to an abundance of bastard children, 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 toward pushing ourselves into other societies where we are not wanted.

All of that aside, tonight we are dealing with the black revolution. During recent years there has been much talk about a population explosion and whenever they are speaking of the population explosion, in my opinion they are referring primarily to the people 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 the

fear in their minds, conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the West, in the East rather, 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, in the actions, of most of the people here in the West in practically everything that they do. It governs political views and it governs their economic views and it governs most of their attitudes toward the present society.

Reason for Filibuster

I was listening to Dirksen, the Senator from Illinois, in Washington, D.C. filibustering the civil-rights bill and one thing 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, and 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 powder keg.

And whites in this country who are still complacent when they see

the possibilities of racial strife getting out of hand and 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.

And 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 nobody would disagree that the dark masses of Africa and Asia and Latin America are already seething with bitterness, animosity, hostility, 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 22,000,000 African-Americans, black, brown, red, and yellow people in this country who are also seething with bitterness and impatience and hostility and animosity at the racial intolerance not only of the white West but of white America in particular.

Black Nationalist Party

And by the hundreds of thousands today we find our own people have become impatient, turning away from your white nationalism, which you call democracy, toward the militant uncompromising policy of black nationalism. I 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 on black

nationalism, designed to correct or eliminate immediately 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 they just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient 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 else you might choose to be — one thing that you have to realize is, where the black community is concerned, although there the large majority 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 who 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 cannot 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 a 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 non-violent, that he has ceased to feel that he must be confined to 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. And 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. Couple weeks ago in Jacksonville, Florida, a young teenage Negro was throwing Molotov cocktails.

Well 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 22,000,000 African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any non-violent 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 non-violently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look upon them as patriots and heroes, then its time for you to realize that I have studied your books well.

Power of Minority

Our people, 22,000,000 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 tries to tell 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 you. 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 secured the independence of this country from the colonial power of England. When George Washington and the others got ready to declare or come up with the 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 22,000,000 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 when he is still singing "We Shall Overcome." Our people are increasingly developing the opinion that we just have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship.

Struggles Will Merge

So 1964 will see the Negro revolt evolve and merge into the world-wide 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 in Latin America. Now 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 spitefully use you. And revolutions are never waged singing, "We Shall Overcome." Revolutions are based upon 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 22,000,000 African-Americans, still enslaves 22,000,000 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, and 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 22,000,000 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 50 years old and he is still a "boy."

I grew up with white people. I was integrated before they even 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 or what

school you came out of, no matter what your intellectual or professional level is. In this society we remain "boys."

America's Strategy

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 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. That objective is 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.

So 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 are not 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 produce 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, they 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 upon 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 is a begging, hat-in-hand, compromising approach.

Whereas the other segment or section in America, known as the nationalist, 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 — 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-Ameri-

cans, 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.

No Progress

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, still his problem wouldn't be here today. And even if the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954 was genuinely and sincerely designed to solve his problem, his 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. Now I know that you — 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 solve it — or to 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 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.

Criminal Situation

Why, when you go to Washington, D.C., expecting those crooks down there to pass some kind — 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. Just 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 to take Uncle Sam to the world court. The black man doesn'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 on 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 exceed theirs. Washington has become too corrupt. Uncle Sam's conscience — Uncle Sam has become bankrupt when it comes to a conscience — it is impossible for Uncle Sam to solve the problem of 22,000,000 black people in this country. It is absolutely impossible to do it in Uncle Sam's courts — whether it is the Supreme Court or any other kind of court that comes under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction.

The only alternative that the black man has in America 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 22,000,000 black people, over the citizenship of 22,000,000 black people or that will effect the freedom and justice and equality of 22,000,000 black people, it's time for that government itself to be taken before a world court. How can you condemn South Africa? There are only 11,000,000 million of our people in South Africa, there are 22,000,000 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. While 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 these 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 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. Imagine this. I haven't got anything against Jews, but that's their problem. How in the world are you going to cry about problems on the other side of the world when you haven't got the problems straightened out here? How can the plight of 3,000,000 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 here to the United Nations?

Politically Mature

Our people are becoming more politically mature. Their eyes are coming open. They are beginning to see the trend in all of the American politics today. They notice that every time there is an election it is so close among whites that they have to count the votes over again. This hap-

pened in Massachusetts when they were running for governor, this 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 that has a bloc vote can swing it either way.

And I think that most 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. Sat down there four years and the Negro was still in the doghouse. The same ones that we put in the White House have continued to keep us in the doghouse. 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 that administration is going to lead us to the promised land of integration. And the only ones whose problems have been solved have been those handpicked Negroes. A few big Negroes got jobs who didn't even need the jobs. 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 proposes to benefit black people in this country, despite the fact that in the House they have 257 Democrats and only 177 are Republicans. 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 is the Negroes who put them in

a position to control the government. Yet they give the Negroes 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.

Trickery and Treachery

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 are going to have revolution. And when I say revolution I don't mean that stuff they were talking about last year about "We Shall Overcome." 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 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 16 Senatorial committees that run this government. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that run the government, ten of them are controlled by chairmen that are from the South. Of the 20 Congressional committees that help run the government, 12 of them are controlled by Southern segregationists.

Think of this: ten of the Senatorial committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats, 12 of the 20 Congressional committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats. These committees control the government. And you're going to 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 Committee, Richard Russell wouldn't be head of the Armed Services Committee, Robertson of Virginia wouldn't be 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 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 — and even more so. In Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent and in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent.

And 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 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 100 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 that 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 50 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. So that in the past the type of mentality that was developed in this colonial system among our people, 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 have 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.

Remarks at Militant Labor Forum symposium on "Blood Brothers," May 29, 1964

Malcolm X: I didn't know until this afternoon about the forum this evening. But one of my co-workers, who is very able and capable, Brother James [Shabazz], told me about it and I couldn't resist the opportunity to come. Some writer said one of my weaknesses is that I can't resist a platform. Well, that's perhaps true. Whenever you have something to say and you're not afraid to say it, I think you should go ahead and say it and let the chips fall where they may. So I take advantage of all platforms to get off my mind what's on it.

Also, they say travel broadens your scope, and recently I've had an opportunity to do a lot of it, in the Middle East and Africa, and while I was traveling I noticed that most of the countries that had recently emerged into independence, they have turned away from the so-called capitalistic system in the direction of socialism. So out of curiosity, I can't resist the temptation to do a little investigating wherever that particular philosophy happens to be in existence or an attempt is being made to bring it into existence.

Thirdly, the first time I ever heard about the "Blood Brothers," I happened to be in Nigeria, in West Africa. And someone, a doctor, a Nigerian but who had spent too much time in Europe, was the first one to bring it to my attention, and ask me about it. It didn't make me sad at all. And I don't see why anybody should be sad or regretful . . . if such does exist. I recall in 1959 when everybody began to talk about the Black Muslims, all the Negro leaders said no such group existed. In fact, I recall, on the Mike Wallace show, Roy Wilkins was asked about the

Black Muslims — he said he never heard of it — and then they flashed a picture of him on the screen shaking hands with me.

And I think one of the mistakes that our people make — they're too quick to apologize for something that might exist that the power structure finds deplorable and finds difficult to digest. And without even realizing it, sometimes we try and prove it doesn't exist. And if it doesn't, sometimes it should. I am one person who believes that anything the black man in this country needs to get his freedom right now, that thing should exist.

Blood Brothers

As far as I'm concerned, everybody who has caught the same kind of hell that I have caught is my blood brother. And I have plenty of them. Because all of us have caught the same hell. So the question is, if they don't exist, should they exist? Not do they exist, should they exist? Do they have a right to exist? And since when must a man deny the existence of his blood brother? It's like denying his family . . . If we're going to talk about police brutality, it's because police brutality exists. Why does it exist? Because our people in this particular society live in a police state. A black man in America lives in a police state. He doesn't live in any democracy, he lives in a police state. That's what it is, that's what Harlem is . . . I visited the Casbah in Casablanca and I visited the one in Algiers, with some of the brothers — blood brothers. They took me all down into it and showed me the suffering, showed me the conditions that they had to live under while they were be-

ing occupied by the French . . . They showed me the conditions that they lived under while they were colonized by these people from Europe. And they also showed me what they had to do to get those people off their back. The first thing they had to realize was that all of them were brothers; oppression made them brothers; exploitation made them brothers; degradation made them brothers; discrimination made them brothers; segregation made them brothers; humiliation made them brothers.

And once all of them realized that they were blood brothers, they also realized what they had to do, to get that man off their back. They lived in a police state, Algeria was a police state. Any occupied territory is a police state; and this is what Harlem is. Harlem is a police state; the police in Harlem, their presence is like occupation forces, like an occupying army. They're not in Harlem to protect us; they're not in Harlem to look out for our welfare; they're in Harlem to protect the interests of the businessmen who don't even live there.

The same conditions that prevailed in Algeria that forced the people, the noble people of Algeria, to resort eventually to the terrorist-type tactics that were necessary to get the monkey off their backs, those same conditions prevail today in America in every Negro community.

And I would be other than a man to stand up and tell you that the Afro-American, the black people who live in these communities and in these conditions are ready and willing to continue to sit around non-violently and patiently and peacefully looking for some good will to change the conditions that exist. No! . . .

Police Commissioner Murphy is a dangerous man. He's dangerous because either he lacks understanding or he has too much understanding and knows what he's doing. If he's functioning as he is

from lack of knowledge and understanding, he's dangerous; and then if he's doing as he is from understanding he's dangerous. Because what he's doing is creating a situation that can lead to nothing but bloodshed. Almost every public statement he makes is designed to give the police in Harlem courage to resort to tactics that are inhuman.

And in my opinion this type of incitement on the part of the police commissioner to act other than they should, stems from a lack of understanding of the true spirit that exists among the young generation in Harlem. He must have been misinformed by some of that old generation who have been ready and willing to suffer brutality at the hands of someone just because he has on a uniform. Nowadays, our people don't care who the oppressor is, whether he has a sheet or whether he has on a uniform, he's in the same category.

You will find that there is a growing tendency among our people, among us, to do whatever is necessary to bring this to a halt. You have a man like Police Commissioner Murphy — and I'm not against the law; I'm not against law-enforcement. You need laws to survive and you need law-enforcement to have an intelligent, peaceful society; but we have to live in these places and suffer the type of conditions that exist from officers who lack understanding, who lack any human feeling, and lack any feeling for their fellow human being . . . I'm not here to apologize for the existence of any blood brothers. I'm not here to minimize the factors that hint toward their existence. I'm here to say that if they don't exist it's a miracle . . .

If those of you who are white have the good of the black people in this country at heart my suggestion is that you have to realize now that the day of non-violent resistance is over; that the day of passive resistance is over . . .

The next thing you'll see here in America — and please don't blame it on me when you see it — you will see the same things that have taken place among other people on this earth whose position was parallel to the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country.

Example of China

The people of China grew tired of their oppressors and the people rose up against their oppressors. They didn't rise up non-violently. It was easy to say that the odds were against them but eleven of them started out and today those eleven control 800 million. They would have been told back then that the odds were against them. As the oppressor always points out to the oppressed, 'the odds are against you.'

When Castro was up in the mountains of Cuba they told him the odds were against him. Today he's sitting in Havana and all the power this country has can't remove him.

They told the Algerians the same thing — What do you have to fight with? Today they have to bow down to Ben Bella. He came out of the jail that they put him in and today they have to negotiate with him because he knew that the one thing he had on his side was truth and time. Time is on the side of the oppressed today. It's against the oppressor. Truth is on the side of the oppressed today, it's against the oppressor. You don't need anything else.

I would just like to say this in my conclusion. You'll see terrorism that will terrify you and if you don't think you'll see it you're trying to blind yourself to the historic development of everything that's taking place on this earth today. You'll see other things.

Why will you see them? Because as soon as people realize that it's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg — even though they both belong to the same family of fowl, a chicken just doesn't have within its system to produce

a duck egg. It can't do it. It can only produce according to what that particular system was constructed to produce. The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system as it stands to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country.

And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg I'm certain you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken!

* * *

Question Period

Q. What political system does Malcolm X want?

A. I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism.

Summaries:

Malcolm X: So in essence, the summary is that there's a problem that is confronting the black people and until the problem of the black people in this country is solved, the white people have a problem that's going to cause an end to this society, system and race as you know it. The best way to solve your problem is to help us solve our problem. I'm not a racist. I've never been a racist. I believe in indicting the system and the

person that is responsible for our condition.

And the only defense that the people who are in control of the power structure and system that's exploiting us have had, is to label those who indict it without compromise as racists and extremists.

Now if there are white people who are genuinely and sincerely fed up with the condition that black people are in, in America, then they have to take a stand, but not a compromising stand, not a tongue-in-cheek stand, not a non-violent stand . . .

Speech at Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965, on "Prospects for Freedom in 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 . . .

But 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 pros-

pects for peace — or the prospects for freedom in 1965. As you notice, I almost slipped and said peace and freedom. 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.

Define Freedom

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 are 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.

So, in discussing this topic tonight, prospects for freedom in 1965, I think we have to go back at least 12 years, or ten years, to the time when the struggle of the black man in America began to be projected into the limelight, not only in this country but throughout the world.

It started primarily with the

Supreme Court decision, so-called desegregation decision, and I should say so-called desegregation so-called decision, because there has been some doubt as to what they really handed down.

One of the main ingredients of the struggle of the black man in America for the past 12 years has been the Black Muslim movement. No one can deny that the role that the Black Muslim movement has played in America during the past 12 years has been one of the main ingredients in the stepped-up militancy on the part of black people throughout this country.

No matter what direction the Black Muslim movement itself was headed in, no matter what its own organizational philosophy was, and no matter what other people thought about it, no matter what their personal opinions were of the Black Muslim movement, still it cannot be denied that that movement, because of its uncompromising stand, and because of its uncompromisingly militant approach to things, forced other civil-rights organizations to be more militant than they normally would have been, and forced many of the civil-rights leaders definitely to be more militant than they ever would have thought of being.

So the militancy of the black man in America during the past ten years can be traced largely to the existence and presence of the movement which I'm referring to now for purposes of identification as the Black Muslim movement. Its contribution to the black struggle for freedom in this country was militancy. It made many of our people dare to get loud for the first time in 400 years. It made many of the black leaders of the civil-rights movement dare to get loud for the first time — I mean really loud — for the first time in nearly 400 years in our country . . .

The leaders themselves never intended, and they never do intend, for our people to go too far.

Their primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle. Proof of this is that seldom are they seen until the "irresponsible" elements in the black community begin to explode. And then they go all the way around the country to grab one of them from wherever he's traveling and bring him in to cool things down, to tell us to be cool, or to tell us to take it easy — don't rock the boat. This is their function. This is their role — at least it has been until recent times . . .

But the existence of some of the Muslim groups and the black nationalist groups that couldn't be controlled by the power structure downtown (and I only use the expression "power structure downtown" to keep from calling it what it actually is) actually served their purpose in the sense that they gave respectability to the civil-rights groups and gave acceptability to the civil-rights groups. Ten years ago or more, the NAACP was looked upon as a radical leftist, almost subversive, movement, and then when the Black Muslim movement came along, the power structure said thank the Lord for Roy Wilkins and the NAACP . . .

Wilkins, Farmer, King

When they looked around one day and found someone talking about, "All of them are devils," they were all night looking up Roy Wilkins and James Farmer and the right reverend Dr. King and some of the others to soothe them and keep them thinking that all of our people didn't think like that . . .

One of the things I noticed, when I was in Africa traveling around, was many Africans who were still colonized, still exploited, still oppressed. And one of the things all of them had in common was they seemed sad. They would discuss their sad plight, but they weren't ready to really do anything to change it. They seemed to be waiting for a miracle.

But the contrasting difference between them and what happened in Kenya was that the Kikuyu got mad. They just didn't care what the consequences were. They cared nothing about legality, morality, or anything. All they knew was that they were being oppressed unjustly, illegally, immorally. And because of this unjust, illegal, immoral oppression they were suffering, they came to the conclusion that they would be within their rights to bring it to a halt by any means necessary. And they adopted those means. And when they began to use these means in their struggle for freedom, the press of the West began to project them in a very negative image . . .

Not Image Conscious

But the Mau-Mau weren't image conscious. They weren't status seekers. They weren't social climbers. They wanted freedom, and they came to a conclusion in a point in their journey that the only way there was to get it was the way they did it. And they got it. I admire them for that. I respect them for that . . .

I say and I must say — because a reporter was asking me a few moments ago either to confirm or deny the statement that the *Times* had mentioned when I said we needed a Mau-Mau in the United States — I never would deny that we need more than a Mau-Mau in the U.S. I mean, actually a person has a lot of nerve to ask me that in a society (I'm deviating now because they put me off the track) where in 1964 three civil-rights workers can be murdered in cold blood and — not the Mississippi government — but the federal government can't do anything about it.

I say we need a Mau-Mau when a Negro educator can be murdered in Georgia and they know who murdered him and the government can do nothing about it. I say we need a Mau-Mau and I'll be the first to join it. A lot of people

that you don't think go for it will line right up behind me.

So getting back to the Black Muslim movement. You have to understand it to understand what has taken place in the civil-rights movement in this country during the past ten years and in order to understand what might take place in 1965. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant young black people in this country. The most restless, the most impatient and the most uncompromising black men and women were attracted to the Black Muslim movement.

But the movement itself, as it began to grow, actually was maneuvered into a vacuum, in that it represented itself as a religious movement and the religion with which it identified itself was Islam, and the people in the part of the world who also identified that as their religion did not accept the Black Muslim movement as a *bona-fide* Islamic or Moslem movement. They never did accept it as that. So it was put in the position of going by a religion that rejected it, which put it into a vacuum or made it a religious hybrid.

On the other hand, the government in Washington (I guess that's where it is) tried to label the Black Muslim movement as political. It used the press, it maneuvered the press to project the Black Muslim movement in an image that would enable the government itself to list it as political and therefore to label it seditious and subversive and step in and stomp it out . . .

So the Black Muslim movement was not only a religious hybrid but it became a political hybrid in that it was more political than religious, but at the same time it didn't take part in politics. It didn't take part in the civil-rights struggle. It took part in nothing that black people in this country were doing to correct conditions that existed in our community, other than it had a moral force —

it stopped our people from getting drunk and taking drugs and things of that sort, which is not enough. After you sober up, you're still poor.

So it became in a vacuum. It actually developed, it grew, it became powerful — but it was in a vacuum. And it was filled with extremely militant young people who weren't willing to compromise with anything and wanted action. More action, actually, than the organization itself could produce. More constructive action, and more positive action, than the hierarchy of the organization was qualified, actually, to produce.

The main objective of the movement was land. But those in the movement were told that God would come and take them to that land. Well, for a time this was all right. But, as no visible means were ever detected by anyone in the movement that would enable us to see that a plan was afoot to make this objective materialize, it caused dissatisfaction. It caused dissension — which eventually developed division. And . . . out of that division or out of those who left was formed an authentic religious group, known as Muslim Mosque, Inc., which practiced the religion of Islam as it is practiced and taught in Mecca and Cairo and Lahore and other parts of the Moslem world.

Muslim Mosque, Inc.

But those who went into the orthodox practice of the Islam religion in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same time we realized that we were black people in a white society. We were black people in a society whose very political system was based and nourished upon racism, whose social system was a racist system, whose economic system was nourished with racism. We were black people who wanted to be religious, who wanted to practice brotherhood and all of that, who wanted to love everybody, and all of that,

too; but, at the same time, that was a dream — you know, as my good friend, the doctor, said.

So, wanting brotherhood and wanting peace and wanting all these other beautiful things, we had to also face reality and realize that we were in a racist society that was controlled by racists from the federal government right on down to the local governments — from the White House right on down to City Hall. Racism was what we were confronted by. So we knew that this was a problem that was beyond religion and we formed another organization that was non-religious. And this organization was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity or the OAAU.

We got the idea for it from travels and observations of the success that our brothers on the African continent were having in their struggle for freedom. They were getting free faster than we. They were getting their independence faster than we. They were getting recognition and respect, *even when they came to this country*, faster than we. We had to find out what was happening, how were they doing it, and what were they doing, so we could try a little bit of it.

On the African continent, the imperialists, the colonial powers had always divided and conquered. They had practiced "divide and conquer," and this had kept the people of Africa, and Asia, from ever coming together. So on the African continent had appeared an organization known as the OAU, or Organization of African Unity, and this had been put together by a group of people — a highly skilled group of African intellectuals and politicians . . .

And since we in America were confronted with the same divisive tactics from *our* enemy, we decided to call ours the Organization of Afro-American Unity — which would be designed after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity. In fact, we consid-

ered ourselves an offspring of our parent organization on our mother continent.

After it was formed, I spent five months in the Middle East and Africa, primarily for the purpose of getting better acquainted with them and making them better acquainted with us, giving them a first-hand account of our problems and what our problems actually consist of. When I first got there in July, I found some of them difficult to talk to. But by the time I left, in November, I didn't find anybody difficult to talk to . . .

By the time I had returned last month, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., had received official recognition and support by all of the official religious bodies in the Moslem world and the Organization of Afro-American Unity had also received official recognition and support from all of the African countries I visited and from most of those I didn't visit.

The first thing when I returned . . . I kept being asked the question by some reporters, "We heard you changed" . . . I smiled and all. But I would say to myself: How in the world can a white man expect a black man to change before *he* has changed? How do you expect us to change when you haven't changed? How do you expect us to change when the causes that made us as we are have not been removed? . . .

It's true I'm a Moslem and I believe in brotherhood. And I believe in the brotherhood of all men. But my religion doesn't make me a fool. My religion makes me be against all forms of racism. It keeps me from judging any man by the color of his skin. It teaches me to judge him by his deeds and his conscious behavior. And it teaches me to be for the rights of all human beings, but especially the Afro-American human being, because my religion is a natural religion, and the first law of nature is self-preservation . . .

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 was also 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 legions of imperialism . . . And with 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 . . .

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 . . . And 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 of 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 — 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 non-violent 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 . . .

March on Washington

But by the end of 1964 we had to agree that instead of the year of promise, instead of these promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress and 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise . . . In 1963 they had used the trick, one of their devices to let off the steam across the nation, 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, because 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 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.

Atlantic City

On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, polit-

ically, 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 life 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 is 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 up-holding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law and you got a right to protect yourself by any means necessary. Then 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 'cause it's not my word) . . . We had gotten the word that there were elements in the power structure that were going to incite a riot — 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 suggestions 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 it in our neighborhood . . .

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 . . .

So that 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 here in 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 people, 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. . .

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 close 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 1965 should see a lot of action. Since the old methods haven't worked, they'll be forced to try new methods . . .

(The following are excerpts from the question and discussion period.)

The gentleman asks me if I believe in political action — number 1. And if the leftist groups got together and put me up for mayor, would I run . . . I believe in political action, yes. Any kind of political action, I believe in action period. Whatever kind of action is necessary. When you hear me say "by any means necessary," I mean exactly that. I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions — political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it — as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results.

But I don't believe in getting involved in any kind of political action or other kind of action without sitting down and analyzing the possibilities of success or failure. And I also don't believe that groups should refer to themselves as "leftists," "rightist," or "middle-ist." I think that they should just be whatever they are and don't let people put labels on them — and don't ever put them on yourself. Sometimes a label can kill you.

The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is that it's been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got uptown factions, downtown factions, crosstown factions and some basement factions. Instead

of them having any degree of co-ordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking each other, or even outright fighting each other.

Harlem and Downtown

Whereas you have black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the blacks who come downtown and mix with the whites who are militant, usually don't even know how to talk to the blacks who are still uptown. I had to bring this out.. I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown too easily 'cause uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are set up so that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul so to speak — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks — that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling and usually — play it cool please—he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up, I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what's going on, when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up and they get some co-ordinated action going, you'll get some changes. And

it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that . . .

I think, for one, when a white man comes to me and tells me how liberal he is, the first thing I want to know, is he a non-viol-

ent liberal, or the other kind. I don't go for any non-violent white liberals. If you are for me, and my problem — when I say *me*, I mean *us*, our people — then you have to be willing to do as old John Brown did . . .

Interview by Harry Ring over Station WBAI-FM in New York, Jan. 28, 1965

Ring: Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom Now Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

Minister Malcolm, it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

Malcolm X: Well, I have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad. I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

Ring: Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?

Malcolm X: Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it.

If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

Ring: A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the recent warnings of danger of a new outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

Malcolm X: Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he *warns* — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is *China*. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the *causes* of these explosions, he wants to *condemn* the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the

causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

Ring: One question that I've wondered about — in several of your lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

Malcolm X: Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and oftentimes the president himself is a very shrewdly camouflaged racist. And so we really can't get meaningful redress for our grievances when we are depending upon these grievances being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters

on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have refrained from becoming vocally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human rights, it internationalizes the problem and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of *human rights*.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not respected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black men who were *born* here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious

system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem or an American problem but rather, it has become a *human* problem, a *world* problem, and it has to be attacked at the world level, at a level at which all segments of humanity can intervene in our behalf.

Ring: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm X: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22 million black Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the

people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

Ring: I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

Malcolm X: It's a problem any-time the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

Ring: To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who

had been without heat and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A few days later I read that the housing commissioner had decided that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

Malcolm X: Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

Ring: You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

Malcolm X: I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

Ring: But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

Malcolm X: Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

Ring: I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

Excerpt from interview in the March-April issue of the 'Young Socialist'

How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this

earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.