```
o We Go From Here?" or What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify something concerning myself. I'm still a Muslim; my religion is s
 Islam. That's my personal belief. Just as Adam Clayton Powell is a Christian minister who heads the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York, but at the same time takes part in the political struggles to try and bring about rights to the black people in this country; and Dr. Martin Lu
her King is a Christian minister down in Atlanta, Georgia, who heads another organization fighting for the civil rights of black people in this country; and Reverend Galamison, I quess you've heard of him, is another Christian minister in New York who has been deeply involved in the
e school boycotts to eliminate segregated education; well, I myself am a minister, not a Christian minister, but a Muslim minister, but a Muslim, I'm not here tonight to discuss my religion. I'm not here t
try and change your religion. I'm not here to argue or discuss anything that we differ about, because it's time for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem, a problem that will make you catch hell
whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist. Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same
       He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man. Now in speaking like this, it doesn't
mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. If we have differences, let us not have anything to argue about until we get finished arguing with the man. If the late President Kennedy could get together with he
  ushchev and exchange some wheat, we certainly have more in common with each other than Kennedy and Khrushchev had with each other. If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one o
the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out -- time has run out! 1964 threatens to be the most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today -- I'm sorry, Brother Lomax -- who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer. Don't let anybody tell you anything also are against you. If they draft you, they send you face 800 million Chinese. If you and I were Americans, there you face thouse the total a student of much of anything. I'm not a Depulcican, and I were Americans, there you are the leaker are already Americans. Everything that same out of Europe over the leaker are already Americans. Everything that same out of Europe over the leaker are already Americans.
e boat, they're already Americans; Polacks are already Americans; the Italian refugees are already Americans. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet. Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an Americans.
can. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution; you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They do
n't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American. No, I'm not an American. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm
not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a
                                                                                                                                                                                                             victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see ar
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    hey're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast. As they
American nightmare. These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see
see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time there's an election the races are so
                                                                                                                                                       close that they have to have a recount. They ha
                                                                                                                                                                                                                         d to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rho
de Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon w
                                                                                                                                             hen they ran for president. It was so close they had to coun t all over again. Well, what does this mean? It means that when white people are evenly divided, and black people are evenly divided, and black people are evenly divided.
eople have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the Wh
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ign
                                                                                                                                       ite House and who's going to be in the dog house. It. was the black
eople have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the Wh the House and who's going to sit in the Wh the House and who's going to be in the dog house. It. was the black man's vote that put the present administration in washington, D.C., Your vote, your dumb vote, your ign rank to the who's going to sit in the Wh the House and who's going to be in the dog house. It. was the black man's vote that put the present administration in washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pas and severy kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibusteri mg on top of that. And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and
                                                                                                                             good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lyn ch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas
alk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't
as accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent. And these Negro leaders for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners.

have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Sout hern cracker -- that's all he is -- and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners.

What kind of logic is that? Let Eastland be president, he's from the South too. He should be better about the south the south too. He should be better about th
                                                                                                                        have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Sout hern cracker -- that's all he is -- and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be bette
se of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thir ds of the House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the Senate, the re are 67 senators who are of the Democratic Party. Only 33 of them are Republicans. Why,
 Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed i t up for them. And what have they given you for it? Four years in office, and just now getting around to some civil-rights legislation. Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're
going to sit down now and play with you all summer long — the same old giant — con game that they call filibuster. All those are in cahoots together, for the man that is heading the civil-rights filibuster is a man from Georgia
amed Richard Russell. When Johnson became president, the first man he as ked for when he got back to Washington, D.C., was "Dicky" -- that's his boy, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe he's for you, and he's got it fixed where the other one is so tight against you , he never has to keep his promise. So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kin d of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know you -- someth
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          pal, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe
ng else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballo tor the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country; you should get back
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               in the cotton patch; you should get back in the alley. They get all the Negro vote, ar
  after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. knock out the Democrats for the Republicans. We'll get to them in a mainute. But it is true, you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last. Look at it the way it is. What alibis do they and I ask, "Well, when are you going to keep your promise?" They black me the Dixiecrats. What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. The titular head of the
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying use, since they control Congress and the Senate? What alibi do they use when you
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   Democrats is also the head of the Dixiecrats, because the Dixiecrats are a part of
    Democratic Party. The Democrats have never kicked the Dixiecrats out of the party. The Dixiecrats bolted themselves once, but the Democrats didn't put them out. Imagine, these lowdown South
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ern segregationists put the Northern Democrats down. But the Northern Democ
ats have never put the Dixiecrats down. No, look at that thing the way it is. They have got a con game, and you and lare in the middle. It's time for you and me to wake u p and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then
we can deal with it like it is. The Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., contro I the key committees that run the government. The only reason the Dixiecrats control these committees is because they have seni
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      ority. The only reason they have seniority is because they come from states we
nere Negroes can't vote. This is not even a government that's based on democracy. It. is not a government that is made up of representatives of the people. Half of the people in the South can't even vote. Eastland is not even supposed to be in Washington. Half of the senators a
 congressmen who occupy these key positions in Washington, D.C., are there illegally, are there unconstitutionally. I was in Washington, D.C., a week ago Thursday, when they were debating whether
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        or not they should let the bill come onto the floor. And in the back of the roo
                                                                                                                                                            s the location of Negroes throughout the country. And it shows that the Southern s
m where the Senate meets, there's a huge map of the United States, a nd on that map it show
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         ection of the country, the states that are most heavily concentrated with No
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           vote. This is pitiful. But it's not pitiful for us any longer; it's actually pitiful
 roes, are the ones that have senators and congressmen standing u  p filibustering and doi
                                                                                                                                                                                  ng all other kinds of trickery to keep the Negro from being able to
or the white man, because soon now, as the Negro awakens a little
                                                                                                                                                                                                 e that he's in, sees the bag that he's in, sees the real ga
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          me that he's in, then the Negro's going to develop a new tactic. These sen
tors and congressmen actually violate the constitutional amendmen ts that guarantee the
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 of that particular st ate or county the right to vote. And the Constitution itself has within it the
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 e are violated. You don't even need new legislation. Any person in Congress right now, who
machinery to expel any representative from a state where the votin grights of the people
 there from a state or a district where the voting rights of the peop
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             should be expelled from Congress. And when you expel him, you've rem
oved one of the obstacles in the path of any real meaningful legisl \ation in this country
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             expel them, you don't need new legislation, because they will be replace
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              inority. If the black man in these Southern states had his full voting right
d by black representatives from counties and districts where the back man is in the n
  the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D. C., which means the key D emocrats in Washin
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  gton, D.C., would lo se their seats. The Democratic Party itself would lose its power. It would
cease to be powerful as a party. When you see the amount of pow <code>er</code> that would be los
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              Party if it were to lose the Dixiecrat wing, or branch, or element, you car
 see where it's against the interests of the Democrats to give votin g rights to Negroes
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  in states where the D emocrats have been in complete power and authority ever since the Civ
  War. You just can't belong to that Party without analyzing it. I say
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  Democrat, I'm not an ti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  omises that they don 't intend to keep. When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keepi
and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  for a Democrat is a vo te for a Dixiecrat. That's why, in 1964, it's time now for you and me to be
  the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that my good Brother Lomax wil
come more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situat
 on where we're going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet. In the N
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 orth, they do it a diffe rent way. They have a system that's known as gerrymandering, whatever
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 tain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and change
  that means. It means when Negroes become too heavily concentr ated in a cer
 the district lines. You may say, "Why do you keep saying white m an?" Beca 't let him get near the line. It's the white man who does this. And u sually, it's
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 use it's the white ma n who does it. I haven't ever seen any Negro changing any lines. They do
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   the white man who grins at you the most, and pats you on the back, and is supposed to be
our friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend. So, what I'
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    o impress upon y ou, in essence, is this: You and I in America are faced not with a segrega
onist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy. Everyo ne who's
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                libusteri ng is a senator -- that's the government. Everyone who's finagling in Was
hington, D.C., is a congressman -- that's the government. You
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ve anyb ody putting blocks in your path but people who are a part of the government
ent. The same government that you go abroad to fight for a  nd die
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            nment that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive
                                                                                     using, depr
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            of decent education. You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the
ou of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decen tho
overnment itself, the government of America, that is response
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              he oppr
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           ession and exploitation and degradation of black people in this country. A
nd you should drop it in their lap. This government has fa iled the N
                                                                                                                                                                                                                              his so-call
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              ed demo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  cracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely
failed the Negro. So, where do we go from here? First, w e n eed som e friends
                                                                                                                                                                                                                     ew allies. The entire c
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               ivil-right
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    uggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need
                                                                                                                              We need some n
d to look at this civil-rights thing from another angle -- fro  m the inside  as   well as
                                                                                                                           fro m the outside. To tho
                                                                                                                                                                                                               e of us whose philosophy is
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               black nationalis
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     m, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is
                                                                                                     ut. So.
give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation exclude dus. It kept us o
                                                                                                                   we're giving a new interpretation to
                                                                                                                                                                                                           ivil-rights struggle, an interpretatio
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        will e nab le us to come into it, take part in it. And these handkerchief-head
 who have been dillydallying and pussy footing and comp romisin g -- we d
                                                                                                        on
                                                                                                               't intend to let them pussyfoot and dillydally an
                                                                                                                                                                                                                          ise any longer. How can yo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      a man for giving you what's already yours? How then can you that
                                                                                           n't even made p
                                                                                                                                                                                                              you, you should have had already. Th
nk him for giving you only part of what's already yours? Yo
                                                                                                                                                       s, if what's be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     progress. And I love my Brother Lomax, the way he pointed out we
                                                                                                                   rogres
re right back where we were in 1954. We're not even as far u
                                                                                                       e in 19
                                                                                                                  54. W
                                                                                                                                                              e're behi
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          egregation no w
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     than there was in 1954. There's more racial animosity, more racial h
                                                                                             e wer
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                                                                                                           re is the
                                                                                                                                                                   you're fa
atred, more racial violence today in 1964, than there was in 1
                                                                                                                                                                                                  a situ ation whe re the young Negro's c oming up. Th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    don't want to hear that "turn the-other-cheek" stuff, no. In Jacksonv
 le, those were teenagers, they were throwing Molotov cockta
                                                                                                                                        never don e that bef
                                                                                                                                                                                                        there's a new deal coming in. There's new thinking
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails
                                                                                               egro
                                                                                                                                                                     ore.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              nly differ en ce about this kind of death -- it'll be reciprocal. You know what is mean
 is month, hand grenades next month, and something else ne xt m
                                                                                                                                                            it'll be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                      or it wil
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  I be death. The o
      'reciprocal"? That's one of Brother Lomax's words. I stole
                                                                                          rom him
                                                                                                                                   don't usually deal with tho
                                                                                                                                                                                        g wor ds because I don't usually deal with b ig p
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               eople. I dea I with small people. I find you can get a whole lot of small people and w
 ip hell out of a whole lot of big people. They haven't got anyth
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               ow in a minute: "It takes two to tango; when I go, you go." The black na
                                                                                          to lose,
                                                                                                                  an
                                                                                                                                                                                         ey've got eve
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    rything to g
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           he e ntire mea ning of civil rights, look upon it as meaning, as Brother Lomax has poi
   nalists, those whose philosophy is black nationalism, in bringin
                                                                                          g about t
                                                                                                                  his
                                                                                                                                                                                          nterp reta
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            tion of t
ed out, equality of opportunity. Well, we're justified in seeking
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   tunity, b ecause all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our
                                                                                                                                                                  it mea
                                                                                                                                                                                         ns equa lity
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            of oppor
                                                                                                                                                                                         ked in t his
 others and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred a indi
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ry withou t a dime in return -- I mean without a dime in return. You let the white m
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                                                                                                                                                                we wor
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              cou nt
an walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but y ou
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                                                                                                                                                                                        hink how it
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      ich s o quick. It got rich because you made it rich. You take the people who a
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               go tr
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    Ily amo unts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here co
     this audience right now. They're poor. We're all poor as indiv idu als
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                                                                                                                                                                                         y salary i nd
 lectively, it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's a lot of wealth. If y ou
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                people right here for a year, you'll be rich -- richer than rich. When you
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             f i ust th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ople. Your and my mother and father, who didn't work an eight-hour s
  ok at it like that, think how rich Uncle Sam had to become, not with
                                                                                                                                                                                           , but milli on
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             of b lac
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    te man rich, making Uncle Sam rich. This is our investment. This is
  ift, but worked from "can't see" in the morning until "can't see" a \,\, t ni
                                                                                                                                                                                           ked for noth ing
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    contribution, our blood. Not only did we give of our free labor,
                                                                                                                                   e of our blood. Every
                                                                                                                                                                                           time he had a c
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  all to arms
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man ha
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     ution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose p
                                                                                                                                                                                                             have made a greater
  We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing u p in
                                                                                                                                                                                              today, We
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       con
losophy is black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now. Don't wait for ne
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              sterd ay, and that's not fast enough." I might stop right here to point out
                                                                                                                                                                                              Give it to us
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         оu
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       ght to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are of
one thing. Whenever you're going after something that belongs to yo u, an
                                                                                                                                                                                            o's depriving y
oing after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to la
                                                                                                                                                                                             nd anyone who
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   s fo rth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking
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he law, is a criminal. And this was pointed out by the Supreme Court dec
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          Which means segregation is against the law. Which means a s
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 regationist is breaking the law. A segregationist is a criminal. You can't la \,\,\, bel h \,\,
                                                                                                                                                                                                          hing o
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             that. And when you demonstrate against segregation, the lav
                                                                                                                                                                                             s anvi
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Wh
 is on your side. The Supreme Court is on your side. Now, who is it that oppo ses
                                                                                                                                                     ou
                                                                                                                                                                                            in car
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the
enever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated educa
way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law; they are not represe ntat
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               ainst segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police
                                                                                                                                                                                     Any time yo
e dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police d
                                                                                                                                                                            n jail tomorrow, kill that dog.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                'Il put a stop to it. Now, if these white people in here don't
                                                                                                                                                                        tment to pull the dogs in. Tha
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ve to do. If you don't do it, someone else will. If you don't
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           g st and, I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same
ake this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and thin k "s
                                                                                                                                                                    hame." If you don't take an uncomp
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              isin
time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I' m n
                                                                                                                                                                  ent with those who are nonviolent wit h
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               Bu
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            t w hen you drop that violence on me, then you've made me
                                                                                                                                                         nvio I
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      me.
go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do. And that's the way every Negr o sh
                                                                                                                                               oul d get. Any time you know you're within the law, with i n
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is
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              ega I rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice
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                                                                                                                                                                        ant by equality. What's good for the goo s e
th e level of human rights. Wheneve
out in your behalf as long as your struggle is a
then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be réciproc al. T
                                                                                                                                             his is what is me
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               d fo r the gander. When we begin to get in this area, we ne
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ed new friends, we need new allies. We need to expand the civil-rights struggle
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       a civil-rights struggle, whether you know it or not, yo
                                                                                                                                           higher level
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u are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. No one from the outs
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airs of this country. All of our African brothers and our Asian brothers and o
                                                                                                                                                                                 others cannot open their mouths and inte
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          domestic affairs of the United States. And as long
                                                                                                                                        Ameri
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               e in
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   hum an rights. You may wonder why all of the atrocities
as it's civil rights, this comes under the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. But the U^{-} nite d Nati
                                                                                                                                       ons has what's known as the charter of human rights; it has a committee t
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that have been committed in Africa and in Hungary and in Asia, and in Lati n A
                                                                                                         me rica
                                                                                                                                        are b
                                                                                                                                                                     ht before the UN,
                                                                                                                                                                                                and the Negro problem is never brought before the UN. This is par
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            the conspiracy. This old, tricky blue eyed liberal
                                                                                                                                                     roug
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     o be acting in the capacity of an adviser, never tells y
who is supposed to be your and my friend, supposed to be in our corner,
                                                                                                                                                                                               sidizing our struggle, and su
                                                                                                          po sed
                                                                                                                                       to be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               pposed t
                                                                                                                                                                                      so much time barking up the ci
ou anything about human rights. They keep you wrapped up in civil rights . A
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             e, you don't even know there's a human-rights to
                                                                                                           nd
                                                                                                                  you
                                                                                                                                     spend
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  vil-rights
ee on the same floor. When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the le vel
                                                                                                             of
                                                                                                                                                                                                  ts, you can then take
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              he black man in this country before the nations
                                                                                                                                      man ri
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    the case
                                                                                                                                                              a world court. But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civ
in the UN. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Un cle
                                                                                                              Sa
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    il rights k
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               s you under his restrictions, under his jurisdict
                                                                                                                    m be
                                                                                                                                        fore
ion. Civil rights keeps you in his pocket. Civil rights means you're askin g U
                                                                                                              ncl
                                                                                                                       e Sa
                                                                                                                                                                    to treat you right. Human rights are something you were bo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        uman
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ts are your God-given rights. Human rights ar
                                                                                                                                          m
                                                                                                                                                                  ates your human rights, you can take them to the world
e the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. And any ti me
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  's hands are dripping with blood, dripping wi
                                                                                                                         one v
                                                                                                                                          iol
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        court.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          Uncle
th the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number -on
                                                                                                                                          rite
                                                                                                                                                            . He has the audacity -- yes, he has -- imagine h im
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   of the free world. The free world! And you o
                                                                                                                           ypoc
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          g as t
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             he le
ver here singing "We Shall Overcome." Expand the civil-rights strug gle
                                                                                                                                                                                          in rights. Take it i nto
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     where our African brothers can throw the
                                                                                                                  to t
                                                                                                                              he le
                                                                                                                                          vel
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              nited
r weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight o
                                                                                                                                                                                                                              n-A mer
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ican brothe
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    heir weight on our side, and where 800 mill
                                                                                                                               ursi
                                                                                                                                          de,
                                                                                                                                                                                                  where our
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 rs ca
ion Chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on ou ¯r si
                                                                                                                     de.
                                                                                                                                  Let the w
                                                                                                                                                                                                 orld know
                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ho w blo ody his hands are. Let th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             d kn ow the hypocrisy that's practiced over her
e. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the bal
                                                                                                                                    r the bulle
                                                                                                                                                                                                                      take your case t
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            o Wash
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              on, D .C., you're taking it to the criminal who's
                                                                                                                                                                                                 When you
responsible; it's like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in ca
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  tical chican
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               ake y ou look like a chump before the eyes of
                                                                                                                         hoot
                                                                                                                                      s together.
                                                                                                                                                                            They a
                                                                                                                                                                                                work poli
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               ery an
the world. Here you are walking around in America, getting read y to b
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                hen'y ou get over there, people ask you what
                                                                                                                          e dra
                                                                                                                                         fted and
                                                                                                                                                                            sent ab
                                                                                                                                                                                              road, like a tin soldie
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  r, and
are you fighting for, and you have to stick your tongue in your c heek.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          world. By ballot I only mean freedom
                                                                                                                            No, t
                                                                                                                                           ake Un
                                                                                                                                                                       cl e Sam t
                                                                                                                                                                                             o court, take hi
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    m bef
Don't you know -- I disagree with Lomax on this issue -- that the ballo
                                                                                                                              t is
                                                                                                                                             more im port a nt th an the doll ar? Can I prove it
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      ? Yes
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   . Loo k in the UN. There are poor nations in
the UN; yet those poor nations can get together with their votin g pow
                                                                                                                                                d keep the rich nations from making a move. Th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        ey h
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ave o ne nation -- one vote, everyone has a
                                                                                                                                er an
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    wer i s sufficient to hold Sam in check. O
n equal vote. And when those brothers from Asia, and Africa a nd the
                                                                                                                                                    er parts of this earth get together, their votin
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          g po
Russia in check. Or some other section of the earth in check
                                                                                                                                                          lot is most important. Right now, in this
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              you and I, 22 million African-Ameri
                                                                                                                                     e bal
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              cou
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  nt ry, if
cans -- that's what we are -- Africans who are in America. Y ou're noth
                                                                                                                                                                 ut Africans. Nothing but African
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  , y ou'd
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               get farther calling yourself Africar
                                                                                                                                       ing b
ing h
                                                                                                                                                            ell. They don't have to pass civil-righ
                                                                                                                                                                                                                        ts bills for
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   cans. An
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 African can go anywhere he wan
ts right now. All you've got to do is tie your head up. T hat's right, go a
                                                                                                                                                             ere you want. Just stop being a Ne
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     o Hooga gagooba. That'll show you how
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  gro. Change your na
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  me t
                                                                                                                                           nywh
silly the white man is. You're dealing with a silly ma n. A friend of mine
                                                                                                                                                            's very dark put a turban on his hea
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   a before they called themselves
                                                                                                                                               who
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  d and went into a restaur
desegregated. He went into a white restaurant, he sat down, they ser because he had his head wrapped up the waitress looked back at him bias and prejudice are making him lose his mind, his intelligence, ev
                                                                                                                                                         im, and he said, "What would happen
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    he's sitting, black as night, but
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  if a Negro cam e in here
                                                                                                                                               and says, "Why, there wouldn't ery day. He's frightened.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        So, you' re dealing with a man whose
                                                                                                                                                                                                                   nigger dare com e in he
bias and prejudice are making him lose his mind, his intelligence, ev sees that the pendulum of time is s winging in your direction. The dark
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    looks around and see
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            s wha
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          t's takin g place on this earth, and he
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               of the w
                                                                                                                                            people are waking u
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    hey're losing their
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           hite ma
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       n. No place where he's fight
ng right now is he winning. Ev erywhere he's fighting, he's fighting so
                                                                                                                                     meone your and my comp
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    ion. And they're be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                g him. He
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             can't w in any more. He's won his
ast battle. He failed to win the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had t
d to a draw by some rice eaters, he's lost the battle. He had to sign a truc
                                     the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had t
                                                                                                                                               a truce. That's a los
                                                                                                                                                                                                           s. A ny time Uncle Sam,
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          chinery for warfare, is hel
                                                                                                                                  o sign
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              his ma
                                                                                                                                                                                                             gn a tru ce. She's suppos
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          d. But she's not bad any
                                                                                                                             e. Ame
                                                                                                                                            rica's not supposed to si
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ed t
more. She's bad as long as she can use her hydrogen bomb, but she can't u
                                                                                                                          se hers f
                                                                                                                                           or fear Russia might use h
                                                                                                                                                                                                                      ers. Russia can't u
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ers. for
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            fear that Sam might use
his. So, both of them are weapon-less. They can't use the weapon because e
                                                                                                                                           n nullifies the other's. So th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    e only place where a
                                                                                                                      ach's weapo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 n can ta ke place is on the grour
d. And the white man can't win another war fighting on the ground. Those da
                                                                                                                                            he black man know s it, the
                                                                                                                                                                                                                   brown man knows it, t
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  ed man knows it, and the yello
                                                                                                                             e over T
w man knows it. So they engage him in guerrilla warfare. That's not his style.
just want to give you a little briefing on guerrilla warfare because, before you
                                                                                                                  You'
                                                                                                                                                                                                                   warrior, and he hasn't g
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ny hear t. I'm telling you now.
                                                                                                                              ve got t
                                                                                                                                           o have heart to be a guerrilla
                                                                                                                                 it, befo re you know it. It t akes heart
                                                                                                                                                                                                                to be a guerrilla warrior be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     se you're on your own. In conv
                                                                                                               know
entional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to b
                                                                                                          ack y
                                                                                                                                  ou up -
                                                                                                                                             - planes over your hea d and a
                                                                                                                                                                                                             Il that kind of stuff. But a gue
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     a is on his own. All you have
s a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of rice, and that's all you need -- and a lot
                                                                                                                                              Japanese on some
                                                                                                                                                                                                           e islands in the Pacific, when th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      merican soldiers landed, one
                                                                                                                                                                            of thos
Japanese sometimes could hold the whole army off. He'd just wait until the sun wen
                                                                                                                                                                                                          down they were all equal. He wou
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        ake his little blade and slip
                                                                                                                                     t dow n, and when the s
                                                                                                                                                                             un went
rom bush to bush, and from American to American. The white soldiers couldn't cop
                                                                                                                                                                                                       ver you see a white soldier that fough
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         the Pacific, he has the shak
es, he has a nervous condition, because they scared him to death. The same thing h
                                                                                                                                        appened to the Fr
                                                                                                                                                                                                    in French Indochina. People who just a
                                                                                                                                                                               ench up
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         years previously were rice
farmers got together and ran the heavily-mechanized French army out of Indochina.
                                                                                                                                        You don't need it -
                                                                                                                                                                                - modern
                                                                                                                                                                                                   warfare today won't work. This is the day
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          guerrilla. They did the sam
e thing in Algeria. Algerians, who were nothing but Bedouins, took a rifle and sneake
                                                                                                                                       d off to the hills, an
                                                                                                                                                                                               le and all of his highfalutin' war machinery co
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           feat those guerrillas. Now
here on this earth does the white man win in a guerrilla warfare. It's not his speed. Jus
                                                                                                                                                                                fare is prevailing in Asia and in parts of Africa and in parts
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 of Latin Am
                                                                                                                                       t as guerrilla war
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            erica, you've got to be mi
ghty naive, or you've got to play the black man cheap, if you don't think someday he's
uslim Mosque, Inc., which we established recently in New York City. It's true we're Mus
                                                                                                                                                                                and find that it's got to be the ballot or the bullet. I would like
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            things concerning the M
                                                                                                                                       going to wake up
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    to say, in closing, a
                                                                                                                                      lims and our religio
                                                                                                                                                                                 n is Islam, but we don't mix our religion with our politics and o
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             ial and civil activities -
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     ur economics and our soc
not any more We keep our religion in our mosque. After our religious services are over,
                                                                                                                                     then as Muslims we
                                                                                                                                                                                 become involved in political action, economic action and social a nd civic action. We
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            become involved with a
nybody, anywhere, any time and in any manner that's designed to eliminate the evils, th
                                                                                                                                                                                 nd social evils that are afflicting the people of our community. The p olitical philo
                                                                                                                                   e political, economic a
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             sophy of black nationali
sm means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own c
                                                                                                                                                                                  black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the scien ce of politi
                                                                                                                                 ommunity; no more. The
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             cs so he will know what
politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is
                                                                                                                                 like a bullet. You don't th
                                                                                                                                                                                row your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, kee
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            p your ballot in your poc
                                                                                                                                                                              ACP. It's being taught in CORE meetings. It's being taught in SNCC Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee me. It's being taught everywhere. Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward
ket. The political philosophy of black nationalism is being taught in the Christian church.
                                                                                                                               It's being taught in the NA
etings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists a
                                                                                                                             nd agnostics come together
getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome. The economic philosophy of black nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should the economy of our community? Why should the economy of our community?
tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community. The philosophy of black nationalism involves a re-education program in the black community in regards to economics. Our people have to be made to see that any time you take your dollar out of your community in regards to
nity and spend it in a community where you don't live, the community where you live will get richer and richer. Then you wonder why where you live is always a ghetto or a slum area. And where you and
are concerned, not only do we lose it when we spend it out of the community, but the white man has got all our stores in the community, so that though we spend it in the community, but the white man has got all our stores in the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across fown somewhere. He's got us it is to retain the community if the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across fown somewhere. He's got us it is to retain the community if the community, it is to retain the community, it is to retain the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across fown somewhere. He's got us it is to retain the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across for all our stores in the community, it is to retain the community in the community. It is to retain the community in t
have to lift the level of our community, the standard of our community to a higher level, make our own social circles and won't be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where we're not wanted. So I sa y, in spreading a gospel such as black nationalism, it is not designed to make the black man re-evaluate the white man -- you know him already -- but to make the black man re-evaluate the white man's mind -- you can't change his mind, and that whole thing about appealing to the moral conscience of America -- America's conscience is bankrupt. She lost all conscience a long time ago. Uncle Sam has no conscience. They don't try and eliminate an evil because it's evil, or because it's illegal, or because it
's immoral; they eliminate it only when it threatens their existence. So you're wasting your time appealing to the moral conscience, he'd straighten this thing out with no more pressure being put upon him. So it is not necess
ary to change the white man's mind. We have to change our own mind. You can't change his mind about us. We've got to change our own minds about each other with new eyes. We have to see each other as brothers and sisters. We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves. How can we avoid the suspicion and the divisions that exist in the community? I'll tell you how. I have watched how Billy
Graham comes into a city, spreading what he calls the gospel of Christ, which is only white nationalist; I'm a black nationalist. But since it's the natural tendency for leaders to be jealous and look upon a powerful figure like Gra
ham with suspicion and envy, how is it possible for him to come into a city and get all the cooperation of the church leaders? Don't think because they're church leaders? that they don't have weaknesses that make them envious and jealous -- no, everybody's got it. It's not an accide
nt that when they want to choose a cardinal, as Pope I over there in Rome, they get in a closet so you can't hear them cussing and fighting and carrying on. Billy Graham comes in preaching the gospel of Christ. He evangelizes the gospel. He stirs everybody who get in a closet so you can't hear them cussing and fighting and fight
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