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"Nkrumism: The Correct Ideology for the African Revolution"

Stokely Carmichael

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Recommended Citation

Carmichael, Stokely, "Nkrumism: The Correct Ideology for the African Revolution" (1973). *Special Collections: Oregon Public Speakers*. 107.

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Stokely Carmichael, "Nkrumism: The Correct Ideology for the African Revolution"
Portland State University
October 9, 1973

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<http://archives.pdx.edu/ds/psu/11326>

Transcribed by Marti Clemmons, March 2020

Audited by Carolee Harrison, May 2020

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[00:00:00 - 00:02:00]

MODERATOR: First of all, I'd like to say hello and thank you very much for your positive turnout. As you know we have been having a lot of problems especially at Portland State getting information out through the community and having the type of response that we at Black Cultural Affairs needed in order to put on an effective program throughout our year. This is our first program in a series of programs, and as far as this term is concerned, these programs are put together in order to generate some interest in Black Cultural Month which is the month of February. Next February we hope to have our fourth annual Black Cultural Month, and this presents problems to us, especially from the financial aspect. Due to the fact that we did receive a very heavy budgetary cut of 38% under our last year's budget. Therefore it was most necessary for us to seek out different people throughout the nation who would be able to assist us and seeing that this very positive program was perpetuated at least through the next year, because Black Cultural Month is one of a kind. It is the only program of its nature in the whole world as far as we know. A lot of people through the years have been of the opinion that we have been shucking and jiving, but we have been as serious as a heart attack.

[00:02:00 - 00:04:11]

So this is what we talk about, we talk about nation building and a number of other things. It means that, when a brother of this stature comes to Portland, Oregon, that the audience is more of mixed gentry. In other words there are more Black faces in the audience today, as would have been perhaps five years ago, or even two years ago. And I think this is very positive because the types of programs we need to emphasize are those programs having cultural

relevance to all groups who comprise the American society. And with that effort, that is our goal and major objective.

The gentleman I would like to introduce was born in Trinidad on July 2—on June 29th, excuse me—1941. And at the age of 10, he came to the United States, and went to New York and finished high school at the Bronx High School of Science, from which he graduated in 1960. He went on to Howard University in Washington D.C. and majored in philosophy, was an Honor Roll student, and during this time was a representative to the National Student Association and also, he founded The Project Awareness, which was responsible for bringing to Howard such prominent Black leaders as Malcolm X, James Baldwin, etc. At Howard, his activity was not only limited to the campus alone. He also became the leader of non-violent action and was a member of this particular group.

[00:04:12 - 00:06:00]

In the early 60s, Mr. Starmichael—Mr. Carmichael, excuse me—was instrumental in the voter registration drives in the South. And his activity brought him into a number of conflicts as we all might imagine. During the freedom rides in Mississippi, he organized and soon became the chairman of SNCC, the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee. Also he founded the political Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Mr. Carmichael came to national attention during the James Merideth freedom march in Mississippi. And he's most noted for coining the phrase, at least making it a household word, and that phrase everyone will remember, as Black Power. After this, Mr. Carmichael became the focus of national attention and went about the work of defining and specifying exactly what Black Power entailed. Although he was misconstrued, in terms of what in fact Black Power was, we can understand those most trying times when the national TV and other forms of mass media were giving prime time to a Black spokesman of militant nature.

[00:06:01 - 00:07:26]

Something that of course over the last two years is non-existent. Mr. Carmichael left the country, and went to Africa and studied under Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. In Guinea, under the direction of Mr. Nkrumah, Mr. Carmichael developed within a definite philosophy that has a lot to do with what I believe, the Black Power movement or the basic thrust of Black Power and the Black Nationalist Movement entails today. So without further commentary, I would like everyone to give Mr. Carmichael, who will speak on Nkrumism, the correct idealism, a very big round of applause: Mr. Stokely Carmichael.

(applause)

[00:07:27 - 00:09:00]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: I thank you very much for your warm welcome. I greet you, good afternoon. I thank brother Hill, chairman of the Black Cultural Affairs Board, the members of the Black Cultural Affairs Board for its invitation this afternoon. Unfortunately we were to start at 12; as a revolutionary, I'm always on time. We have run a little bit overtime, so I think unfortunately we may cut into the question and answer period. But if we've cut into it, it's not my fault, I was on time. I want to speak this afternoon about Nkrumism, the correct ideology for the African Revolution. I want to speak about the African Revolution; there are many non-Africans in the audience. It's not to say that because I am speaking about the African Revolution that non-Africans cannot learn or understand something. All revolutions must follow principles which is scientific.

[00:09:01 - 00:10:51]

If it's scientific it means they are universal and abiding. Thus it means that all revolutions are scientific principles that are universally true. These principles only seem to be different when they are applied to a particular situation. Thus people who are non-African can listen about the non-African revolution, about the African Revolution, and still learn something. I learned a lot from Chairman Mao Zedong from the Chinese people in the Chinese Revolution. I certainly learned a great deal from Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Revolution and I've learned a great deal from the Cuban Revolution. I learn a lot from all of these revolutions, because while they are partaking, while they are taking place in a particular area they are applying universal principles.

The one thing we must know about revolution is that revolution is scientific. Principles of revolutions are scientific. It has nothing to do with mystification, it has nothing to do with [...] nonsense, it's scientific. When I use the word scientific, I mean that knowledge which can be held up to light and proven. That's all I mean by science. I don't just mean physics and chemistry, I mean anything that is universally true is scientific. Revolutions are governed by laws of science. And understanding of those laws of science, will help us master revolution. I am a revolutionary. I'm a revolutionary. When I say I am a revolutionary, I mean I want change, I want change, I want change. Change must come about. I want change in the world. I want change in the world, but I will make my, my best contribution to change in the world, by unifying those forces that I think can bring about change in a particular area. For example, the heroic people of Vietnam made a terrible and a heavy contribution to world civilization in general and to the world socialist movement in particular. The Vietnamese have done that by putting American imperialism out of its territory and organizing its territory as it sees fit around principles of scientific socialism, but they did that in Vietnam, it was in Vietnam that they

concretized it, and we thank them for their contribution for world civilization in Vietnam, in Vietnam.

[00:10:52 - 00:12:28]

I want to make that clear because unfortunately I speak against a background of nonsense. American being a capitalist country, has a background of nonsense in its propaganda. It attempts to confuse people, and it makes it appear that if I say that if I'm fighting for Black people, one all of sudden comes to the assumption that I'm fighting against everybody else and that's nonsense. If I'm fighting for Black people, and they are people, and I'm fighting for that which is just for Black people, then obviously, logically, and quite truthfully, I'm fighting for man in general. It makes sense, makes sense. I have to say these things because they make it appear that I'm fighting against man. No, I'm fighting for man, fighting for man. I'm talking about revolution. Ideology is extremely important in a struggle. It's crucial. It's crucial. And ideology has certain characteristics which are necessary if one is really going to carry on a revolutionary struggle. Ideology, of course, its intent is solidaristic, that is to say that ideology seeks to bring together the broadest possible masses of people and to organize them, unify them, and channel their energies into a desired goal. All societies have desired goals, all societies have ideologies, whether or not the ideology is overt. It may be covert. It may not be seen, it may be unseen, it may be found in the laws, it may be found in the mores. But each and every society has an ideology. America has an ideology.

[00:12:29 - 00:13:43]

Inside the ideology of a given society, one finds the values of the society, one finds the values of the society. And if one is talking about revolution, and one is talking about change, it is a necessity to analyze carefully the values of the given society. America has a backward ideology, its ideology in content and form is capitalist, that being its system; the philosophy issues forth from that system. Unfortunately, or not—well, unfortunately for the masses of people, and properly handled according to capitalist philosophy, even students who attend universities know nothing about capitalism. They don't analyze and they are not encouraged, as a matter of fact they are discouraged in the universities from properly analyzing it. Today, we must do some of that analysis. We will do it slowly and carefully. When I'm finished, I don't expect you to agree with me, but I want you to analyze what I say, so that when I'm finished if there are some questions, the questions will be based on what I say and not what you think I say, or whether you like what I say or don't like what I say. That way, the contribution that we make to each other will be more fruitful and far more helpful.

[00:13:44 - 00:14:42]

An ideology, an ideology has the values of a society in it. Values are to be found in it. In an ideology, you will find what the society believes to be the nature of man. Each society has an ideology, and in that ideology it spells out what it believes to be the nature of man. It not only has what its belief about what the nature of man is, but it also tells the desired goals it seeks to drive man towards. That is, what goal the society seeks for itself and for the people inside of it. Inside of an ideology, and key to an ideology, is to be found the inward identity of the group. The inward identity of the group. Of course ideology, in order to be consistent, must have some interpretation of the history of those people that it seeks to unify.

[00:14:43 - 00:16:27]

The Black struggle, the worldwide Black struggle, the African struggle because Black and African are in fact synonymous, they're the same things. Even though America tries to make it appear that it's not the same thing, Black and African are the same thing. African Revolution on a worldwide basis at this time faces a critical period. In order for us to move beyond that critical period, ideology becomes a necessity. Again because we want to bind our people together. And in order to bind them together there must be an ideological force. That ideology now, in order to be proper, must be an ideology which is not manifested in thought but more importantly is manifested in action.

I said that I'm an Nkrumist. When I say that I'm Nkrumist, means I have a love and understanding of the ideas and actions of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. But my ideology cannot end there. These ideas are to be manifested in my daily practices. Nkrumah says that thought without action is empty. And action without thought is blind. He says thought without action is empty, and action with thought is blind. He says revolutions are made by men who think as men of actions and act as men of thoughts. Those are the only people who make revolution. Men who think as men of actions and act as men of thoughts. Thus my ideology is a practical ideology, and it must be manifested in my daily life. It must be manifested in my daily life.

[00:16:28 - 00:18:50]

I said that when we talk about revolution, we talk about change. Now many people talk about revolution and don't even talk about change. If you don't know how change comes about, then it would be very difficult for you to be revolutionary. Certainly we can say that if you have a clear understanding of the processes of change it will make you that much better to master revolution. We must have a clear understanding of change if we are to talk about revolution. We must have a clear understanding of change if we are to talk about revolution. And I say the revolution follows scientific principles. The first one you must know is that in order to be revolutionary, one must not just be against something, one must also be for something. In

order to be revolutionary, one must not just be against something, one must also be for something. For example, there are very many people in America, in the Black community, the African community, and on the white left who say, we're anti-imperialist. We're anti-racist. We're anti this and we're anti that. But they never tell you exactly what they are for. I want to show you why it is necessary for you to understand this because change, of course, occurs through dialectical processes, it's the only way that change occurs. We will discuss that a little bit later. But if for example this is the space that America occupies, and if I'm against the status quo, I'm against imperialism, I'm against racism, etcetera, etcetera. I will fight to destroy America.

Well, once America is destroyed, I have nothing there to put in its place. Thus the logical result is anarchy. Of course, everyone knows a society cannot function under anarchy, there must be some, some law and order. All societies must have law and order. You're for law and order aren't you? [pause] Yeah, I'm for law and order. Yes, I'm for law and order that of course follows justice. If you have law and order which ensues from unjust principles, and there are going to be untold contradictions within the society. So we must have a society that follows law and order. Revolutionary struggles ensue and you will see and you will the difference between those who are just against and those who are far because this is America. I'm against America, and this is the system that I have which I want to replace America. So my system is fighting to replace America. Revolutionary struggles ensue because no two objects can occupy the same space at the same time. Yes.

[00:18:51 - 00:21:04]

So either my system will live, or the American system will live. But you see the struggle, because I am fighting to put my system in. This becomes even more important for us to really grasp revolution, for us to really grasp the ideas of revolution, for us to grasp the reality of revolution, because not only is the revolutionary against the existing system but he is proposing a new system. He wants to create a new system. Thus the revolutionary is not only destroying, he is also creating. A-ha! A revolutionary is not only destroying, he is creating. He must do both. Because he wants to build a new system. He says he has a system which can benefit the masses of the people. And he wants to explain the system to the people, he wants them to see it out of their own concrete reality, and then they too will begin to fight for it. So he's about creating and he's about destroying. He's doing both. Again, because of the dialectical processes of revolution. A true revolutionary, a true revolutionary, while he must destroy and create, is preoccupied with creating. Huh? A true revolutionary is preoccupied with creating. Now he must destroy, that's understood; as a matter of fact, we can say that the destruction is an inevitable consequence of his creation, of his creating, yes. So that the revolutionary is not only destroying America, he's building.

As a matter of fact, it is because he is building he must destroy America, because America is stopping him from building that which he must build. If you see pictures of true revolutionaries, for example, when I was in North Vietnam in 1967, and I went out in the fields with the peasants, the peasants had guns, they had rifles, they had them. But they had hoes! Ah, they had hoes. And the hoes were the ones they were really working with, because the hoes were digging up the ground. It was representing their efforts to build their country as they see fit. The gun was there to protect them from American imperialism which thought it had the right, through its arrogance, how to build upon their land. Yes. It's about creating.

[00:21:05 - 00:22:45]

The beauty of revolution can be seen in this point of creation. What the revolutionary wants to do is he wants to get the masses of people involved in creating and building. Yes. And he comes before the masses of people and he says to them, There are no limitations to man! Men can do whatsoever he will. All he must do is to get rid of the limitations and release his creative genius. And that's when revolution really takes a qualitative leap. Takes a qualitative leap. When the masses of people come to know that they can do anything they want to do, all they have to do is release their creative genius. And they'll do it. And they'll do it. Alright.

Now then we must know something about change. If we can say anything about life, and be absolutely correct, we can say that all things change, everything change, all the time, all the time. If we wanted to put it in a statement I guess we could say that change is both permanent and constant. Change is permanent, and everything changes. I change while I talk to you. So I'm 300 billion cells of my body replaced and every second new ones come and the old ones die off and they are replaced by new ones. The same processes occur while you sit there and listen. We know of course that we change because we start off from this big and we grow and grow and grow and grow and keep on changing and that change is permanent and constant. It occurs every time, every moment, every place. And everything changes, not only you change, I change, this changes, the podium changes, the microphone changes, the camera changes, the light. Everything changes, yes.

[00:22:46 - 00:25:09]

So we know everything changes, on that everybody agrees. Some people disagree on how change comes about. That's where the disagreement is to be found. Now change only comes about through one process and that's a dialectical process, through conflict. Through conflict of opposites, that's the only way change comes about. Again I say that revolution is science, based in science, it's scientific. And we know that everything changes because inside of everything there are molecular structures, and these molecules are made up of protons and electrons.

Positive charges and negative charges. And change comes about between the positive and the negative conflicting with each other. That's how change comes about. This podium will change. Left to stand for a length of time, it would decompose itself and that decomposition, would come about because of the conflict between the electrons and the protons. If we know anything about life, if we know anything about life, we know all things change and we must know that that change must come about through conflict. Through conflict.

Now there are two types of conflict, there are antagonistic conflicts and there is non-antagonistic conflict. The change that I talked about that occurs within our bodies is a non-antagonistic conflict. While this conflict is going on we're able to move to continue to walk without even feeling it, without even feeling it. Now there are some changes that come about which are antagonistic changes. You have antagonistic changes when you have two different sets of values moving against each other which are diametrically opposed to each other. That's when you get sure enough revolution. That's when you get sure enough revolution. Now, we gonna have sure enough revolution, ain't no way to get around it. We gonna have it. Have it (laughs) against a science, people always saying, "Oh Carmichael, he's preaching violence." I ain't doing that. I ain't doing that, I'm just seeing what's coming. Hey, this is what is coming because I know for every action there must be a reaction, I know that. (Podium bang) I know that.

So if there's one action, if European imperialism came to Africa and scattered Africa's children, there has to be a reaction when Africa's children come back together. There must be. (laughs) It's scientific, I ain't got nothing to do with it. (Carmichael and crowd laughing) (applause) I don't, I don't, I don't.

[00:25:10 - 00:26:44]

President, President Sekou Toure, President Sekou Toure, one of Africa's most brilliant warriors and leaders, says that, "Revolution knows no sentimentality." Revolution knows no sentimentality. It's not whether I like you, or I don't like you, this is what has been scientifically determined, thus this is what I have to do. That's all. Even if I like you, I like you very, very much, if you're my brother, if you're my sister, if you're my mother, if you're my wife, and you are doing something against my people, I've got to kill you. I've got to do it. No sentimentality. If I have sentimentality, I am stupid. Yes, no sentimentality, no. You must know that because a lot of people love America, you know they love America very much, and they think that their loving America will be able to let America stand the way it is. No. If you love it to death, America is still gonna fall in its present system, it's got to fall. No if, and, but about it. Even if I loved America, I couldn't help her. I couldn't help her. I couldn't help her. (crowd laughing) Even if I did, I don't, but even if I did (crowd laughing) well, I can't historically. Historically, I

couldn't really love America, it ain't never give me nothing but a hard way to go. (laughing) Nothing but a hard way to go every step of the way. Yes, so I couldn't really love it, but that's another question. Again it's not sentimentality, because even if I don't love it, it's still gonna fall. Yes. (laughing) Alright.

[00:26:45 - 00:28:18]

Change comes about through conflict. Each thing has positive and negative [...] and as they conflict that is how change comes about. If we are revolutionary, if we are revolutionary and we want to bring about change, what we must do is examine each entity. We must look for its positive characteristics, combine the positive with other positive entities, bring them together, collect a force, and wage war against the negative, that's how revolution comes about. Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah calls it "positive action," positive action. Now I said the ideology, now you must be able to practice it. While I'm giving you some ideas about it, I'm gonna show you how it must be manifested. But I tell you now, each thing must have positive and negative in it. We know that scientifically, if something only has protons it can't function. If it has only electrons, it can't function, it must have both. It must have both. So everything must have positive and negative. Everything. Now when a people are dominated, when a people are colonized, when a people are oppressed, the negative aspect is dominance. Hear me well. The negative aspect is dominance. Of course, it's dominant because the people can't make their full contribution to civilization. Thus the negative aspect is dominant. The positive is repressed. What usually happens is the people who are oppressed, they look up, and the first thing they see is the negative. They repeat the negative. Thus they reinforce the negative and help to enslave themselves. You understand it.

00:28:19 - 00:30:16

Let me give you some examples. Alright. You know the black films, the one they call black, like "Sweetback" and "Superfly"? Now they are dominantly negative. The first, they were dominantly negative. And I didn't see "Superfly"; brother did, I was in Dakar, the brother said, hey brother Stokely, did you see Sweet, oh, Sweetback, Sweetback. Did you see Sweetback? I said, no my brother, I didn't see it but I read all about it and know all about it. He said, Oh man, that movie was jive. It was negative. I said, Was it my brother? He said it was totally negative. I said, Oh yeah? I said, What went down in the movie? He said, Well, they had a whole lot of sex. I said, Oh, well, sex, publicly displayed, of course is negative. He said, There's a lot of drugs. Yes, that's negative. Oh, cussing and prostitutes. I said, Oh, that's very negative. I said, Well what else was in there my brother? He said, Oh, there ain't nothing else, then he said, Dude killed a policeman! (Crowd laughter) And I asked him, I said, "What happened when he did it?" He said, "Oh man, he got away." He did. (crowd laughter) That's positive. (crowd laughing) Now the

reason why it's positive is, its not just because he killed some policeman and got away. What's positive is that, he's showing people that America is not an indestructible force. That you can make blows against America, get away, come back, and make blows again. And that's very necessary in America, because especially for Africans here, we have a thinking that if you're revolutionary, you're either dead or you in jail. (laughing; crowd laughing) And here comes a little jive movie to tell you, "Hey, you can get him! He's not indestructible! He can be gotten! All you need is the will and the determination! You can do it!" That's positive. (Crowd cheering) Positive. Positive.

[00:30:17 - 00:32:39]

Now, unfortunately, not many people will be able to see the positives. They are not able to see it. Because we are dominated by the negative. Now let me give you a daily example. In our lives, black people say things about themselves that nobody else says about themselves. Oh yes, you hear black people all the time: Black people ain't no good. Black people can't come together. Black people can't do a wrong right. Yes. Yes. Now the reason this is said is because we're a dominated people. And when we look up we see the negative. And this negative is projected on us by our enemy. And when we look up and see this projected on the television, in the movies, and our schools, everywhere, we automatically repeat it.

As a revolutionary, as a revolutionary, I know there is positive in everything. And I look at the positive attributes of my people, not the negative attributes of my people. Thus everyday I say, Black people are beautiful. Black people are strong. Black people are intelligent. Black people are coming together, and I say, and I say it every day, twenty four hours a day to the people everytime I see them. By doing this, I'm hoping to transform the atmosphere in my community. By transforming the atmosphere in my community, it will make it much better for me to organize more quickly my people. So I can put it in daily practice. You can too! You can too. From now on when you speak about your people, instead of saying negative things about them, say something positive which is true. When you talk about individuals and discuss them instead of saying to brother jive he can't do this, try and said, brother you know, you do this very well. And I want to encourage you to do this and everything else you do as well as you do this. By doing that you set up a new example. You want to elicit the positive characteristics which can make a contribution. You must understand carefully, it must be understood because if you understand it then you will see that each individual has a vital role to play within a revolutionary struggle. Revolution is total. Revolution is total. In every aspect of our lives, every minute of our lives, revolution is total. Thus every minute you must be encouraging and saying how beautiful we are.

[00:32:41 - 00:34:40]

Now this negative feeling comes about, not only because we are dominated by forces, not only because we are dominated by forces, but it also comes about because of interpretation of history. Interpretation of history is very key. Oh, it's extremely key. If your history is correctly interpreted, it will be appointed to your ideology. Hmmm. If your history is correctly interpreted, it will be appointed to your ideology. Not only that, it will inspire you! It will inspire you. If your history is incorrectly interpreted, it will demobilize you. If your history is incorrectly interpreted, it will demobilize you. You are students, you are students. You have a responsibility to our people. You have a responsibility to our people. I would like to encourage you, I would like to encourage you as one of your responsibilities to our people, to make proper and correct interpretation of our history. Not only for yourselves, but for the masses of our people, because I tell you that if our history is not correctly interpreted, it will demobilize you.

Now we could look at the difference even between, well most of the history first of all was written by the enemy. We know that. It was written by our oppressors. That's understood. But even let's take an example between our history which they write and their history which they write. Let's take an example. All of their history is positive. Do you hear me? All of their heroes are positive. They have no negative images. George Washington. Look here man, that cat is so positive, that when he cut down the cherry tree, he didn't even lie. He told his mother, "Mommy, I cut down the cherry tree." (crowd laughing) That's how positive he is and even in cases where it's so blatantly negative, they make it positive! Like we know George Washington had slaves, but even that is positive because he treated his slaves well. (laughing; crowd laughing and clapping)

[00:34:41 - 00:35:50]

Then the presentation of history is very important and they do it to everybody, not just those that are dead a long time ago. Even those who are just dead. Like Kennedy. Hey man, when you read about John F. Kennedy, (whistles) you say, is that the Kennedy that I... that's not the one I knew about. They make Kennedy sound like such a liberal. They make him sound as if he was the White Hope coming to free all the oppressed peoples of the world, ya know. Kennedy was a fascist. He was! It's interpretation of history. Listen, I'll show you how fascist he was. I'm gonna name three things and you will decide for yourself. And they are facts, so you can't, can't mess with them. (laughs) Yeah, it's scientific, you can't mess with it. When people can't mess with the science, they go to the person, you know, don't say what Carmichael said, they say Carmichael is this, Carmichael is that, (laughs) well, what did Carmichael say? (laughs) That's why we come to him, he's got something to say. Don't even talk what he said, Carmichael is a tyrant, Carmichael is a racist, Carmichael is this, Carmichael is that, it ain't got nothing to with it, it ain't about Carmichael anyhow. He's just one drop in the bucket really. Really. (laughing) He

be gone tomorrow, it don't make no difference, we still gonna be keep on keeping on. Yeah. Gotta be careful now.

[00:35:51 - 00:39:46]

Kennedy, Kennedy, Kennedy. Ya know, it wasn't Nixon that started the war in Vietnam. It wasn't Johnson that started the war in Vietnam. It was the liberal, John F. Kennedy who started the war in Vietnam! Yes! It was he. Look, check it out, it was him. Not only that, look here. It was Kennedy who invaded the sovereign territory of the peoples of Cuba under the Bay of Pigs invasion, and it was Kennedy, yeah! And I remember, he came before the American public and lied, he said, "I didn't know nothing about it." Then Castro put a whooping on him that he would never forget. (crowd laughing and cheering) Right! Castro came out and threw some documents on him and he came before the American public and he said, "I'm sorry, I lied. I knew about it!" (laughing) Yes, he was fascist, man. When I worked for SNCC in the south, in the deep south, Kennedy had the right to appoint judges, and he appointed the most racist judges I've ever seen. And everytime I was arrested, I went before one of these racist honkys appointed by this liberal, John F. Kennedy. Can you dig that? Now let me show you what it means to us Africans. It was John F. Kennedy who killed Patrice Lamumba in the Congo because, Lamumba was killed by the United Nations, which was carrying out United States policies: John F. Kennedy. (Crowd clapping)

Interpretation of history is important! If you don't have it correctly, it will warp everything for you. It will put it out of focus. Now let me show you when they come to us. (laughing) Look here, let's take Kwame Nkrumah for example. Every time you read something about Nkrumah, you know what they say, the first thing: Kwame Nkrumah was a great man who made many mistakes (laughing). They are really funny, man. They really believe that stuff. How's he a great man? What made him great? The many mistakes he made? (laughing)(crowd laughing). No. You know when we read about our people, there's nothing significant, it's all negative. But their people are all positive. We have a responsibility to correctly interpret our history so that it can inspire our people. Yes, must inspire them.

Let me give you an example, a clear example. They make it appear in our history, that there was no struggle, you know what I'm talking about, no struggle. That when the Europeans came to get us out of Africa, like we just walked on the boat. As a matter of fact, if you read their books, we thank them for civilizing us! (laughing) (crowd clapping). So that we didn't have any struggle. If there's no sense of struggle, if there's no history of struggle, there's no responsibility, there's no need for the generation, the present generation to struggle. If my grandfather didn't struggle, if my father didn't struggle, why should I struggle? And they make it come to such a ridiculous point, that it makes it appear that everything that we get is because some good white

boy came along and said, "Okay, here, you can have it now. You can have it." Yes. So it doesn't seem to be any history and because of that many of our people actually been looking for a good white man. Which one is the best white man to help us? (crowd laughing) It's logical isn't it? Yes. I tell you when they came to Africa they made it appear as if there was no sense of struggle.

Now, let me give you an accurate interpretation. When they came to Africa to get us, we fought them in Africa. When they put us on the ships, we fought them on the ships. Witness the Amistad. When they put us in the West Indies, we fought them in the West Indies. When they put us in South America, we fought them in South America. When they put us in North America, we fought them in North America, are still fighting them and will not stop fighting them until we get our total liberation! (crowd clapping) Yes. Interpretation of history. Interpretation of history. Interpretation of history is key.

[00:39:47 - 00:41:53]

My grandfather struggled, my father struggled, I'm a struggle, my child will struggle, my grandchild will struggle, I have a history of struggle, I have a history of resistance. Thus it is incumbent upon me to struggle. Interpretation of history is very key. It's very key. As students you must learn it, understand it, and properly use it as a weapon for the liberation of your people. As students you must understand it. Anything negative they say about your people, you can automatically reject it. Say we know there's everything negative, what is positive? And if you look very carefully at our history, it's very easy to find the positive. It's there because it's so strong. It's so strong. Again, it's a question of how you interpret our history.

Because of this many of our people are ashamed of slavery. I'm not ashamed of slavery! I'm proud of what my people did under slavery, because it shows me their strength, their beauty, and their dignity. Few people could have suffered what my people suffered and still walk out of slavery the way they did: with their heads held high. Yes. (crowd clapping) Interpretation. It's interpretation. Now this history goes on on all many levels. I tell you if you don't have a clear interpretation of history, you won't even know who you are, because history correctly interpreted is appointed to your ideology. We have people: I'm negro, I'm Black American, I'm Afro-American, no, we Africans. The reason why we don't say we are Africans, is because of incorrect interpretation of history. Yes. A correct interpretation cannot deny that we are Africans. There is not possible way to deny it. It is obvious and evident that I am African. You can look at me and see that. Yes. You know what Abbey Lincoln says, she says, Brother Stokely, I don't know why we won't say that we don't have some kin to them. They're the only people in the world that look like us. (laughs; crowd laughs) Because our history has been incorrectly

interpreted. We want no relationship with our homeland and our motherland, Africa. Look at the difference.

[00:41:54 - 00:44:15]

Israel, an unjust state, attacked Arab people, and attacked the African people, because Egypt is in Africa. They've made an attack against us. Yesterday, some 10,000 Jews demonstrated to the United Nations in support of Israel. These Jewish people don't know Israel. Many of them have never been there. They don't see it, they don't know anything about it. But they feel ready to support Israel. Yet, Israel is attacking our land, Africa, Egypt, and we don't even move to do anything about it. What makes these Jewish kids want to support Israel and make us not want to even look at Africa. Interpretation of history? We Africans, I want to give you some points on correct interpretation of history, so that at least if I don't get anything from this lecture, when I leave I will get from you a clear understanding that you are Africans and that your interest lies with Africa, not with America, because Africa and America are diametrically opposed to each other, diametrically opposed to each other. If you say you are Black American, you are not African, it means your history begins in America! Yes.

That's when the Black American gets to America, yes. History begins in America. Not only does your history begin in America, but your origins begin in slavery. Yes, because the Black American was a slave. Thus if you say your origins were in slavery, the best you can hope to be is a good slave. Yes, in modern day terminology it is called second-class citizen (laughs; crowd laughing) Now if you say you are African, then you know that your history did not begin there. You know a number of things. If you say you're Black American, your history is some 400 years old. Hey! 400, brother, you know that ain't nothing but a drop in the bucket. If you say you're African, you know that your history is thousands and thousands and thousands and THOUSANDS years old! If you say you are African, you know that your people made a heavy contribution to world civilization. And if your people made a heavy contribution to world civilization, you too can do it once again. Yes. Yes, history is very important. Extremely important. It's vital.

[00:44:16 - 00:46:59]

Black American. Malcolm X put that to rest a long time ago. Again because we don't interpret our history, they are the ones interpreting Malcolm for us. Even our students won't properly read, analyze, and study, and put to practice the things that Malcolm said. Malcolm said that if a cat has babies in an oven, you don't call the babies biscuits. (crowd laughing) Malcolm said it, not me, Malcolm. If an African has babies in an oven, you don't call it biscuits. (laugh) If an African has babies anywhere, it's an African baby. Wherever it is, yes. (crowd clapping) Incorrect interpretation. The reason why they want us to think we are Americans, in—the

contradictions are so much, I don't even see how people can say it. Do you understand? Because they say we are Americans and we got to fight for everything we get. And as soon as we get something, they snatching it away! You don't hardly get it. Before you can breathe, if you breathe, they're gonna snatch it. Yeah, and they say we are Americans. They say we are Americans and we can't do nothing that the Americans can do. The reason they say we are Americans is because they want us to help justify their history and their presence on the red man's land. (audience clapping)

You must understand that carefully, you must understand that properly. You must know whether you are African or American because I'll tell you, America is Africa's number one enemy! Yes, not only of Africa but of the world really, but America is Africa's number one enemy. If you say that you are a Black American, then it means that you have some interest in America. I'm not talking about the land, now I'm just talking about America the country because the land was here before America. This thing America you see. And this thing America is falling and you think you are a Black American, you might feel that you should support it, help hold it up. You guys know what I'm talking about. But if you know you're African, and you know that America is Africa's number one enemy, and America has fallen, you do your best to help kick it down! Yes, that's why it's so important. If you feel like you have any ties to America, and you feel, well after all it's not all that bad. I'm African and you look at it, that's what you've been doing to me all these years, and you're falling. Hey, let me do the best I can to bring you down. Even if I die inside of you, I know my people's liberation will ensue, let me help bring it down. It's important. It's vitally important. We're Africans.

[00:47:00 - 00:49:37]

One final example, which is very funny, and because if you, if you know who you are now, you know what you can do, know what you can do. I was listening to the radio in Washington D.C. the other day and a white man was on the radio, one of those talk shows, and he says, "Ancient!" Listen to the word, "Ancient," he said, "Ancient buildings are falling!" He said, "The Leaning Tower of Pisa is falling!" And he explained all the scientific reasons why the Leaning Tower of Pisa was having problems. And he said, "The Eiffel Tower is falling." And he explained all the scientific reasons why the Eiffel Tower was falling. He says, "Why even here, in Washington, the capitol, the capitol, the rotunda is shifting and sinking." He explained all the reasons why and he went off the air. You know? I banged on the radio and said, hey, come back. I didn't hear you say nothing about the pyramids! Have they budged an inch? I built them. (crowd laughing and clapping)

I built the pyramids, I know I built them, or you built them. You may not know you built them, but you built them. You built them. We built them. And if we built them, and we built them

from the top down, can you get to there? (laughs) The top down. If you go inside the pyramids, you find the exact distance from the sun to the moon. Can you get hip to that? So we don't even know what we have done! Yes, we don't know. We don't know. And if we don't know we can't be inspired to do it again. So me I'm not worried about mathematics, I can go into mathematics and master it! My people were masters at mathematics. Yes. I can go into physics and master it. My people were masters of physics. I can go into chemistry and master it, my people were masters of chemistry. Yes. But if I don't know that, makes it appears as if we are not even scientific. So the rest of us we be education, sociology, humanities, it is well planned. It is well programmed. It is a consistent program. So few of us are up in the sciences. And the reasons, ya know, Black people, they don't know nothing about science. (laughs) We had already, we put it in the pyramids, it is there for everybody to see it. When Russia was having trouble with Sputnik, the Russians went to the pyramids and measured the exact distance and found it to be correct to the "T." That's what helped them send Sputnik up in the air. I know that. And since I know that, I'm not worried. I know what my people have done. We must have a correct and PROPER interpretation of history. As African students in America, I urge you to at least understand and know what is your relationship to Africa. That's all I ask.

[00:49:38 - 00:50:32]

As an Nkrumist, I know that my primary concern is with Africa. My goal is Pan-Africanism. By Pan-Africanism, I mean the total liberation and unification of Mother Africa under scientific socialism. So that, that's my job. That's my primary concern. Even if it's not your primary concern, you must have some relationship with Africa. I ask you to find out what that relationship is, that is all. If you can do that, I won't have to worry about nothing. You can see how great your people were. I won't have to worry about nothing. You can come running home, quick, fast, and in a hurry. So what I want you to do, if you don't do anything else today, is to begin to find out what is your relationship to Africa. Because you know you come from Africa. You might not want to be an African, but some time back there, your people came from Africa. Right, alright. Alright. That's important. Very important. Now let's deal a little with capitalism and socialism.

[00:50:33 - 00:53:41]

I want to look at the value systems. Now capitalism is a backwards system, capitalism is a vicious system. Capitalism is an anti-human system. Capitalism is a backward system. Now I say those things and of course, it's incumbent upon me to prove it. Now sometimes I have trouble, because when I say those things, people get mad. When I'm finished speaking and I prove it, that's when they really get mad. (crowd laughing) [...] Capitalism is a vicious system because it is based on the exploitation of man by man. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of man by man. In order for capitalism to exist, there must be exploitation of man by man. This

exploitation comes about because labor and capital under a capitalist system are always in conflict. Labor and capital under a capitalist system are always in conflict. Always in conflict.

Now if you wanted to see the real vicious nature of capitalism, the viciousness of capitalism lies in the fact that those who labor do not enjoy the fruits of their labor. Understand it well. Understand it carefully and precisely. The viciousness of capitalism is to be found in the fact that those who labor do not enjoy the fruits of their labor. As a matter of fact, we can say that in America, under capitalism, not only do those who labor not enjoy the fruits of their labor, but those that who do not labor, enjoy the fruits of those who do labor. Yes, it's a backwards system. I can see it easily because I'm African. Now don't say that because I'm African I can see it easily. But I can see it easily because I'm African, because the African is at the bottom of the society. And because I'm at the bottom of the society, I see first the contradictions of the society, and thus scientifically, I am in fact the vanguard of the revolution. Not because I'm Black, but because of the position I occupy scientifically. Now it may be that I just happen to be Black, coincidentally, or as Mr. Kissinger says, "Yes, I am Secretary of State for the American government, but it is just coincidental that I happen to be Jewish." (laughs; crowd laughs) Alright, I can deal with that. I'm not racist, I can deal with it. So it's just coincidental that I happen to be Black, but I am at the bottom of the society. I can see it and understand it best because my people suffered the most, acute form of capitalism: slavery. And under slavery, I can see the viciousness of the capitalist system, because my people worked and toiled, and they did not, and do not, and will not enjoy the fruits of their labor until this system is totally and completely and thoroughly destroyed. (crowd claps) Yes. I tell you if you look at slavery, under slavery, we didn't enjoy the fruits of our labor. We built and we sweated for this country and everybody else enjoyed it except us. That's the viciousness of capitalism. Those who labor do not enjoy the fruits of their labor.

[00:53:42 - 00:56:13]

You must know what a capitalist is because they try to play games with you. A capitalist is someone who owns and controls the means of production. That's the only definition going. Someone who owns and controls the means of production and uses the ownership of this production to get more profits. Aha, profit. Now we must see the real value of a capitalistic society. Under capitalism the sole motivating force is profit. Hm, under capitalism the sole motivating force is profit, money. People do things just for money. Success is dependent upon money. Not how you get it, but how much you have. Understand that well. In a capitalist society, they don't ask you how you get it, they just ask you how much you have. As a matter of fact, the more you have, the less the people will ask you how you got it. (crowd laughing) It's logical because the system is so backward.

Now as Africans in this society, we must be very careful, because we live in a capitalist society, we become imbued with capitalist philosophy, and some of us try to imitate these ways at the destruction of our very people. If we want to put a phrase and use a term, if we want to put a sentence and use a phrase from Brother Malcolm to describe the motivating force of capitalism, we would say that under capitalism, what you are told is to get money, get it! Get money, get money, get money by any means necessary. Yes, I tell you it affects our community. We see brothers who are selling drugs to our people in order to (claps) get money. Get a hog, right! So sell him the drugs, weaken him, Let him fall down, it don't make no difference, all I want is the money, I got to have the hog, give me the money, if I have to kill my brother, give me the money. Yes, by any means necessary. It's a backwards society. Totally backward or stupid, stupid, stupid. It brings out all of the negative qualities of man. When one analyzes carefully the capitalist system, one wonders how Black people were able to survive through a vicious system. Thus again showing our strength, our beauty, and our dignity. It's a vicious system. Very vicious, terribly vicious.

[0056:14 - 00:58:15]

Get money anyway you can. But America is the best example, ya know. I see Nixon all the time, he says, "America is the most powerful country in the world. It is the richest country in the world." Of course he is correct, there is no argument about that. He said, "We have nothing to worry about, our gross national product is still..." and he says so many millions of dollars I can't even read the figures. Sometimes I'm almost tempted to reach up to the television and pull him and say, "Nixon, how did America get our wealth?" Just tempted. Could you imagine him? "Well uh..." (laughs) "We saw the land... (crowd laughs) and we wanted the land, and under capitalism, you get the land by any means necessary. So we had to wipe them out but that's long ago. And we needed to build the land, so we saw that the children of Africa were strong, very strong. We kidnapped them, stole them, raped them and brought them here. Then as we expanded we needed to build bombs. Just recently we had to napalm some babies in Vietnam, but after all we just want the money."

Any how you get it. I was on a plane the other day and I think it was a *Time* or *Newsweek*, one of these magazines. I read that Rockefeller's 3-year-old son is a billionaire. Some lady was sitting next to me and she said, "Oh, isn't that wonderful." I said, "Yes, he must have worked very hard." (crowd laughing) The reason she thinks it's wonderful is because, America, which is a capitalist society, has what all capitalist societies have: an illusion of bourgeois democracy. Understand the term carefully. America has an illusion of bourgeois democracy. By that illusion it makes people think that they are participating in America, or as long as they keep going somehow they will get a chance to reap the profits from America.

[00:58:16 - 01:00:01]

Let me give you an example. We know in America, at the end of the year, there is a big gross, oh man it's so much, America makes so much money it's pathetic. I mean they have it, money. But at the end of the year, there's a big pie. The pie is divided unevenly. There are some big pieces for a few people, there are many little pieces for more of the people, and then for us there are the crumbs. But nobody objects to this. And the reason nobody objects to this is because we are told in the classrooms and the colleges on television, we are told that there is equality of opportunity. And what that means is that, this here Rockefeller got the big piece of the pie, but if I work hard and I sweat, next year, I too can get a big piece of the pie. You know some of us really believe that? (crowd laughing) Yeah. You see people come and work hard, thinking some day they're gonna meet Rockefeller, when in fact the concrete reality shows the contradictory facts. Rockefeller's piece keeps getting bigger while ours keeps getting smaller. (crowd laughing) Yes. But bourgeois, an illusion of bourgeois democracy, that's what it is, so I can't get the same piece Rockefeller's got and never can.

Now let me show you how the capitalist system works. I've given you some characteristics. Now, in the time allotted we can't go into capitalism properly, we cannot do that, nor can we go into socialism. What I want to do is give you some of its characteristics. Define it a little for you, stimulate you, so that you yourself as students will be inspired to do some work and some study around capitalism and socialism, so I'm just touching it for you, just touching it for you. I'm not even going into it deeply, because I could go into it for hours and show you how corrupt and vicious it is.

[01:00:02 - 01:03:46]

Let me say to give you an example, okay, let's say there is a factory and I'm a capitalist. Now, we are roleplaying, we're roleplaying, because first of all I'm Black, and we know that in order to be a capitalist, one must own and control the means of production. There are few Black men, if any, anywhere in the world that own and control the means of anything, let alone the means of production. But you roleplay in your sociology classes, let's roleplay. Let's say that I am, I'm a capitalist and this is my factory and you are my workers. I own the factory. You don't know me. You never see me. I don't come into this factory, it's too dirty. Me? Dirty my, no! But I don't have to come to the factory, because I have a watchdog of capitalism, I have a watchdog, yes, a watchdog. Because he likes money more than he likes people. And I pay him more money than I pay you. So he's faithful to me, he's your foreman, yes. He's your foreman. He would do anything. Matter of fact, he would fight harder for capitalism than I will. Now you're my workers and let's say, let's say we make shoes, we make shoes. It costs me fifty cents for the leather, fifty cents for the upkeep of my machinery. That's a dollar. And I pay you a dollar for every pair of shoes you make. That means I pay you two dollars for every pair of shoes you

make. Uh-huh, I'm a capitalist. The sole motivating force of capitalism is profit. Money. Just get it. As a matter of fact, just between me and you, I'll tell you something, quiet it's kept: (leaning close to the microphone) most students in America go to school to make money. Just keep it a secret between you, don't tell nobody. Quiet it's kept. Yeah, oh we know it's a fact. You know that? Most of them go for money. Right, they don't even recognize it. That's how vicious the system is. It really is, alright.

I'm a capitalist. You're my workers. We make shoes. It costs me two dollars to make shoes. I pay you a dollar on every pair of shoes you make. You're workers, there is something you must understand. No force on Earth can stop the rising consciousness of a people. Understand that properly. No force on Earth can stop the rising consciousness of a people. Especially workers. Because they're thrown in the factory. They are working together, they can see their exploitation more quickly than others. You're my workers, you make shoes. I'm a capitalist, I want profit. I sell the shoes you make and it cost me two dollars for five dollars. I make a profit of three dollars. But that three dollars comes into my pocket. Not to yours. This is where you can see the viciousness of capitalism because you sweat, you labor, you make the shoes, I keep the profit. Your consciousness begins to rise, it has to. Contradictions are set up. You go downtown one day to buy some, I really get you man, look I get you. I tell you even when you want to buy a pair of shoes, which you have made, that has cost me two dollars and I paid you one dollar for. When you go to the shop to buy them, five dollars. Yeah, I get you, on every angle, I get you. But your consciousness begins to rise, you go downtown to buy a pair of shoes and you see that's the shoes you make because you remembered you messed up the stitch around the heel, right. (crowd laughing) So you pick it up and you say oh yeah, I made this. You say to the man, "How much is this?" and he say, "Five dollars." "Five dollars!?" That man only paid me one dollar. You come back, you get mad, you start to talk about higher wages, listen to the term, higher wages. I want to show you the spiraling effect of a capitalist economy.

[01:03:47 - 01:06:07]

You want higher wages did you say? Give me some higher wages, so you all come in and you make a little bit of noise, and you tell the foreman, we want higher wages! The foreman comes to see me and says, "The workers say they want higher wages." Aw, later for the workers, let them work. So the foreman comes back and he says "No higher wages. Y'all work." But your consciousness is rising. So you go to the next level. You organize a labor union and you strike. Right on, you strike. I mean you showing up when you strike. And you do it to me when you strike. Yeah, you stop everything. So we have to set up arbitration. So after awhile we set up arbitration, I say to my foreman, "Give them two dollars for every pair of shoes they make." Foreman comes back and says, "Your wages are increased by 100%. You were making a dollar a pair yesterday for every pair of shoes that you make, today you are making two dollars. You are

elated, you are victorious. You sing union songs for the rest of your time. You're so happy, you don't know what to do.

Alright, me, I'm a capitalist. That's what I am. Ain't no sentimentality in it, I got to make profit. And not only do I have to make profit, my profit must increase every year in order for me to have initiative, individual incentive, yes, that's what I must have. That's how the system works. Last, yesterday it cost me two dollars to make a pair of shoes. I sold it for five dollars. Made a profit of three dollars. Today, it's costing me three dollars to make a pair of shoes. If I continue to sell for five dollars, there's a cut down on my profit, I only make two dollars. Oh, if there's a cut down on my profit, there'll be a cut down on my incentive, my system.... no, it can't go on like that. (crowd laughing) It must be moving. Vigorously, yes! When you see a pair of shoes on the market, which you used to make for a dollar, which you now make for two dollars, which cost me three dollars, it's gonna cost you eight dollars. Yes, now you see how it works. Wages increase, prices jump. Wages increase, prices jump. Because of the profit motive. Wages increase, prices jump and they keep going until they blow. That you see Mr. Nixon running around talking about freeze prices, freeze wages, freeze prices, freeze wages; no, Nixon: freeze capitalism, that's the problem. (crowd clapping) that's the problem. that's the problem. that's the problem. Yes, that's the problem.

[01:06:08 - 01:08:26]

Now when the system gets ready to blow, there's only one thing that saves it: W-A-R. War. It's the only thing that saves it. W-A-R. War. Don't take my word for it. Look carefully at the history of what is known as America. If you look carefully at what is known as America, you will see that every twenty years, this country has had a major war. Every twenty years. This unnatural phenomenon, under a capitalist system, has become so unnatural, that some so-called sociologist professors, and they're given these titles, can be able to make hypotheses about the unnaturalness of man. I saw them on television one time arguing and one dude really got up and said, (mocking voice) "Well, you know, we see from history that every generation man must fight. There must be a war every generation." Can you believe that? Can you believe that? And they really believe that because of the unnaturalness of the system. It's a backwards system, this system capitalism. Because not only do I try to exploit your labor but I try always to look for higher profits. Either by pushing quality down, pushing quantity down, and raising prices.

Let me give you some examples. A few years ago I used to buy a bottle of Coca-Cola like this for ten cents. After drinking the Coca-Cola, I could return my bottle and get two cents. So I could not only have Coca-Cola, I could have some chewing gum, ya know what I'm saying? (crowd laughing) The other day, I was running very rapidly through the airport and I stopped and said,

“Give me a Coca-Cola.” I dropped ten cents and she said “No, fifteen cents.” I said okay and I dropped fifteen cents. She gave me a bottle this small and it was no deposit. Quantity has gone down. Prices have gone up. The same is true in everything in life. Even toilet paper. It’s getting thinner and the prices are going up. (crowd laughs) Yes. It’s true. That’s the way they make their money. Cars. They’re getting cheaper and they are costing more. So that society itself because of this profit motive, engulfed by this profit motive, permeated by this profit motive, imbued by this profit motive, can see nothing except profit. Even the interests of people become secondary to the profit motive. It is a backwards system, let me give you an example.

[01:08:27 - 01:10:30]

I’ll make two statements about America. They’re truisms. You know what a truism is, it’s a philosophical statement. Excuse me, I’m getting warm under these lights. A philosophical, a truism is a statement which is true at all times, everywhere under all conditions, under all conditions. First truism, and this is true. Absolutely true. America is the most scientifically developed country in the world. That’s a truism. In this time and space there is no country in the world that is as scientifically developed as America. Now I want you to see the backwardness of capitalism. You must see it for yourselves, now don’t take my word for it. Because what they do under capitalism is the sciences that they have, rather than using it to help people, they use it to exploit people. Check it out. I tell you, you know with the cars, you know, in 1945 if you were driving a car and you hit a tree, the tree would fall, did you know that? In 1974, if you are driving a Cadillac, and you hit a bicycle, the Cadillac might fold. (crowd laughing) Oh it’s a fact, we know it keeps getting cheaper, but we don’t know why, let me show you why: It’s the profit motive. Truism. America is the most scientific developed country in the world.

Second truism: America made for our people in 1945 better cars than she makes for our people in 1974. Truism. Truism. Now look at how backward it is. Here’s a country that has scientific achievements at its fingertips. Here’s a country that surpassed the world in scientific achievement. Here is a country that can build a car that could last twenty years and be safe for people. And here’s a country that takes technological skills, takes scientific achievement and tries to figure out how to build a car that will destroy itself every three years so you’ve got to buy another car. (crowd clapping) Vicious. Vicious. It’s a totally vicious, thus the system keeps going backwards. Backwards.

[01:10:31 - 01:14:39]

The reason is because it is profit motive. The system itself leads to a chaotic situation. There’s got to be mass chaos because capitalism is an unplanned system. It has no planning. It’s only thoughts are money, more money, money, money, money, how to get more money. Yes. I read

the other day on the newspaper that General Motors made so much money, again I couldn't even figure out the numbers, I was trying my best. I didn't get that far in math, but that's what they said. Now I did higher math, but it baffled me, they had all these numbers and they said they got all this from selling so many cars. And then they said, that was 1973. And said, in 1974 General Motors hopes to make more cars and sell more cars and make more money. I said, yeah, alright. I said, General Motors, you slick, you can invent cars. But there's one damn thing you can't invent and that's space. The more cars you get the less space you have. The more cars you get the less space you have. Well they try, you see everytime you see them on the highway, they digging up the highway, all they're doing is trying to make room for the cars and they can never make it because you could produce more cars! You know that in these assemblies, they can produce something like a thousand cars every hour! No wonder they are so cheap. (crowd laughs) Yes, money. It's the sole motivating force. I propose to you a system which is diametrically opposed to capitalism. I propose to you a system which will solve the problems of capitalism. I propose to you a system which will help build the civilization of mankind. I propose to you scientific socialism. (crowd clapping)

Under socialism, unlike capitalism, where money is the center of the stage, man is at the center of the stage. Man is at the center of the stage. We do things for the benefit of man. We are inspired to do things for man. We want to do things for man. I know, in America they say, oh that can't happen. Carmichael is talking idealism. Carmichael is talking utopia. He wants to build a utopian world and that world cannot happen. And everybody believes that world cannot happen.

Now I want to show you why, because I told you in an ideology, the society has its belief about the nature of man. And I want to show you the relationship of religion in a capitalist society. In a capitalist society, religion becomes a tool to help reinforce capitalist philosophy. Yes. What is the nature of the belief of man in America? The nature of the belief of man in America is that man is basically greedy. Man is basically evil. Yes. That's the nature, that's the belief of nature of man in America. Man is basically evil. And religion comes along and supports this backward ideology and thought processes. Along comes religion to tell us that man is born in sin. Yeah, could you dig that? They tell me that when I came out my mother's womb, and they cut the umbilical cord, and I cried "argh," I was born in sin. You dig that? And some people believe that so much that every Sunday they go to church and try to pay money to absolve themselves from the sins they have been born in. Religion then just becomes a tool in the hands of capitalism. If man is basically evil, then it follows logically according even to Leibniz, that capitalism is the best of all possible societies that we can have. Yes.

Man is not basically evil. I could not believe that nonsense. If we know that all things have positive and negative in it, then man must have positive and negative characteristics. Of course it does, of course it does. Man knows selfishness and he knows altruism. Man knows love and he knows hate. Man knows joy and he knows sadness. Man, like everything, has negative and positive forces! Depending upon how the society is structured, depending upon the ideology of the society, it will either elicit the negative characteristics of man or elicit the positive characteristics of man. Yes.

[01:14:40 - 01:17:48]

Capitalism being the dominantly negative system, elicits the negative characteristics of man. And, I mean it just keeps you bind in, man. If you say to somebody, hey, I want to work for man. You won't get no initiative if you work for man. What do I need? Well you need some money. Hey man, is it man who creates money or money which creates man? Oh, it's man. It's man. Money ain't nothing. It's man who's everything. I tell you money ain't nothing. And if you're doing things just for money, when money falls, all you're gonna do is commit suicide. It's logical. If you follow, you gotta watch society. It's logical. What they do is logical. It seems bizarre, but it's logical. You can do things for man. Yes you can. It depends upon how the society is structured.

Let me give you a quick example. Sex. Well, what America calls sex. It is really lust, but let's say sex, okay. Man knows lust. When I say man, I also mean woman, I use the term man generically. Man knows lust, so all these things I say about man is true for woman. Man knows lust. Now if this lust is not held in check it will move. In America, nothing is held sacred. Understand what I'm saying. Nothing is held sacred. Matter of fact, if I'm out of the country and I come into the country around February, I'll tell you when it's gonna be George Washington's birthday. Because all I gotta do is pick up any newspaper and it says "George Washington's birthday sale"! Yes. It's a day to make money. Washington's birthday sale. Lincoln's birthday sale. Labor Day sale. Yes, everything is hooked up with money, nothing is held sacred. Not even George Washington is held sacred.

So it is in America that not even the act of procreation is held sacred. Not even the act of procreation is held sacred. Thus sex becomes a commodity from which to make money. Yes it does. And so what you do with that, they try to elicit lust from people in order to make them to spend money. Let me show you. And when I talk about sex as a commodity, I'm not talking about prostitution. That's not even money making you know. That's not even money making. I'm talking about showing off money, like pornography for example. Yes, want to make a movie? Want to make a lot of money? Get the man and woman to make love in a bathtub. Oooh, you get money. Do something the more unnatural, the more unnatural it is, the more money you make. Sex just becomes so permissive in this society that it's a tool in their hands. I

tell you you can't see anything without sex! Look at your television. I looked at television the other day, I was looking at a commercial. Some little girl came up with toothpaste and said, "I use Ultrabright because it gives me a sexy smile." Is that so? A few minutes later, some woman was in the garden chopping up roses and she said, "I use Geritol because it builds me." Before she finishes, her husband walks up: "My Geritol baby..." (crowd laughing) Nothing but sex.

[01:17:49 - 01:20:48]

Nothing but sex. By eliciting sex, what they call sex, they are in fact eliciting lust. The other day, even in Montana, we were passing on the highway, we saw a sign that said, "Are you a leg man?" They were advertising turkey. (crowd laughs) Sex. Because they elicit this lust from mankind, the society becomes more promiscuous. And if the society becomes more promiscuous, those individuals who are incapable of controlling their lust, logically move to rape. Thus the society is becoming full of rape. Rape, rape, rape, rape. And they talk about the way to solve rape is to get stiffer courts... that's nonsense. You must control and understand the nature of procreation. And understanding of that will tell you how to use it.

I tell you it depends because in Africa, even to this day women walk around with hardly any clothes on and there's no case of rape. I wonder what would happen if in Portland, Oregon on a warm summer day, you decided to walk out without much clothes on. In Africa the difference is the positive aspect dominates the negative aspects. You must understand these things so you can see how societies are organized. It's important because we function within the society.

Socialism is a planned society, it is not unplanned. There's no profit motive involved in it. We do things for the benefit of man. If we have 50,000 people here, we need x number of schools, x number of hospitals, x number of cars, etc., etc. The profit motive is not there, it is man that we are concerned with. You can see it more clearly around what is known as conflict of interest. You know in America we have conflict of interest, they have it in those government courses. And what they say is, in the society there are different interests. And those people that have different interests, have the right to fight for their interests. So you have labor fighting employer, lawyer fighting doctor, etc., etc. And it finds its manifestation in the lobby system in this country. You know you send your lobby to congress, labor lobby, medical lobby etc., etc. And what it means is that they are all fighting each other. They're a conflict of interest. Under socialism, there is no conflict of interest. There is only one interest: Build the nation! Serve the people! Build the nation! Serve the people! If you're a peasant: Build the nation! Serve the people! If you're a carpenter: Build the nation! Serve the people! If you're a teacher: Build the nation! Serve the people! If you're a doctor: Build the nation! Serve the people! If you're the

president: Build the nation! Serve the people! No conflict of interest, thus you can channel all the energies of the people towards a desired goal, towards a desired goal.

[01:20:49 - 01:24:17]

Under socialism, the people own and control the means of production. That's a key point. The people own and control the means of production. Thus the profits that arise from the labor are sent back to the people in the forms of better schools, better houses, better communications, etc., etc. Let me give you a quick example. I always want to give examples, because I want to concretize what I say. When I was in Cuba in 1967, I was shocked to find out that Cubans hardly paid for telephones. They hardly paid for telephones. They pay a minimum rate and they can call anywhere. And I was really shocked and I said, "Well, how do ya'll do that?" You know, they said, "Oh, once you put a telephone in, overhead costs ain't much." Have you ever thought about that? You have a telephone in your house that stays for three years. It stays for years and once the lines are down nothing bothers them except maybe a storm. Now they do it underground so it even lasts longer. So the overhead is very cheap, and in America where technology is developing so rapidly, they even get rid of people. You know the other day I called an operator, I said, "Operator! I want to make a direct call to so and so." She said, "Sir, you could do it directly." I said, "Baby, you're putting yourself out of a job." Now I can even dial direct to Europe so I don't even need the operator, so they get rid of operators. Thus they are cutting their overhead, and everytime you turn around the telephone companies are asking for an increase in fair and they get it, so the prices keep rising, the overhead cost is going down, they are making more profits, and we are once more being squeezed once again.

It's a vicious system, it's a vicious system and must be destroyed. We must fight against it and in order to do so, I encourage you to learn, to study, and to work around socialism. To understand capitalism precisely and properly, because I tell you the people of the world are moving toward socialism. America will either join that march or be swept into the dustbin of history. That's a fact. Whether Stokely Carmichael says it or not. It's a fact. The peoples of the world today are rising and are prepared and going to struggle for that which justly belongs to them. They've been inspired all around them, the best inspiration of the peoples of the world have gotten us, from the little nation of Vietnam which has clearly demonstrated a truth of Mao Zedong's statement, it is not technology that decides a war, it is the will of the people that decides the war. As America, with all her might cannot decide wars. The people unified and determined, marching towards justice will decide the war.

I'm not worried, I know my people will win. I don't think it, I know it. Because I know that just struggles always succeed. I know that. An unjust struggle can never win over a just struggle. The struggle may take a long time, there's one thing I know about revolution, I know my people will

win! I know that if I die today, I'd die happy because I've already seen they're gonna win, I'm not worried about that. The one thing I don't know about it is when they are going to win. But since I know they are going to win 24 hours a day, I make the best contribution I can make, knowing that the more I contribute the quicker will come the day. I know my people will win, I know that. (crowd clapping)

[01:24:18 - 01:26:40]

I want you, I want you to know that. In spite of what appears to be overwhelming odds. I look and see the papers of the aggressive state of Israel, but I'm not worried, I know that Israel will be defeated into an oblivion of nothingness by the just peoples of the Arab world and the just peoples of Africa. So yes I know that. I know that. (crowd clapping) Now I look at America and she get bigger and bigger and I'm not worried. I know my people will win. As a matter of fact, America being thrust along head long path of suicide, had no alternative, but to go the way she is going, and the more acts she commit to save her, the more she heightens the contradictions of the peoples of the world. Yes.

Let me give you an example in Chile. Yes. America killed Allende, it was the interest of America that killed Mr. Allende. That's undoubtable. Oh, they told us he committed suicide with a machine gun. Yes. But by America committing, killing Mr. Allende, they helped themselves commit suicide because they raised the contradictions. What they told the peoples of the world was that Mr. Salvador Allende is the first democratically elected Marxist-Leninist president. Right. Right. And they kept saying that all the time. Even, his name wasn't anymore Allende, it was democratically elected Marxist-Leninist Allende. What America didn't know was that Mr. Allende was truly committed to socialist transformation in his country. If you go back and you look at the papers when he first came to power, they played with him and said, he likes to drive sports cars. He wears flashy clothes. He likes to go to cocktail parties and drinks liquor and all this. They made it as if he was a playboy. But Mr. Allende was committed to socialist transformation in his country. And when America saw that they could not make him compromise his principles, when they saw that he would not veer from the path of socialism, they killed him. But by killing him we must be happy! Because what they've told the people of Chile in particular and the people of the world in general, is that you cannot go from capitalist to socialist without armed struggles. Thank you America, thank you. Yes, thank you.

[01:26:41 - 01:29:18]

Thus the people of Chile have to fight. We have to fight. All of us have to fight. We have no alternative. I tell you that Pan-Africanism is really the only solution for the African in America.

Not only because historically Africa is our home. But we know that a man whose home is not built can never be respected. We are fortunate people, this generation of ours, we see the combination of history unfolding before our very eyes. We see the great work of the Chinese people under the wise and courageous leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong. Before the organization of China, the Chinese were not respected. Now their country is a power. And wherever they go, they are respected.

Our country is Africa! Our home is not unified, our home is not strong, our home has no power to come and bear a force. Thus we can never be respected. Black Power yields to Pan-Africanism logically. I want to show you how before I sit down. In order to get power you must add what little you have to get a great amount of power. If we organize ourselves wherever we are in the world, seizing bases of Black Power wherever they are. But using this as an aid to build Africa because the stronger Africa becomes, the stronger we will become. Yes. Oh, I know the history tells you that they don't care about you in Africa; negative, incorrect interpretation. Don't even discuss it. I know they tell you your brothers sold your brothers in Africa! I know they tell you that.

I was born in Trinidad and when I came to this country, I think about 5th grade, and I went into the classroom. And my mother used to tell me all the time, son, you don't have American history and they gonna whip you with American history. You know I was trying to do my best with reading but I hadn't caught up with all of it. I remember once, the teacher said, when Peter Stuyvesant came to America, the Indians sold him America for \$24, I mean sold him Manhattan, the island of Manhattan for \$24. With beads, with beads. I raised my hand and I said, the Indians sold him Manhattan for \$24 in beads? She said yes. I said, but I thought the Indians made the best beads in the world. Why would they do that? She said, well, they did. Well, okay, I'm just asking questions now, out of the mouths of babes, I said well look here, if they bought Manhattan for \$24, how much did they pay for the rest of America?

[01:29:24 - 01:31:50]

That vicious story is put in there to make the Indians look stupid and to justify the fact that Manhattan belongs to the white man. Now the same thing is true when they say our brothers sold our brothers. I remember when she got to that point, she said, well, Africans also sold Africans. I said, What did you pay for them? How did you pay for them? With what? You couldn't pay for them with money. You didn't have it. You came to Africa for gold, you came for diamonds, everything you want is in Africa so what did you give me? If I'm going to sell you my brother, what did you give me? It's negative, but we believe it because we have been so conditioned by the negative that we want to believe the negative about our very own people.

We must cause a transformation, we must rise up. I tell you the only way we can do it is to unify as a force. The white man came to Africa and snatched me out of Africa, stole me from my brother; just because the white man stole me from my brother, I cannot not stop being my brother's brother. Can I? I'm still my brother. We say, he stole us out of Africa, and he put thousands of miles of water between us, but he forgot one crucial point: blood is thicker than water. Yes (Crowd clapping) I tell you if you want Pan-Africanism, you have to build! If we have a little bit of Black Power in Los Angeles, we must put it with the Black Power in San Francisco, add it to the Black Power in Seattle. Add it to the Black Power in Portland. Add it to the Black Power in Detroit. To Mississippi. To Alabama. Add it to the Black Power in Virginia. In South Carolina. In North Carolina. Add it to the Black Power in Boston. In Washington D.C. In New York City. Add it to the Black Power in Panama. Add it the Black Power in Venezuela. Add it to the Black Power in Guyana. Add it to the Black Power in Suriname. Add it to the Black Power in Peru. Add it to the Black Power in Trinidad. Add it to the Black Power in Jamaica. Add it to the Black Power in Haiti. Add it to the Black Power in Dominican Republic. Add it to the Black Power in St. Kitts. Add it to the Black Power in St. Thomas. Add it to the Black Power in Bermuda. Add it to the Black Power in Algeria. Add it to the Black Power in Egypt. To Guinea. To Ghana. To Togo (crowd clapping) To Dahomey. To Tanzania. To Uganda. Bring it together and that is Black Power! (crowd continues to clap) That is Black Power. That is Black Power. That is Black Power.

[01:31:51 - 01:32:57]

Once that force is put together, we will be a power to influence world peace. I believe that the nature of man is that he strives to live in peace. That's the basis of my ideology. Man strives to live in peace. In order to live in peace he must eradicate all forms of exploitation of man by men. I tell you I want peace so much that I'm willing to kill for it. I thank you. (crowd clapping)

[01:32:58 – 01:36:08]

MODERATOR: We have two questions please. Are there any questions?

CARMICHAEL: Can you excuse me for one minute please, I'd just like to say something. If there are no questions, I'd just like to encourage you to do two things. To the white youth in the audience, I'd like to encourage you to do some serious work and some serious understanding around capitalism and socialism. Whether you accept or agree with me is not important, I just want you to do some serious work on it. I think if you do some serious work you will see that is your responsibility to hire, help make America come about through socialist transformation as rapidly as possible.

To my brothers and sisters in the audience: I tell you that you have one responsibility and that responsibility is to your people. The reason there is a Black Cultural Affairs board in this city, in

this university, is because our people died in the streets in the late 60s to get this here. They went out in the streets and they died. And when the disruptions were occurring, they had to make some concessions very quickly. They had to put some on television. They had to put some on radio. They had to put some in the newspapers. Give some positions and put some in some schools. These concessions, and they are concessions, are concessions that are made with the blood of our people. In this country, we get nothing for nothing. Everything we get comes through sweat, blood and tears. If you are in this university, you are here as a direct result of the blood of your people. Thus you have a responsibility to your people. If your people have made open this space for you and you occupy this space, you must get everything you can from here and bring it back and give it to your people. Yes. You must! And you must understand that properly. You are not here for yourselves, because you are brilliant individuals. I hope you are, but you are here only because your people were causing so much trouble, they had to open up this space for you. If you understand that, it means if you are studying mathematics, if you're studying sociology, if you're studying humanities, if you're studying education, whatever you are studying, you will master, take it and make it a weapon, a tool for the liberation of your people. Thus it means that if you are serious and you understand what I say, there is no reason why the Black Cultural Arts Board... Black Cultural Affairs Committee cannot be the honor roll committee at this university. I thank you. (crowd clapping)

MODERATOR: Stokely Carmichael. Thank you very much, once again, for attending. We'll see you soon.

[program ends]