Brother Malcolm was a hero of liberation for oppressed and exploited peoples all over the world. He was like so many who had come before him, a Black who struck down in the bowls of hell who fought to rise up and sing his tune from the mountain top of Black resistance. While everyone who knew him he said, everyone respected him. And through Malcolm, all of us won greater respect. Brother Malcolm was a rare genius, a gifted leader who built his movement with those that the system had rejected. His life is testimony to the truth that the last shall be first, the ideologically dead shall rise, and the truth shall set us free spiritually and morally free.

Malcolm stood tall on two pillars of strength. (1) BLACK IDENTITY: Malcolm was dedicated to linking the Afro-American to Africa (spiritually, culturally, and physically), to resisting white racism at all costs, and to building Black unity, including all ideologies providing that they put the interests of the masses of poor Blacks above all else. This stimulated the Black consciousness movement, inspired Black art and literature, and set the foundation stone for Black liberation theology, Black studies, and the social theory of Black nationalism.

(2) REVOLUTION: Malcolm was clear on the unity of strategy (one's fundamental long range goals that hardly ever change) and tactics (concrete steps to achieve strategic goals). Malcolm had a strategic vision of world brotherhood based on mutual respect and freedom from all forms of oppression and exploitation. But he saw two alternative tactics, the ballot or the bullet. And even more importantly, he fully understood his role as the most radical leader of the 1960's. He forced even racist whites to accept the moral preferential treatment of the Negro. He made a commitment, as did Malcolm, although in different ways, to a liberation that is not possible to achieve as long as Black people are punished for not voting. Malcolm sought to actually build an army of Black liberators who would be the self-defense Black people so desperately needed.

The main contrast in contemporary Black leadership is between Martin Luther King and Malcolm. King won the respect of the Western inner city, as did Malcolm, although in different ways. Malcolm was a Black nationalist who believed in revolution, while King was a civil rights leader fighting for reform. King was more acceptable because he operated within the system albeit as an opposition, while Malcolm was outside. King was given the Nobel Peace Prize, while Malcolm was given official recognition by the Organization of African Unions. In order to understand Black leadership both of these men must be understood. The liberal establishment must not be allowed to manipulate us to forget Malcolm.

REMEMBER MALCOLM!
Malcolm was an Apostle, a true witness to Black liberation. He lived like us, and he died for us. An apostle is a person who has been filled with the spirit of revelation. He is a man of a revolutionary movement, usually in terms of its ideology, morality, and political leadership. Malcolm was an Apostle of Black Liberation for the Nation of Islam.

1. He was a direct descendent of the two main nationalist traditions in that his father was both a Baptist minister and an organizer for the UNIA led by Marcus Garvey. Also, Malcolm was taught in the Nation of Islam by Elijah Muhammad, whose father was also a Baptist minister.

2. He transformed his life into a model of honesty for which the only moral imperative was to serve the cause of Black liberation. His voice cleared a space for Black Liberation Ideology.

MALCOM LITTLE: THE EXPLORER

One of the most difficult aspects of being Black and growing up in the USA is nurturing and growing strength as Black young men. This came to a head for Malcolm, since the main aspect of his youth was the systematic violence he learned to accept as the means whereby he could have a strong sense of identity, dignity, and manhood. He had a strong father, Rev. Earl Little, who held some of the most dominant and militant political positions in the Nation of Islam, a Baptist minister and an organizer for the UNIA. Earl was Malcolm’s father. An important part of the Nation was his father’s teachings. Rev. Earl Little was the following years represented a once proud family being bludgeoned to the ground by the welfare system. This system was not functioning to provide support as much as it attacked the dignity of a family who had fallen on hard times through no fault of their own. As a result of several years of humiliation Malcolm’s mother, Louise Little, born in Grenada, suffered a nervous breakdown and spent 26 years in a mental institution. Her breakdown happened when Malcolm was 12.

Malcolm was sent to live in two foster homes, first with a Black family and then with a white family in charge of a detention home. He was on his way to reform school. However, he was a bright and earnest youth, so he stayed with this white family for 4 years, finishing the eighth grade. But, even though Malcolm was a bright student, he was elected president by his 7th grade class, and adapted to their racial code by staying away from white girls, he was put down. When he told his English teacher that he hoped to be a lawyer one day, he was rebuked with the admonition that he should be “realistic about being a Negro,” and that he should learn to walk with his hands. Malcolm was 15. Societal racism destroyed Malcolm’s father, his mother, and his aspiration to use his mind. In his own words, Malcolm told his mother that he had no hope for a legitimate life style. America required giving up dignity and manhood in exchange for a life of poverty, violence, and ignorance.

DETROIT RED: THE EXPLORER

Malcolm became Detroit Red when he accepted his rejection by white racism, moved to the East Coast, and began to live his life based on the norms and values of street life. Detroit Red was the opposite of Malcolm Little, but just as much a part of the American drama. Malcolm entered the illegal underground economy with his morality solely based on the pleasure principle: “if it’s good to you, its good for you,” no matter who you hurt to get it, including yourself. This was a suicidal, hedonistic phase. Detroit Red had a white girl friend. He refused to adapt to legitimate Black community norms, and took to street life and began worshiping everything evil as good. His life was filled with violence, crime, drugs, prostitution, and satanic attacks on religion. All along the way Malcolm saw that his life led to self destruction, and years in prison.

Detroit Red was a vulture that fed on his own people, a criminal element that made his own community weaker. The main thing is that this criminal element in the Black Community is responding to their negation of the racist terror of life in the USA. Detroit Red could exist only when Malcolm Little had been destroyed. However, together they are the alternatives to this system; become a lawyer because white people think you are a harmless “masochist,” or be a thug/hooligan who provides white people with their secret hedonistic pleasures. The former is what most youths want and the latter is what all too many get.

3. He set the standard for a generation of activists and intellectuals, fighting to transform a tradition of struggle. With his life we have a prism through which we can deepen our understanding of how Black people are the exploited [Malcolm Little], the exploiters [Detroit Red], the self-empacifiers [Malcolm X], and the social liberators [Malik Shabazz]. The life of Brother Malcolm can be a source of insight and inspiration whereby young people can grasp hold of a role model for self emancipation and social liberation.

MALCOM X: THE SELF EMANCIPATOR

Detroit Red saw such a prison, and so hard on things like religion that his fellow prisoners started calling him “satan.” But Malcolm had more sense than to choose to be a devil in a hell based on his own exploitation. For most prisoners who have some self respect and dignity left, there are only two interests, survival and getting out. But Malcolm discovered that his life as Detroit Red failed to arm him with even the most rudimentary tools needed to move from his imprisonment. He really couldn’t read and write too well.

Malcolm found two clear sources of strength. Both were strong father figures, both buttressing the wounded but still unmanhooded seeds of his consciousness in the thing behind criminality. Malcolm began to stand tall in prison. He found Bimbi, one of the famous “rail house intellectuals” who spoke the truth and was respected by everyone. He also was turned toward the Nation of Islam by his family and accepted the teaching of Elijah Muhammad. Bimbi gave Malcolm a new model of status and respect, based on being intelligent and articulate. Mr. Muhammad gave Malcolm the desire to better himself, to get out of prison, and to help others. Malcolm was able to get a firm grasp of a new morality, organizational politics, and a new Black ideology. All of this was a unique but mixed bag, later revealed to possess strengths and weaknesses.

Malcolm X was the model of a self-emancipator. This is his most vital lesson. There are three aspects of this self-emancipation: (1) Malcolm knew how to learn, because he learned how to listen to others and to do a great deal of reading. In many ways genius means being able to learn from other people better than any body else. (2) Malcolm had commitment, because he was judicious in using his time and money to serve his ideals including his politics, his family, his religion, and, above all, his search for the truth. (3) Malcolm was the model of discipline, because he imposed a whole new level of self control. Malcolm was able to return to the nationalistic tradition of his father, but he adopted a new religion which uniquely popularized the historical role of the intellectual in the world experience of Black people. Malcolm stood outside of the norms of society like Detroit Red, but this time not as the under-belly of America but as a challenge to it. Malcolm stood outside of it while in it, stared in the eye, and used his rap to pull the covers off America to show its rape of the world, to show its barbarism veiled in silk and satin.

EL HAJI MALIK EL SHABAZZ: THE SOCIAL LIBERATOR

The Nation of Islam helped Malcolm lift himself up and become one of the greatest Black leaders of all time. But Malcolm grew beyond this organization, while remaining rooted in much of what he had learned. This was a time of great struggle and Malcolm was called to a bigger role in history than as an organizer for the narrow politics of Black separatism. Malcolm was the main force behind the strategic slogan of a Black Union Front, a front for all Black people led by the masses and not the leadership. His new organization was the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Malcolm became a recognized world leader of the Afro-American people and was accepted in diplomatic circles from the United Nations to virtually all of Africa. Malcolm emphasized three things: independence in consciousness and political action, self-defense in the face of racist violence, and turning our struggle from one about civil rights to one about human rights. MALCOM L went to Mecca and became a minister of the official Sunni Muslims who are organized on a world wide basis. Further, after Mecca he held that religion was a private personal matter.

Malcolm rose from the lowest depths to the highest achievement possible, world wide recognition and respect for the faith, honesty, vision, and example. The path he traveled to get out of hell is a road open to most Black youth. Middle class role models do not make sense unless one is already middle class. Malcolm is a role model for the great mass of Black youth. He is their sunshine.
Malcolm was the dominant voice for Black liberation in the 1960's. He was not only a writer, bookseller, and university teacher. He was a man of the people and used his knowledge of the streets to gain access to their inner thoughts. He spoke the words many people loved but few dared to speak, certainly to as many people and as articulately as he did. He was the one who wrote the words, "Black men can't change the color of their skin. But they can change the color of their tooth." He feared peace but believed in the justice of fight back by oppressed people. Malcolm was a man of Islamic faith. He was a human right based on the sanctity of human life, and if a government failed to adequately protect a people then they were within their rights to strike back. Such a necessity is so basic that the responsibility of the people (when government fails) is the only guarantee that democracy will survive. Malcolm X was a great American because he was so unyielding in his demand that racism violence against Black people be totally stopped forever. He knew that racism violence could not end while the USA was practicing business as usual. Freedom only exists where everyone is free.

Today, racial violence is once again on the rise. People are being viciously murdered by police, white paramilitary hate groups are allowed to flourish and are even promoted by the media, homes are being firebombed, Black appointed officials are rapidly declining at the federal level, and the curbside in social programs is unleashing the terror of recently restrained minorities. Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance. The spirit of Malcolm would be very proud of each successive generation. We must raise this issue of white racist violence to the highest levels and consolidate a united front of resistance.
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<th>SUNDAY</th>
<th>MONDAY</th>
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<th>WEDNESDAY</th>
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<tr>
<td>No one can contribute more to the liberation of Black people than their own life. But, in making this supreme sacrifice, in this kind of death, one lives forever in the hearts and minds of the people. In the 1960s, Malcolm made this sacrifice while organizing his Organization of Afro-American Unity. But the vicious violence of white racism struck many others as well, including these four Black men who cover the complete ideological-political spectrum of the Black liberation movement. This should be studied in order to understand the full scope of the problem. We’re dying together, we might as well learn how to build a Black liberation movement together!</td>
<td>TRADITIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS</td>
<td>MILITARY CIVIL RIGHTS</td>
<td>BLACK POWER</td>
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<td>1965: The Selma-to-Montgomery March dramatized the fight for Black voting rights. It ended with a rally of 25,000 people in front of the state capital.</td>
<td>NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE</td>
<td>CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY</td>
<td>BLACK POWER</td>
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<td>1913: Rosa Parks, the Black worker who sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, was born.</td>
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<td>&quot;While it was true a thousand years ago that human toil and energy was unable to feed, cloth, and shelter all mankind, this has not been the case since the beginning of the nineteenth century; and today, with what we know of natural forces, with the land and labor at our disposal, with the known techniques of processing materials and transporting goods, there is no adequate reason why a single human being on earth should not have sufficient food, clothing and shelter for healthy life.&quot;</td>
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<td>W.E.B. DuBois</td>
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<td>1933: The first Black library was founded in Philadelphia. This is one of the many examples of Black people’s struggle to build institutions and to develop culturally.</td>
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| "Modern imperialism and modern industrialism are one in the same system: root and branch of the same tree. The race problem is, in the other words, the labor problem; and the Black man’s burden is the white man’s burden."

W.E.B. DuBois | | | |
| 1865: The Klu Klux Klan, a fascist organization that promotes white supremacy, organized in Pulaski, Tennessee. | 1668: Quakers of Germantown, Pennsylvania made the first formal protest against slavery in the western hemisphere. | 1884: At the Berlin Conference the Europeans ended the "Scramble for Africa."

Without struggle there is no victory.

W.E.B. DuBois | 1877: The Haywood-Tilden Betrayal was announced. | | |
<p>| 1909: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded at Niagara Falls, N.Y. | 1793: The Fugitive Slave Law was passed which made it illegal to protect an escaped slave. | 1817: Frederick Douglass, abolitionist, and ex-slave, was born. | |
| 1868: The United States was occupied by an armed force from the North to drive out the Southern Confederate States. | 1909: W.E.B. DuBois organized the first Pan African Congress which was held in Paris, France. | 1895: Frederick Douglass, abolitionist, and ex-slave, was born. | |</p>
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<th>SDA</th>
<th>THURSDAY</th>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1945-1969</td>
<td>MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. / 1929 - 1968</td>
<td>606: The sit-in movement was launched by four students in Greensboro, N.C. This sparked a new phase of militant Black protest that exposed the national oppression of Black people in the U.S.A.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1974: Grenada Independence Day.</td>
<td>1926: Negro History Week was founded by Carter G. Woodson in honor of Frederick Douglass.</td>
<td>1964: Malcolm X founded the Organization for Afro-American Unity.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1885: Black Laws of Illinois were repealed.</td>
<td>1790: Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was born in Philadelphia. The development of the independent Black church made a major contribution to the formation and development of the Afro-American nation.</td>
<td>1851: Black Abolitionists crashed a courtroom in Boston to rescue a fugitive slave.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1866: W.E.B. DuBois was born. He was a writer, an educator, and Fisk graduate, as well as architect of Pan Africanism, Secretary of the first Pan African Conference in 1900, organizer of the second in 1919 and key leader in attempting to bring the case against colonialism before the Versailles Peace Conference.</td>
<td>1932: Harold Washington wins Democratic mayoral primary in Chicago.</td>
<td>1872: The National United Front of farmers, workers and city folk, in which the Colored National Farmers Alliance played a prominent role, formed a Peoples Party in St. Louis and tried to establish itself as a national third political party.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Black, ex-slave, abolitionist for Black freedom.</td>
<td>1955: Malcolm X was assassinated at age 39 in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.</td>
<td>2018: Peoples College is an organization dedicated to using the tools of research and analysis to assist local community groups who are struggling to maintain some independence and continue militant struggle against the system of exploitation that holds the USA down.</td>
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<td>1937: The National Negro Congress was founded in Chicago. It organized workers in the C.I.O.</td>
<td>1938: The Nazis commit genocide in Poland.</td>
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The Declaration Against Imperialism 1975-1985:
10th Anniversary of a Major Political Document

In the course of our struggle, the 10th anniversary of a major political event should be the occasion of recognition, summarization, criticism, rededication, and continued struggle for peace, dignity, and freedom. The Declaration Against Imperialism (reprinted below) has become a document that has been adopted 150 Black intellectuals—teachers, students, activists, and other cultural figures from across the U.S.—who declared themselves firmly against U.S. imperialism. This historic meeting, the National Planning Conference of The Year To Pull The Covers Off Imperialism was held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, on May 10, 1975. Fisk College inaugurated this Declaration by calling for the PCOH conference. (See Black Scholar February-June 1975.)

Participants in the conference came from California, Georgia, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. The keynote speakers were Atlantic Atlanta University. Cornell, Fisk, Meharry, North Carolina Central, North Carolina A&T, Northern Illinois University, Spelman, Stanford University, and Tennessee State and Wayne State University.


A key feature of the conference was a series of panel reports that summed up the experiences of different generations by St. Clair Drake from the 30s, Bill Ellington from the 40s, and Abdul Akmal from the 60s. Other panelists included: Robert Allen, Ernie Mikalomo, J.E. Lowery, Ben Bailey, John Beasley, Lucius Clay, James Turner, Shelby Smith, Malcolm Suber, Robert Newby, Robert Browne, and John Walker.

ROOTED IN ALC STRUGGLE

The Declaration defined the orientation of Black intellectuals and activists who maintained the struggle in the 1970s following the mass movements of the 60s. During the period of mass struggle the activist intellectuals talked the movement. Black intellectuals of the 1960s spent their time explaining to each other and to white people what the masses of Black people were doing. This was the most important thing they could do. They were developing and publicizing the mass sentiments of the people. The Declaration was an extension of this intellectual leadership. However, this Declaration is evidence that in the 1970s the survivors of the 1960s kept going, and were beginning to fashion a viewpoint that placed some intellectuals in a new context of current and future mass struggles.

The key difference between the following the mass movement and giving it leadership has to do with whether one is dealing with the immediate and concrete problems or whether one is dealing with the basic nature of the fundamental cause of these problems. When Black intellectual activists unite in opposition to imperialism as the main ideological basis for Black unity, then they are taking the bold step of linking the fight for liberation with the overall battle for social, and ultimately, human emancipation. This is the decisive step for the future.

The ideological cutting edge of the Black Liberation movement in the 1970s was the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC). The central strategy was the nationalist Marxist controversy, a struggle that was waged a few years before the mainsteam began to debate what has come to be known as the race/class controversy. A major conference had occurred around Black Liberation in May 1979. The main issue was the question of the broad front against the American empire.

One key aspect of this conference is that it was a conference of Black intellectuals. It was possible to convene a broad based group of Black intellectuals and activists, many with established national reputations, and take the bold step represented by this Declaration.

By the PCOH conference at Fisk (8 months after the Howard University conference), it was possible to convene a broad based group of Black intellectuals and activists, many with established national reputations, and take the bold step represented by this Declaration.

One of the main manifestations of the intellectual campaign of imperialism is the striving of the U.S. ruling class for hegemony in every region of the world. The U.S. government and corporations, aided by the foundations, universities and mass media, have been working to spread and expand that line to all corners of the world. Black liberation movement was applied to the British empire and was ended by forces that opposed White imperialism and that ended by forces that opposed White imperialism and were brought to bear. The victory the war of the heroic Vietnamese people and the defeat of the U.S. backed Portuguese Colonialism in Africa. Our struggles in the U.S. have also been blown against imperialism, like the struggle of the people in Latin America. Black imperialist, literally located within the bully of U.S. monopoly capitalism, is to turn the character of U.S. imperialism inside out, putting off the covers that conceal it, and attacking it on its ideological front.

The exposure and defeat of the "revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy" of U.S. imperialism in all its forms must be adopted today as the main objective of the historical task of Black intellectuals.

Today the world is plunging headlong into crisis. The prosperity and world domination of the U.S.A. is being challenged and exposed as the center of an exploiting imperialist system. Capitalist exploitation shaped the historical experience of people during European colonization and chattel slavery. Today capitalism is in the imperialist state of monopoly control by international financial institutions and multinational corporations. Consideration of both of these stages of capitalist exploitation pinpoints the underlying defect of the Black liberation movement over the last century of struggle. Once again it is time for Black intellectuals to speak out in the name of the people who have been denied the characteristic of Black people and united with the world in the struggle for freedom for all.

Imperialism is a system that is based on intense economic exploitation, national and racial oppression, and political repression. One of the tools for maintaining imperialism is cultural domination through control of educational institutions and the mass media. The development of the world imperial system has led to a generalization of exploitation in a country, or people free of its destructive impact. HOWEVER, imperialism, though dangerous, is a dying system, for there is resistance and oppression there is resistance and struggle. People are fighting for economic security, overall improvement of their standards, freedom, justice and equality which ultimately requires a new social order. This is the trend of world history, and Black people in the U.S. are no exception. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution.

As the U.S.A. moves toward the Bicentennial Celebrations, and in the midst of the national mass movements, Black intellectuals to prevent distortions, lies and deception by exposing U.S. imperialism. Over 100 years ago (on July 4, 1852 in Rochester, New York) Frederick Douglass set the pace when he clearly exposed the 'great delusion' of July 4.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to you more than all else, the injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. July 4 is a sham; you boasted liberty an unliveable one; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; is such a mockery, such a title, and you say, 'Your prayers and your sermons, with all your hoary religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, sheer deception, imperty, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.'

Therefore, we Black intellectuals must organize ourselves and forge unity around the historical condition of the people, and around the intellectual, moral, and political imperatives for our work.

We DECLARE that a primary task of Black intellectuals today is to study the character and historical development of U.S. imperialism, especially its impact of Black people, and to promote this study through universities, schools, conferences, and organizations.

We DECLARE that the main objective of our study must be to expose the essence of imperialism and provide the intellectual tools necessary for combating the imperialist tools on the other side.

The Declaration's immediate goal is to establish a new unity between Black intellectuals and the Black liberation movement in which intellectuals function to serve the interests of the people with humility based on the struggle, strength, based on science, and a revolutionary optimism that the people will triumph over all enemies and prosper.

Further this analysis through study and hearings the contradictions through struggle!
VOTER REGISTRATION

UNITED FRONT

VIOLENCE

REVELATION

RELIGION

RACE AND CLASS

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE USA

CONGO AND MISSISSIPPI

DEATH TO CAPITALISM

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

THE WAY TO WORK

ON HOW TO THINK

ON HISTORY

ON HEROES
February 21, 1985
20th Anniversary of the Assassination of Malcolm X
May 19th, 1985
60th Anniversary of the Birth of Malcolm X

REMEMBER MALCOLM CAMPAIGN