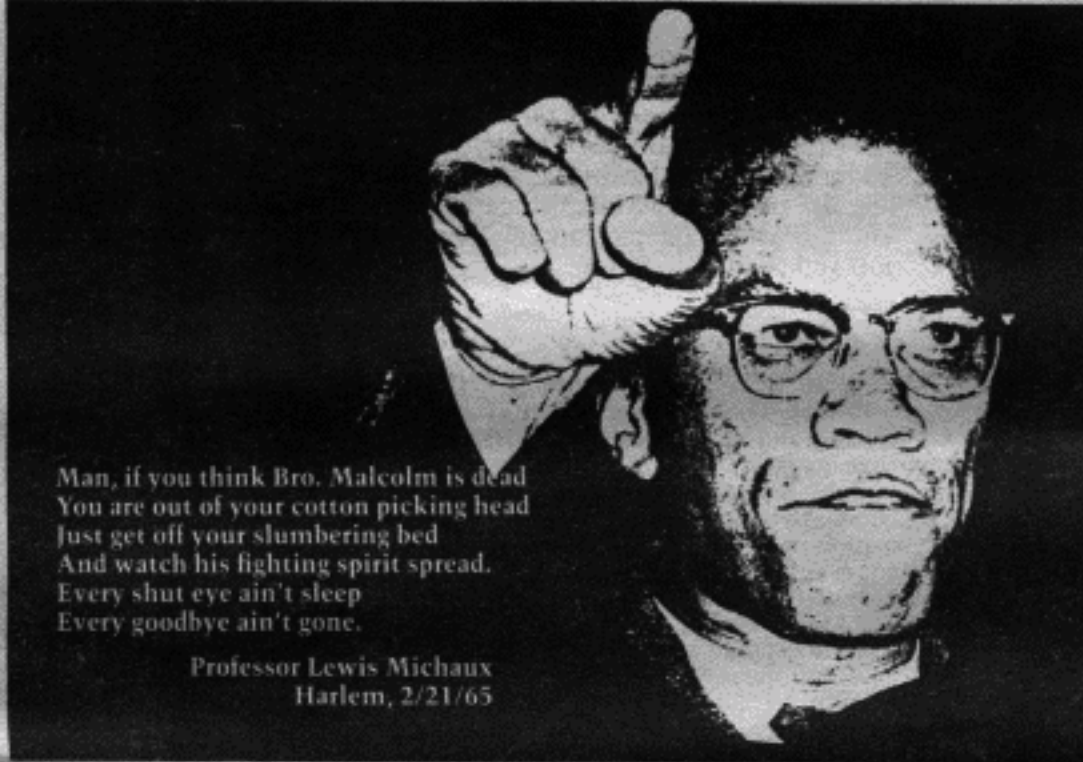


# BLACK LIBERATION MONTH NEWS 85

Peoples College • P.O. Box 7696 • Chicago, IL 60680 / FEBRUARY

## WARRIOR, DIPLOMAT, MINISTER: APOSTLE OF MANHOOD, DIGNITY, and FREEDOM



Man, if you think Bro. Malcolm is dead  
You are out of your cotton picking head  
Just get off your slumbering bed  
And watch his fighting spirit spread.  
Every shut eye ain't sleep  
Every goodbye ain't gone.

Professor Lewis Michaux  
Harlem, 2/21/65

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 man struck down in the bowels of hell who fought to rise up and sing his tune from the mountain top of Black resistance. While everyone did not agree with all that 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 you *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.

### WHY BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

Black Liberation Month is our attempt to unite with the founders and supporters of Negro History Week, and join their emphasis on study with our emphasis on struggle. Moreover, the concept of Black Liberation Month more accurately reflects the needs of our movement, particularly the need to build on the massive participation of people in the upsurge of struggle during the 1960's.

Carter G. Woodson, noted Afro-American nationalist historian, founded Negro History Week in 1926. In addition to the newspaper column of J.A. Rodgers, this was the major source of information that Black people had about their history. Every year in schools, churches, civic and political organizations, Negro History Week has been a time for historical reading and discussion.

We believe that Negro History Week has made a great contribution to mass awareness of Black History. Moreover, the recognition of Negro History Week has caught on, and has become an intellectual tradition in the 20th century Afro-American experience. However, times have changed considerably since 1926. In political and cultural terms, the time has come to transform our orientation: from Negro to **BLACK**, from History to **LIBERATION**, from Week to **MONTH**.

The revolutionary upsurge of the 1960's is our most recent historical experience of massive militant protest. It continues to be a rich source of lessons for current and future struggles. **BLACK LIBERATION MONTH** unites with Woodson's effort, but does so by raising it to a higher level based on the lessons of the 1960's.

In sum, our study of history must be linked with the revolutionary history of the Black liberation movement. Our goal is not simply to symbolically institutionalize a change in our yearly calendar of events, but to use this month as one more way to raise the consciousness of the masses of people about the historical nature of exploitation and oppression, to unite people around a correct political line, and to mobilize people to actively take up the struggle for Black liberation.

(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 more moderate Black leaders (remember that the white establishment thought the NAACP was *radical* before Malcolm and SNCC). 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 masses, 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 Unity. 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!

For the past 15 years we have distributed **BLM News** free to individuals, and we can keep it that way with your help.

**We Need Your Support To Continue**

Because of paper and postage costs we were only able to have 100,000 of this issue printed — it should have been at least 1,000,000. We hope that after reading this issue you will agree that **BLM News** is vital and everyone should have a copy. Please sit down, write us — let us know what you think, what topics/issues you would like to see covered, and most importantly send in your donation. We need your financial support today! Now is the time! Tomorrow is too late.

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# 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 can best represent a revolutionary movement, usually in terms of its ideology, morality, and political leadership. Malcolm was an Apostle of Black Liberation for three reasons:

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.
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 emancipators (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.

## MALCOLM LITTLE: THE EXPLOITED

One of the most difficult aspects of being Black and growing up in the USA is nurturing and grooming strong manhood in Black young men. This came to a head for Malcolm, since the main aspect of his youth was the systematic destruction of all legitimate means whereby he could have a strong source of identity, dignity, and manhood. He had a strong father, Rev Earl Little, who held some of the most dominant and militant political positions of his day resulting from being a Baptist minister and an organizer for the UNIA. Malcolm was the seventh, a son, and his fathers' favorite. Rev 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 supportive assistance 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, 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 NIGGER"; and that he should learn to work with his hands. Malcolm was 15. Societal racism destroyed Malcolm's father, his mother, and his aspiration to use education for self advancement. These attacks offered 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 EXPLOITER

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 its 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 by 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 offered by this system: Become a lawyer because white people think you are a harmless "mascot," or be a thug/hoodlum 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.



## MALCOLM X: THE SELF EMANCIPATOR

Detroit Red was such a "bad dude" in 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 skills needed to rise above his imprisonment. He really couldn't read and write too good.

Malcolm found two clear sources of strength. Both were strong father figures, both buttressing the wounded but not slain manhood of this giant who had been stooping in the dung heap of criminality. Malcolm began to stand tall in prison. He found Bimbi, one of the famous "jail 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 anybody 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 order where there was chaos, because he stood cool like Daniel "in the lions den," and he was consistent.

When Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam he was returning to the nationalist tradition of his father, but he adopted a new religion which uniquely popularized the historical necessity of uniting with 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 it 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 HAJJ 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 United Front, a front for all Black people led by the masses and not the privileged elites. 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. MALCOLM 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 faith, honesty, vision, and courage. 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.



## RACE, NATIONALITY, AND CLASS:

# On the shoulders of MALCOLM

## WE CAN ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF BLACK LIBERATION IN THE 1980'S

Malcolm was the dominant voice for Black liberation in the 1960's. He was more of a street speaker and political agitator than a writer of books or a 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 be-

lieved but few dared to speak, certainly to as many people and as articulately as he did. He was the Black response to racism in the USA par excellence. He dared to tell it, and while he was killed, it is impossible to silence him because it is impossible to kill the truth.

### RESEARCH ON MALCOLM IS NECESSARY NOW!

Malcolm must always be studied as a complex whole. He was an Afro-American, a minister of Islam, a political leader, and an international diplomat. We have to raise questions about each of these aspects of his identity. Many of these questions can only be answered if we have a major research effort to gather all of the documentation of what actually took place and analyze it from all academic disciplines. The viability of a point of view should be based on proof. This is our only acceptable approach to the historical Malcolm, documented evidence.

However, this should not stop us from exploring the full range of ideological and political points made by Malcolm in terms of their relevance to the situation of Black people in 1985. After all, we live in the here and now, and our needs are a priority for us so we need to know if Malcolm can be of some help right now. This short editorial is the position of Peoples College on the relevance of Malcolm today.

### BLACK ELECTORAL LEADERSHIP

Currently the Black liberation movement is at an impasse due to the anti-climactic transition of Black electoral activity. Malcolm was very clear in his analysis of the importance and dangers of the electoral process. Near the end of his life he insisted that Black people begin to register, but that they do so only as independents. He said that if anyone promoted that Black people seek their freedom through the Democratic Party they were a political liability for the Black community. In Malcolm's uncompromising rhetoric "a political chump!" But Malcolm also maintained a working relationship with progressive Black politicians like Adam Clayton Powell. He maintained an uncompromising strategic view and very flexible tactics.

So our situation needs more strategic and tactical influence from Malcolm within the Black liberation movement. Our great mass upsurge in northern mayoral races (e.g., Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Washington DC, etc.), in Southern states (e.g., Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, etc.), and overall in the 1984 presidential race is mainly resulting in quite limited gains, and in frustrating a movement that has wanted so much more. The movement needs its own party, needs its own brand of independent politics—can we do worse than "Gerry and Fritz?" (1984 candidates of the Democrats) Every member of the Rainbow Coalition should take an assignment for this 1985 Black Liberation Month: to listen to Malcolm's recorded speech "The Ballot or the Bullet," and use it as a framework for a critical summary of the 1984 presidential campaign. (see Black Liberation Month News 1984 with its special focus on *Black People and Presidential Politics*.)

### HONESTY VERSUS OPPORTUNISM

This is really the key to Malcolm's posture, an uncompromising honesty based on the Black experience in white America. Fundamentally, honesty should be normal, but the opposite was and in many cases still is the case: lies and deception are expected, pain brings laughter and humiliation is often worn with pride. We have been turned into Mr. T, Prince, Rev Ike, Eldridge Cleaver, or some version of a Black Republican Barbie/G I Joe doll type robot (e.g., campaign posters of Ronald Reagan being supported by Muhammad Ali, Floyd Patterson, and Joe Frazier). All of these role models are take-offs on some aspect of the American hype. None are based on the honest truth of the Black experience. None represent a legitimate alternative for the masses of people who are suffering in this land of plenty just a little bit better than in Ethiopia but about the same as South Africa.

### BEING NATURAL IS THE BEST!

Malcolm was part of the time when the hip thing was to be natural, to reflect a self accepting one's physical reality (rather than deal in white-induced self hate because of skin color, hair, lips, etc.) and searching for a description of the world that is clear and honest (calling a spade a spade!). American history provides possible methods for the freedom of Black people. Malcolm did nothing more or less than the cry of Patrick Henry during the American revolt from colonial England, "Give me liberty or give me death!" Malcolm called it the ballot or the bullet, freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody.

### THE BLACK OUTSIDER IN REVOLT

America put Malcolm outside of its legitimacy and Malcolm turned his condition of oppression into a platform of resistance. Malcolm always started with an assumption outside of American racism and capitalism. So, he never "played ball" with the system unlike so many of our current leaders who feel that it is so necessary to do. Malcolm paid the supreme price before he had completed his change after leaving the Nation of Islam. He was so honest we somehow knew he would go where we had to, but he had already gone so far out we feared he would be taken before his journey's end. So, we must mount his shoulders and use his strengths to help us see farther and understand better where we have to go. Later, others will use us as their foundation to build upon.

### NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam was a bundle of contradictions. During its height, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam was the dominant force in Black Nationalism due to size, organizational discipline, key organizers like Malcolm X, and its newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. The appeal of the paper's message included the mysticism of Muhammad's private theories (e.g., the story of Yacub and how white people were created, the Mother plane from outer space, etc.), moral teachings of self-emanicipation from the degenerate hedonism and poverty of American life, and a political slant provided by Black socialist intellectuals. We read about the Vietnam War from the eyes of Ho Chi Minh and not Lyndon Johnson.

In general the Nation of Islam was a highly disciplined religious organization that sought its recruits from the downtrodden. They converted people nobody else valued. So, we believe that for a significant part of its history the Nation of Islam played essentially a positive role in the fight for Black liberation.

### BLACK WOMEN AND BLACK MEN

Malcolm was a great role model for Black men. He provided great lessons, including several distinct ways a Black man relates to a woman. Malcolm Little saw his mother destroyed, and was separated from his sisters by "the welfare." Detroit Red was into prostitution, and using women as objects of status, e.g., fronting off his white girl friend. Malcolm X combined his respect and love with a demand for obedience from women, but did not elevate women into leadership positions. Malik Shabazz was equalitarian and sought out talented Black women to play equal roles with men in building revolutionary organization. He greatly acknowledged this when Fannie Lou Hamer visited Harlem from the front lines of the struggle in Mississippi.

### GANGS AND BLACK YOUNG MEN

Malcolm knew the streets, knew the hustlers, drug dealers, thieves, con-artists, etc. He valued their hatred for the white establishment, and somehow he also valued their beauty, their manhood, their affirmation of life even down in the gutter. But the main aspect of this group is that they are parasites, they rape and ravage their own community. The average Black youth who goes into crime finds it easy because white racist capitalist exploitation has rendered the Black community defenseless. So, they can easily sell drugs to people who believe there is no other way to ease the pain of being poor and Black. The spirit of Malcolm demands that we clean up our own community. Black men and women must rise up and take our community from the hands of exploiters, white and Black. A gang in the Black community usually does nothing more than attack Black mothers, grandmothers, sisters and little brothers, fathers, small businesses, schools, churches, etc. When this happens it is Black people acting out the desire of the system. When a young Black "thug" shoots and kills another Black youth (e.g., the Ben Wilson murder in Chicago), the thug is merely a proxy for old Uncle Sam. So, from our point of view, we must always point our finger at the system. Otherwise, to target Black youth as the problem is to say that the victim is responsible for the crime. This lets the real criminals get away with their crimes.

### RACIST VIOLENCE AND THE NECESSITY OF SELF DEFENSE

Malcolm called for Old Testament morality, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." He favored peace, but believed in the justice of fight back by oppressed people. In sum, Malcolm believed that self defense 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 racist violence against Black people be totally stopped forever. But he knew that racist violence could not end while the USA was practicing *business as usual*. Freedom only exists where everyone is free!

Today, racist 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 fire bombed, Black appointed officials are rapidly declining at the federal level, and the cutback in social programs is unleashing the terror of recently restrained institutional racism and its systematic destruction 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 demands that Black people fight back! In Europe, some Christian ministers tried to kill Hitler. In Latin America, some priests have taken up guns to defend Gods' children against the human representatives of the devil, i.e., US imperialism and their local lackey neo-colonial regimes. We must defend ourselves, as Malcolm said, *By Any Means Necessary!*

### FORWARD TO THE 21ST CENTURY

The main ideological issues that we face today will be with us over the next several decades if not the next century. The relationship of race, class, and nationality will continue to be the main problem in a world convulsing from the current deep crisis of the capitalist system. The external battles in the skies, *star wars*, will merely reflect these contradictions on earth rather than represent new heavenly changes (even though one wonders if Ronald Reagan thinks of himself as God, Thor, or merely Buck Rogers). Up to this stage of the Black liberation struggle, especially over the last 125 years, the Black middle class, has been in the leadership of the Black community. Their political role has been positive because the goal has been to defeat a racism that has denied equal access for Blacks of all classes to USA capitalist democracy. However, as in Africa, when the Black middle class takes over positions of authority within the system, either they defect from the interests of the middle class and adopt the interests of working class and poor people in general, or they become part of the problem. One is either part of the problem or part of the solution. Malcolm helped us to see this, in fact, he died so that we might understand this better.

## REMEMBER MALCOLM!

### Books To Read

Malcolm X. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. Edited with Prefatory Notes by George Breitman. NY: Merit Publishers, 1965. 226 pp.

———. *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. NY: The Young Socialist, 1965 (pamphlet).

———. *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*. NY: Pioneer Publishers, 1965. 31 pp.

———. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Assisted by Alex Haley, NY: Grove Press, 1965. 460 pp.



Barbour, Floyd. *The Black Power Revolt: A Collection of Essays*. Boston, MA: Extending Horizons Books, 1968. (Malcolm's letters from Mecca are included in this work.)

Clark, John Henrik. *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*. NY: Macmillan, 1969. 360 pp.

Goodman, Benjamin, Editor. *The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches of Malcolm X*. NY: Merlin House, Inc., 1971. 148 pp.

Lomax, Louis E. *When the Word is Given: A Report on Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and Black Muslim World*. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1963. 192 pp.

# BLACK LIBERATION MONTH CALENDAR FEBRUARY 1985

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<p><b>BLACK MARTYRS OF THE 1960s</b></p> <p>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 to understand the full scope of our problem. We're dying together, we might as well learn how to build a Black liberation movement together!</p>	 <p><b>MEDGAR EVERS / 1925 - 1963</b> TRADITIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS NATIONAL ASSOC. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE</p>	 <p><b>JAMES CHANEY / 1943 - 1964</b> MILITANT CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY</p>	 <p><b>FRED HAMPTON / 1945 - 1969</b> REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM BLACK PANTHER PARTY</p>	 <p><b>MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. / 1929 - 1968</b> MILITANT BLACK CHURCH SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE</p>	1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<p>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.</p>	<p>1913: Rosa Parks, the Black worker who sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, was born.</p>	<p>1968: There was a demonstration in Orangesburg, South Carolina, to end segregation in bowling alleys in that city, resulting in a police assault on February 8, brutally murdering 4 students and wounding 50.</p>	<p>1973: Native American armed resistance unleashed at Wounded Knee, South Dakota to protest government repression. Wounded Knee is a historic site of the 1890 massacre where federal troops killed over 300 Indians.</p>	<p>1974: Grenada Independence Day.</p> <p>1926: Negro History Week was founded by Carter G. Woodson in honor of Frederick Douglass.</p> <p>1865: Black Laws of Illinois were repealed.</p>	<p>1964: Malcolm X founded the Organization for Afro-American Unity.</p>	<p>1943: 4,000 Black and white youth led by the American Youth Congress march in Washington D.C. to protest government discrimination against Black servicemen and the U.S. war policy.</p>
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<p>"While it was true a thousand years ago, that human toil and energy was unable to feed, clothe 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." W.E.B. DuBois</p>	<p>1933: The first Black library was founded in Philadelphia. This is one of the many examples of Black peoples' struggle to build institutions and to develop culturally.</p>	<p>1909: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded at Niagra Falls, N.Y.</p> <p>1793: The Fugitive Slave Law was passed which made it illegal to protect an escaped slave.</p>	<p>1817: Frederick Douglass, ex-slave, abolitionist, and organizer for Black freedom, was born.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>1851: Black Abolitionists crashed a courtroom in Boston to rescue a fugitive slave.</p>	<p>1937: The National Negro Congress was founded in Chicago. It organized workers in the C.I.O.</p>
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
<p>1865: The Klu Klux Klan, a racist organization that promotes white supremacy, organized in Pulaski, Tennessee.</p>	<p>1688: Quakers of Germantown, Pennsylvania made the first formal protest against slavery in the western hemisphere.</p>	<p>1909: W.E.B. DuBois organized the first Pan African Congress which was held in Paris, France.</p>	<p>1895: Frederick Douglass died.</p>	<p>1965: Malcolm X was assassinated at age 39 in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.</p>	<p>1983: Harold Washington wins Democratic mayoral primary in Chicago.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>1868: 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.</p>
24	25	26	27	28	<p><b>WHAT IS PEOPLES COLLEGE?</b></p> <p>Peoples College is an organization with 15 years experience fighting for Black liberation. The main approach has been to develop educational activities that expose people to the history and current suffering of Black people, and to build a commitment to fight for basic social change. The key slogans have been "Education for Liberation" and "Further the Analysis, Heighten the Contradiction."</p> <p>Peoples College is known through its bookstore, TIMBUKTU, and its textbook in Black Studies, INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES. Further, 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.</p> <p>Since the people of the USA are facing a crisis, and are likely to suffer much more in the near future, UNITY is more critical now than it has been in the last decade. Peoples College would like to join with all organizations willing to fight for Black liberation, and in the process build a lasting unity.</p>	
<p>"Modern imperialism and modern industrialism are one in the same system; root and branch of the same tree. The race problem is the other side of the labor problem; and the Black man's burden is the white man's burden." W.E.B. DuBois</p>	<p>1877: The Hayes-Tilden Betrayal was announced.</p>	<p>1884: At the Berlin Conference the Europeans ended the "Scramble for Africa."</p>	<p>"Without struggle there is no progress." Frederick Douglass</p>	<p>... Political work must be rooted among the masses and carried out on a professional level. What is required is that our feet march in the struggles waged by the masses, our hearts throb in empathy with their joys and sorrows, while our heads rationally use the science of revolution to develop our strategy and tactics. Peoples College Editorial for Marxism and Black Liberation</p>		

# 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, summation, criticism, rededication, and continued struggle for peace, dignity, and freedom. The *Declaration Against Imperialism* (reprinted below) is such a political document, one forged in the midst of struggle. The document was unanimously adopted by this meeting of 150 Black intellectuals—teachers, students, workers, journalists, professionals, and movement activists 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 in Nashville, TN, January 10-12, 1975. Peoples College initiated this Declaration by calling for the PCOI conference. (See *Black Scholar* January-February 1975.)

Participants in the conference came from California, Georgia, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. Among the colleges and universities represented were Atlanta University, Cornell, Fisk, Meharry, North Carolina Central, North Carolina A&T, Northern Illinois University, Spelman, Stanford, State University of New York (Albany and Old Westbury), Tennessee State, and Wayne State University.

Conference participants represented many organizations: February First Movement, Black Economic Research Center, African Information Service, Association of Black Psychologists, African Heritage Studies Association, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, African Liberation Support Committee, A. Phillip Randolph Institute, African Association for Black Studies, and the Association for the Study of Behavioral Sciences. Journalists from the *African World*, the *Black Scholar*, the *Review of Black Political Economy*, *National Black Network*, and the *St. Petersburg Times* also attended the Conference.

A key feature of the conference was a series of reports that summed up the experiences of different generations by St. Clair Drake from the 20s, Bill Epton from the 40s, and Abdul Alkalimat from the 60s. Other panelists included: Robert Allen, Ernie Mkalimoto, S.E. Anderson, Ron Bailey, Alex Willingham, Dorothy Stewart, Ayanna, Lucius Outlaw, James Turner, Shelby Smith, Malcolm Suber, Robert Newby, Robert Browne, and Jerry Walker.

### ROOTED IN ALSC STRUGGLE

The Declaration defined the orientation of Black intellectuals and activists who maintained the struggle in the 1970s following the mass movements in the 60s. During the

period of mass struggle the activist intellectuals tailed 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 since the masses were in motion and not waiting for instructions from their "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 intellectual activists in front of current and future mass struggles.

The key difference between 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 system that is the fundamental source of most 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 Black 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 struggle was the nationalist Marxist controversy, a struggle that was waged a few years before the mainstream began to debate what has come to be known as the race/class controversy. A major conference had occurred at Howard University in May 1974, in which there had been a major confrontation of views. While it would be meaningless to consider either side being 'victorious,' the main thing was that the Marxist forces successfully introduced into the Black revolt imperialism as the key theoretical concept. This was merely catching up to the ideological and political unity of the African liberation organizations that ALSC was supporting.

By the PCOI 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. It stands as a testament of courage and commitment—it is a manifesto of *academic excellence and social responsibility*.

This Declaration makes great sense in the midst of this 1985 Black Liberation Month, especially as it is dedicated to the theme *Remember Malcolm*. We believe that it will likely have great relevance as a guide into the 21st century. Please read it as a historical document, read it as our basic position as of 1985, and read it as a guide to [your future].

## A DECLARATION AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Adopted at the National Planning Conference PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM PROJECT  
Fisk University - Nashville, Tennessee - January 11, 1975

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 Black people during European colonization and chattel slavery. Today capitalism is in the imperialist stage of monopoly control by international financial institutions and multinational corporations. Consideration of both of these stages of capitalist exploitation pinpoints the underlying target of the Black liberation movement over the last century of struggle. Once again it is time for Black intellectuals to speak out—to vocalize in a rising chorus that lays bare the true character of U.S. imperialism and unites our work with the movement for Black liberation.

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 imperialist system has led to a general crisis affecting all aspects of society, leaving no nation, country, or people free of its destructive impact. HOWEVER, imperialism, though dangerous, is a dying system, for where there is exploitation and oppression there is resistance and struggle. People are fighting for economic security, overall improvement of their living 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.A. are no exception. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution.

As the U.S.A. moves toward the Bicentennial Celebration of its existence it is the historical responsibility of 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 sin and shame of America":

**What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns; your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States at this very hour.**

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.

The economic crisis of the world capitalist system is intensifying, and adds up to an all-sided attack on the living standards of the people in the U.S.A., especially the working class and oppressed peoples—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, and Native Americans. Our task is to expose the essence of this crisis by demonstrating who benefits from imperialism and who is exploited by imperialism—how and why, and how all the reforms now under discussion have historically failed to be more than short term measures that deal with symptoms of the economic crisis and not its fundamental cause. The current ineffectiveness of these reforms, such as during the Great Depression, characterize this problem.

One of the main manifestations of the world character 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 extended to all corners of the globe so that the sun never set on U.S. imperialism. But just as when that description was applied to the British empire and was ended by the forces of national liberation after WWII, so the forces of liberation and revolution are bringing down U.S. imperialism as demonstrated by the victorious war won by the heroic Vietnamese people and the defeat of U.S.-backed Portuguese Colonialism in Africa. Our struggles in the U.S.A. have also been blows against imperialism, like the struggle at Attica, the Oneita Textile strike and the struggle at Wounded Knee. A key role of Black intellectuals, literally located within the belly of U.S. monopoly capitalism, is to turn the character of U.S. imperialism inside out, pulling off the covers that conceal it, and attacking it on its ideological front.

As the Black liberation movement spreads and reflects the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of Black people, there also develops a great need for Black intellectuals to become politically relevant. This is a crucial mandate for all students, teachers, journalists, professionals, artists, and writers. But a Black intellectual cannot be defined simply by an occupational role or by formal education. **Black intellectuals who will make meaningful contributions to the fight against imperialism are people who have developed adequate theoretical skill grounded in a critical social analysis of the oppression of Black people and of U.S. imperialism; are able to sum up the concrete conditions of a problem by discovering the logical pattern and main aspects of the problem; integrate this summation with established revolutionary theoretical principles, and creatively apply the lessons learned to contribute to solving the problems that Black people face and which exist for the entire society.** Examples of people having made this commitment include W.E.B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X, and Oliver Cox.

Moreover, our theory must not only be rooted in a scientific approach to understanding the complex nature of U.S. society, and the historical development of U.S. imperialism, but also in a commitment to use such theory as a weapon in the struggle against imperialism. This includes refuting the theories of racial inferiority being put forward by professors in major U.S. universities, the intellectual justifications for anti-people programs constituting "benign neglect," and the educational programs that slow down the intellectual advancement of the masses of people.

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 throughout schools, publications, 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 every imperialist assault on the people;

**WE DECLARE** that our 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 compassion, strength, based on science, and a revolutionary optimism that the people will triumph over all enemies and prosper.

**FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY AND  
HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS THROUGH STRUGGLE!**

# In his own words

## SELF CRITICISM

I believe that it would be almost impossible to find anywhere in America a black man who has lived further down in the mud of human society than I have, or a black man who has been any more ignorant than I have been, or a black man who has suffered more anguish during his life than I have. But it is only after the deepest darkness that the greatest light can come; it is only after extreme grief that the greatest joy can come; it is only after slavery and prison that the sweetest appreciation of freedom can come.

For the freedom of my 22 million black brothers and sisters here in America, I do believe that I have fought the best that I knew how, and the best that I could, with the shortcomings that I have had. I know that my shortcomings are many.

My greatest lack has been, I believe, that I don't have the kind of academic education I wish I had been able to get—to have been a lawyer, perhaps. I do believe that I might have made a good lawyer. I have always loved verbal battle, and challenge. You can believe me that if I had the time right now, I would not be one bit ashamed to go back into any New York City public school and start where I left off at the ninth grade, and go on through a degree. Because I don't begin to be academically equipped for so many of the interests that I have. For instance, I love languages. I wish I were an accomplished linguist. I don't know anything more frustrating than to be around people talking something you can't understand. Especially when they are people who look just like you. In Africa, I heard original mother tongues, such as Hausa, and Swahili, being spoken, and there I was standing like some little boy, waiting for someone to tell me what had been said; I never will forget how ignorant I felt.

*Autobiography of Malcolm X, p.386*

## SELF EMANCIPATION

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

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

But, to prove their sincerity and their right for the support of the black masses, these leaders must first display fearlessness, intelligence, and unity among themselves. They must stop their public bickering with each other. They must stop attacking each other in front of the white man, and for the benefit of the white man.

If the black leaders must have differences of opinion, learn to go into the closet with each other, but when you come from behind closed doors, show a united front in the face of the one who is a common enemy to all of us.

*Lomax, p.137*

## MALCOLM AND KING

Sometimes, I have dared to dream to myself that one day, history may even say that my voice—which disturbed the white man's smugness, and his arrogance, and his complacency—that my voice helped to save America from a grave, possibly even a fatal catastrophe.

The goal has always been the same, with the approaches to it as different as mine and Dr. Martin Luther King's non-violent marching, that dramatizes the brutality and the evil of the white man against defenseless blacks. And in the racial climate of this country today, it is anybody's guess which of the "extremes" in approach to the black man's problems might personally meet a fatal catastrophe first—"non-violent" Dr. King, or so-called "violent" me.

*Autobiography of Malcolm X, p.384*

## RELIGION

The is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone, but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion, in fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life. That's a good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wplf, who intends to make you his meal.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.13*

## BLACK LEADERS

The American black "leader's" most critical problem is lack of imagination. His thinking, his strategies, if any, are always limited, at least basically, to only that which is either advised, or approved by the white man. And the first thing the American power structure doesn't want any Negroes to start is thinking *internationally*.

I think the single worst mistake of the American black organizations, and their leaders, is that they have failed to establish direct brotherhood lines of communication between the independent nations of Africa and the American black people. Why, every day, the black African heads of state should be receiving direct accounts of the latest developments in the American black man's struggles instead of the U.S. State Department's releases to Africans which always imply that the American black man's struggle is being "solved."

*Autobiography of Malcolm X, p.352*

## VOTER REGISTRATION

What they do with you and me is tell us, "Register and vote." Don't register and vote—register! That's intelligent. Don't register and vote—you can vote for a dummy, you can vote for a crook, you can vote for another who'd want to exploit you. "Register" means being in a position to take political action any time, any place and in any manner that would be beneficial to you and me; being in a position to take advantage of our position. Then we'll be in a position to be respected and recognized. But as soon as you get registered, and you want to be a Democrat or a Republican, you are aligning. And once you are aligning, you have no bargaining power—none whatsoever. We've got a program we are going to launch, which will involve the absolute maximum registering of as many of our people as we can. But they will be registered as independents. And by being registered as independents, it means we can do whatever is necessary, wherever it's necessary, and whenever the time comes. Do you understand?

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.141*

## POWER

Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. It also produces instruction against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression—with power.

Power never takes a back step—only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of nonviolent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world: Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.158*

## UNITED FRONT

The key to our success lies in *united action*. Lack of unity among the various Afro-American groups involved in our struggle has always been the reason we have failed to win concrete gains in our war against America's oppression, exploitation, discrimination, segregation, degradation, and humiliation. Before the miserable condition of the 22 million "second-class citizens" can be corrected, all the groups in the Afro-American community must form a united front. Only through united efforts can our problems there be solved.

How can we get the unity of the Afro-American community? Ignorance of each other is what has made unity impossible in the past. Therefore we need enlightenment. We need more light about each other. Light creates understanding, understanding creates love, love creates patience and patience creates unity. Once we have more knowledge [light] about each other we will stop condemning each other and a *united front* will be brought about.

All 22 million Afro-Americans have the same basic goal, the same basic objective. We want freedom, justice, and equality, we want recognition and respect as *human beings*. We are not divided over objectives, but we have allowed our racist enemies to divide us over the *methods* of attaining these common objectives. Our enemy has magnified our minor points of difference, then maneuvered us into wasting our time debating and fighting each other over insignificant and irrelevant issues.

*Clarke, p.304*

## NONVIOLENCE

I myself would go for nonviolence if it was consistent, if everybody was going to be nonviolent all the time. I'd say, okay, let's get with it, we'll all be nonviolent. But I don't go along with any kind of nonviolence unless everybody's going to be nonviolent. If they make the Ku Klux Klan nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. If they make the White Citizens Council nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. But as long as you've got somebody else not being nonviolent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any nonviolent talk. I don't think it is fair to tell our people to be non-violent unless someone is out there making the Klan and the Citizens Council and these other groups also be nonviolent.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.146*

## RACE AND CLASS

We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era . . .

It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

The Negro revolution is not a racial revolt. We are interested in practicing brotherhood with anyone really interested in living according to it. But the white man has long preached an empty doctrine of brotherhood which means little more than a passive acceptance of his fate by the Negro . . .

[The Western industrial nations have been] deliberately subjugating the Negro for economic reasons. These international criminals raped the African continent to feed their factories, and are themselves responsible for the low standards of living prevalent throughout Africa.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.233*

See page 3 for complete bibliography.

## SOUTH AFRICA AND THE USA

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she is also deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile toward black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity, both are canine, both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

*Clarke, p.291*

## CONGO AND MISSISSIPPI

You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't understand what is going on in the Congo. And you can't really be interested in what's going on in Mississippi if you're not also interested in what's going on in the Congo. They're both the same. The same interests are at stake. The same sides are drawn up, the same schemes are at work in the Congo that are at work in Mississippi. The same stake—no difference whatsoever.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.133*

## DEATH TO CAPITALISM

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

*Talks To Young People, p.23*

## THE ROLE OF WOMEN

One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive. If you're in a country that reflects the consciousness toward the importance of education, it's because the woman is aware of the importance of education. But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward, and in every country where education is not stressed it's because the women don't have education. So one of the things I became thoroughly convinced of in my recent travels is the importance of giving freedom to the woman, giving her education, and giving her the incentive to get out there and put that same spirit and understanding in her children. And I frankly am proud of the contributions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men.

*By Any Means Necessary, p.179*

## ON HOW TO THINK

One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn is how to see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. If you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you will be walking west when you think you're going east, and you will be walking east when you think you're going west. This generation, especially of our people, has a burden, more so than any other time in history. The most important thing that we can learn to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and come to a decision for yourself, you'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it you'll always be maneuvered into a situation where you are never fighting your actual enemies, where you will find yourself fighting your own self.

*Talks To Young People, pp.4-5*

## ON HISTORY

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight.

*Malcolm X Speaks, p.8*

## ON HEROES

So when you select heroes about which black people ought to be taught, let them be black heroes who have died fighting for the benefit of black people. We never were taught about Christophe or Dessalines. It was the slave revolt in Haiti when slaves, black slaves, had the soldiers of Napoleon tied down and forced him to sell one-half of the American continent to the Americans. They don't teach us that. That is the kind of history we want to learn.

*Afro-American History, p.69*

# REMEMBER



# MALCOLM

February 21, 1985  
20th Anniversary of the Assassination of Malcolm X

May 19th, 1985  
60th Anniversary of the Birth of Malcolm X

*For information and assistance:*

**REMEMBER MALCOLM CAMPAIGN:**  
FRANCIS C. KILPATRICK • Post Office Box 7096 • Chicago, IL 60680