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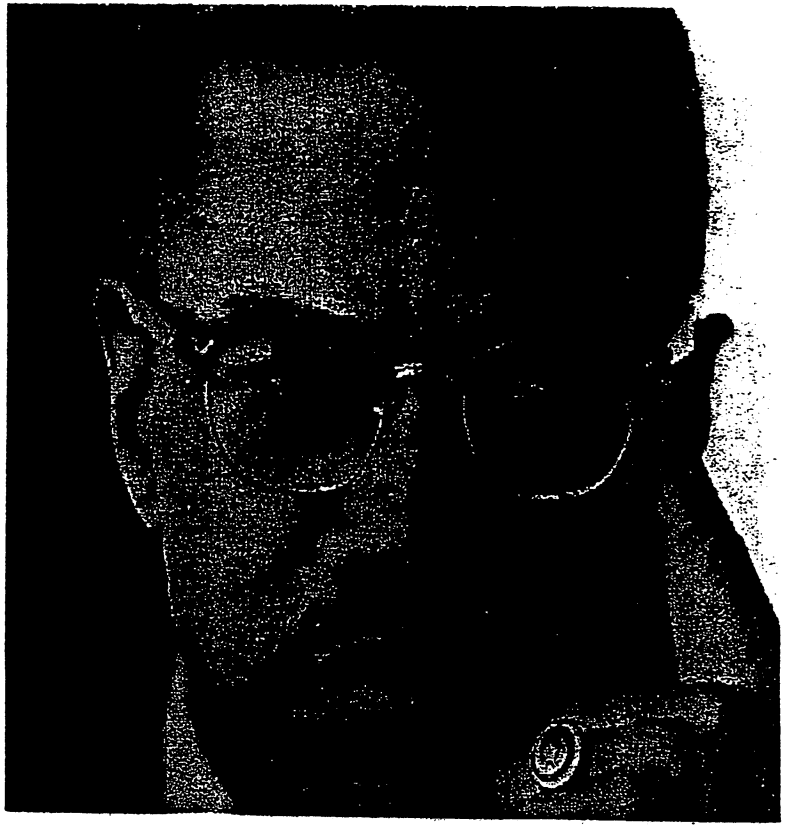

Malcolm X - Revolutionary.
The Ballot or The Bullet

Malcom X Revolutionary

(1925-1965)
The Ballot or the Bullet
April 3. 1964

Introduction

Born in Omaha, Nebraska, and raised in Lansing Michigan, Malcolm x was the product of a tumultuous childhood: his house was burned down by the KKK, his father murdered, and his mother placed in a mental institution. After spending years in detention homes, Malcolm was converted to the Nation of Islam while in prison and appointed to be a speaker for the Nation of Islam upon his release. In the years that followed Malcolm X made a name for himself as an influential advocate of militant Black Nationalism, eventually parting ways with the Nation of Islam. The following speech was delivered at the Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, less than a year before Malcolm's assassination.

Brother Tee
2009 Robert Presley
Detention Center

Mr. moderator, brother Lomax, brothers and sister, friends and enemies! I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend; an I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight as I understand it, is " the Negro revolt, and where do we go from here?" or "what next?" in my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet. Before we try and explain what is meant by the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify something concerning myself. I'm still a Muslim; my religion is still Islam. That's my personal belief. Just as Adam Clayton Powell is a Christian minister who heads the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York. by at the same time takes part in the



Segregation means that he puts you away from him, but not far enough for you to be out of his jurisdiction; separation means you're gone. And the white man will integrate faster than he'll let you separate. So we will work with you against the 22 segregated school system because its criminal, because it is obviously destructive, in every way imaginable, to the minds of the children who have to be exposed to that type of crippling education. Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. The only thing that I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the lives and the property of Negroes, its time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number two of the constitutional amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle. This doesn't mean you're going to get a rifle and form battalions and go out looking for white folks, although you'd be within your rights- I mean, you'd be justified; but that would be illegal and we don't do anything illegal. If the white man doesn't want the black man buying rifles and shotguns, then let the government do its job. That's all. And don't let the white man come to you and ask you what you think about what Malcolm says-why, you old uncle tom. He would never ask you if he thought you were going to say "amen!" no, he is making a tom out of you. So, this doesn't mean forming rifle clubs and going out looking for people, but it is time, in 1964, if you are a man, to let that man know. If he's not going to do his job in running the government and providing you and me with the protection that our taxes are supposed to be for, since he spends all those billions for his defense budget, he certainly cant begrudge you and me spending 12 or 15 dollars for a single-shot, or double – action. I hope you understand. Don't go out shooting people, but anytime-brothers and sisters, and especially the men in this audience; some of you are wearing congressional medals of honor, with shoulders this wide, chests this big, muscles that big- any time you and I sit around and read where thy bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grownups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same god the white man taught them to pray to, and you and I see the government go down and cant find who did it. Why, this

eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast. As they see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time threes an election the races are so close that they have to have a recount. They had to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rhode Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon when they ran for president. It was so close they had to count all over again. Well, what does this mean? It means that the white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of voes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the white house and who's going to be in the dog house. It was the black mans vote that put the present administration I Washington, DC. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, DC, that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that. And you and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress were making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure cant be good in Washington, D.C. because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent. And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the white house with a Texan, southern cracker- that's all he is- and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because since he's from the south, he know how to deal with the southerners. What kind of logic is that? Let Eastland be president, he's from the south too. He should be better able to deal with them than Johnson. In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the house vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the senate, there a re 67 senators who are of the Democratic party only 33 of them are Republicans, why, the

witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a let down, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today- I'm sorry, Brother Lomax- who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer. Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here. These odds aren't as great as those odds. And if you fight there, you will at least know what you're fighting for. I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a democrat. I'm not a republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Those honkies that just got off the boat, there already Americans; polacks are already Americans; the Italian refugees are already Americans. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet. Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at you table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you American, you wouldn't need any legislation; you wouldn't need any amendments to the constitution; you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right not. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a pollack an American. No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver-no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the

man- he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American solders, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections-this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country. No, if you never see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the bullet. If a Negro in 1964 has to sit around and wait for some cracker senator to filibuster when it comes to the rights of black people, why, you and I should hang our heads in shame. You talk about a march on Washington in 1963, you haven't seen anything. There is more going down in '64. And this time they're not going like they were last year. They're not going singing, "We shall overcome". They're not going with white friends. They're not going with placards already painted for them. They're not going with round-trip tickets. They're not going with one-way tickets. And if they don't want that nonviolent army going down there, tell them to bring the filibuster to a halt. The black nationalists aren't going to wait. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Democratic Party. If he's for civil rights, let him go into the Senate next week and declared himself. Let him go in there right now and declare himself. Let him go in there and denounce the southern branch of his party. Let him go in there right now and take a moral stand-right now, not later. Tell him, don't wait until election time. If he waits too long, brothers and sisters, he will be responsible for leading a condition develop in this country which will create a climate that will bring seeds up out of the ground with vegetation on the end of them looking like something these people never dreamed of. In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet.

Thank you.

As a New African freedom fighter I'm learning what it means to be black and proud, and how to really have love for one another as well as stick together. Brother Malcolm X. "El-Hajj Malik El-

figure like Graham with suspicion and envy, how is it possible for him to come into a city and get all the cooperation of the church leaders? Don't think because they're church leaders that they don't have weaknesses that make them envious and jealous- no, everybody's got it. Its not an accident that then they want to choose a cardinal, as pope over there in Rome, they get in a closet so you cant hear them cussing and fighting and carrying on. Billy Graham comes in preaching the gospel of Christ, he evangelizes the gospel he stirs everybody up, but he never tries to start a church. If he came in trying to start a church, all the churches would be against him, so, he just comes in talking about Christ and tells everybody who gets Christ to go to any church where Christ is; and in this way the church cooperates with him. So were going to take a page from his book. Our gospel is Black Nationalism. Were not trying to threaten the existence of any organization, but were spreading the gospel of Black Nationalism. Anywhere there's a church that is also preaching and practicing the gospel of Black Nationalism, join that church. If the NAACP is preaching and practicing the gospel of Black Nationalism, join the NAACP. If CORE is spreading and practicing the gospel of Black Nationalism, join CORE. Join any organization that has a gospel that's for the uplift of the black man, and when you get into it and see them pussyfooting or compromising, pull out of it because that's not Black Nationalism. Well find another one. And in this manner, the organizations will increase in number and in quantity and in quality, and by august, it is then our intention to have a Black Nationalist convention which will consist of delegates from all over the country who are interested in the political economic and social philosophy of Black Nationalism. After these delegates convene. We will hold a seminar; we will hold discussions; we will listen to everyone. We want to hear new ideas and new solutions and new answers. And at that time, if we see fit then tc form a Black Nationalist party, well form a Black Nationalist party. If it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist army, well form a Black Nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the billet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death. Its time for you and me to stop sitting in this country, letting some cracker senator, northern crackers and southern crackers, sit there in Washington, D.C.

have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle. Its time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is. The Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C. control the key committees that run the government, the only reason the Dixiecrats control these committees is because they have seniority. The only reason they have seniority is because they come from states where Negroes can't vote. This is not even a government that's based on democracy. It's not a government that is made up of representatives of the people. Half of the people in the south cant even vote. Eastland is not even supposed to be in Washington. Half of the senators and congressmen who occupy these key position in Washington, DC are there illegally, are there unconstitutionally. I was in Washington, DC a week ago Thursday, when they were debating whether or not they should let the bill come onto the floor. And in the back of the room where the senate meets, there's a huge map of the United States, and on that map it shows the location of Negroes throughout the country. And it shows that the southern section of the country, the states that are most heavily concentrated with Negroes are the ones that have senators and congressmen standing up filibustering and doing all other kinds of trickery to keep the Negro from being able to vote. This is pitiful. But its not pitiful for us any longer; its actually pitiful for the white man, because soon now, as the Negro awakens a little more and sees the vise that he's in, sees the bag that he's in, sees the real game that he's in, then the Negro's going to develop a new tactic. These senators and congressmen actually violate the constitutional amendments that guarantee the people of that particular state or country the right to vote. And the constitution itself has within it the machinery to expel and representative from a state where the voting rights of the people are violated. You don't even need new legislation. Any person in congress right now, who is there from a state or a district where the voting rights of the people are violated, that particular person should be expelled from congress. And when you expel him, you've removed one of the obstacles in the path of any real meaningful legislation in this country. In fact, when you expel them, you don't need new legislation, because they will be replaced by black representatives from counties and districts

where the black man is in the majority, not in the minority. If the black man in these southern states had his full voting rights, the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C. which mean the key democrats in Washington D.C. would lose its power. It would cease to be powerful as a party. When you see the amount of power that would be lost by the Democratic party if it were to lose the Dixiecrat wing, or branch, or element, you can see where its against the interests of the Democrats to give voting rights to Negroes in states where the Democrats have been in complete power and authority ever since the civil war. You just can't belong to that party without analyzing it. I say again, I'm not anti-democrat, I'm not anti-republican, and I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep. When you keep the Democrats in power, your keeping the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that by good Brother Lomax will deny that. A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. That's why, in 1964 its time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what were supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, its going to end up in a situation where were going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet. In the north, they do it a different way. They have a system that's known as gerrymandering, whatever that means. It means when Negroes become too heavily concentrated in a certain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and changes the district lines. You may say, " Why do you keep saying white man?" because it's the white man who does it. I haven't ever seen any Negro changing any lines. They don't let him near the line. It's the white man who grins at you the most. And pats you on the back, and is supposed to be your friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend. So, what I'm trying to impress upon you, in essence, is this: you and I in America are faced not with a segregationist conspiracy, were faced with a government conspiracy. Everyone who's filibustering is a senator- that's the government. Everyone who's finagling in Washington, D.C is a congressman- that's the government. You don't have anybody putting blocks in your path but people who are a part of the government. The same government that you go abroad to fight for

stores, if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we are developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg some cracker downtown for a job in his business. The social philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community. We ourselves have to lift the level of our community, the standard of our community to a higher level, make our own society beautiful so that we will be satisfied in our own social circles and wont be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where were not wanted. So I say, in spreading a gospel suck as Black Nationalism, it is not designed to make the black man re-evaluate the white man- you know him already- but to make the black man, re-evaluate himself. Don't change the white mans mind- you cant change his mind, and the whole thing about appealing to the moral conscience of America- Americas conscience is bankrupt. She lost all conscience a long time ago. Uncle Sam has no conscience. They don't know what morals are. They don't try and eliminate an evil because its evil, or because its illegal, or because its immoral' they eliminate it only when it threatens their existence. So you're wasting your time appealing to the moral conscience of a bankrupt man like Uncle Sam. If he had a conscience, he'd straighten this thing out with no more pressure being put upon him. So it is not necessary to change the white mans mind. We have to change our own mind. You can't change his mind about us. We've got change our own minds about each other. We have to see each other with new eyes. We have to see each other as brothers and sisters. We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves. How can we do this? How can we avoid jealousy? Ill tell you how. I have watched how Billy Graham comes into a city, spreading what he calls the gospel of Christ, which is only white nationalism. That's what he is. Billy Graham is a white nationalist; I'm a black nationalist. But since it's the natural tendency for leaders to be jealous and look upon a powerful

what politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket. The political philosophy of Black Nationalism is being taught in the Christian church. The NAACP is teaching it. It's being taught in the CORE meetings. It's being taught in the SNCC Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee meetings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists and agnostics come together. It's being taught everywhere. Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we are not going to get it saying, "We shall overcome". We've got to fight until we overcome. The economic philosophy of Black Nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks of our community? Why should the economy of our community be in the hands of the white man? Why? If a black man can't move his store into a white community, you tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community. The philosophy of Black Nationalism involves a reeducation program in the black community in regards to economics. Our people have to be made to see that any time you take your dollar out of your community and spend it in a community where you don't live, the community where you live poorer and poorer, and the community where you spend your money will get richer and richer. Then you wonder why where you live is always a ghetto or a slum area. And where you and I are concerned, not only do we lose it when we spend it out of the community, but the white man has got all our stores in the community tied up; so that though we spend it in the community, at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across town somewhere. He's got us in a vise. So the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism means in every church, in every civic organization, in every fraternal order, it's time now for our people to become conscious of the importance of controlling the economy of our community. If we own the

and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education. You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of black people in this country. And it you should drop it in their lap. This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all the white liberals have definitely failed the Negro. So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need to look at this civil rights thing from another angle-from the inside as well from the outside. To those of us whose philosophy is Black Nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil rights struggle is to give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation excluded of us. It kept us out. So were giving a new interpretation to the civil rights struggle, and interpretation that will enable us to come into it, take part in it. And these handkerchief heads who have been dillydallying and pussyfooting and compromising-we don't intend to let them pussyfoot and dillydally and compromise any longer. How can you thank a man for giving you only part of what's already yours? You haven't even made progress, if what's being given to you, you should have already had. That's not progress. And I love my brother Lomax, the way he pointed out were right back where we were in 1954. We are behind where we were in 1954. There's more segregation now than there was in 1954. There's more a racial animosity, more racial hatred, more racial violence today in 1964, then there was in 1954. Where is the progress? And now you're facing a situation where the young Negroes coming up. They don't want to hear that "turn the other cheek" stuff, no. In Jacksonville, those were teenagers, they were throwing Molotov cocktails. Negroes have never done that before. But it shows you there's a new deal coming in. There is new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death. The only difference about this kind of death-it'll be reciprocal. You know what is meant by "reciprocal"?

That's one of Brother Lomax's words. I stole it from him. I don't usually deal with those big words because I don't usually deal with big people. I deal with small people. I find you can get a whole lot of small people and whip hell out of a whole lot of big people. 10
They haven't got anything to lose, and they've got everything to gain. And they'll let you know in a minute; "it takes two to tango; when I go, you go." The black nationalist, those whose philosophy is black nationalism, in bringing about this new interpretation of the entire meaning of civil rights, look upon it as meaning, as Brother Lomax has pointed out, equality of opportunity. Well, we are justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. 310 years we worked in this country without a dime in return-I mean without a dime in return. You let the white man walked around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stopped to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich. You take the people who are in this audience right now. They're poor. Were all poor as individuals. Our weekly salary individually amounts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here collectively, it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's alot of wealth. If you can collect the wages of just these people right here for a year, you'll be rich-richer than rich. When you look at it like that, think how rich Uncle Sam had to become, not with this handful, but millions of black people. Your and my mother and father, who didn't work an eight-hour shift, but worked from "can't see" in the morning until "can't see" at night, and worked for nothing, making the white man rich, making Uncle Sam rich, This is our investment. This is our contribution, our blood. Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today.

that kind of stuff. But a guerrilla is on his own. All you have is a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of rice. That's all you need-and a lot of heart. The Japanese on some of those islands in the Pacific, when the American soldiers landed, one Japanese 15
sometimes could hold the whole army off. He'd just wait until the sun went down, and when the sun went down they were all equal. He would take his little blade and slip from bush to bush, and from American to American. The white soldiers couldn't cope with that. Whenever you see a white soldier that fought in the Pacific, he has the shakes; he has a nervous condition, because they scared him to death. The same thing happened to the French up in French Indochina. People who just a few years previously were rice farmers got together and ran the heavily mechanized French army out of Indochina. You don't need it-modern warfare today won't work. This is the day of the guerrilla. They did the same thing in Algeria. Algerians, who were nothing but Bedouins, took a rine and sneaked off to the hills, and De Gaulle and all of his Highfalutin war machinery couldn't defeat those guerrillas. Nowhere on this earth does the white man win in guerrilla warfare. It's not his speed. Just as guerrilla warfare is prevailing in Asia and in parts of Africa and parts of Latin America, you've got to be mighty naïve, or you've got to play the black man cheap, if you don't think someday he's going to wake up and find it that it's got to be the ballot or the bullet. I would like to say, in closing, a few things concerning the Muslim Mosque, which we established recently in New York City. It's true we are Muslims and our religion is Islam, but we don't mix our religion with our politics and our economics and our social and civil activities not anymore. We keep our religion in our mosque. After our religious services are over, then as Moslems we become involved in political action, economic action and social and civic action. We become involved with anybody, anywhere, any time and in any manner that's designed to eliminate the evils, the political, economic and social evils that are afflicting the people of our community. The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated to the science of politics so he won't know

you want. Just stop being a Negro. Change your name to Hoogagagooba. That'll show you how silly the white man is. You're dealing with a silly man. A friend of mine who's very dark put a turban on his head and went into a restaurant in Atlanta before they called themselves desegregated. He went into a white restaurant, he sat down, they jerved him, and he said, "What would happen if a Negro came in here?" " And there he's sitting, black as night, but because he had his head wrapped up the waitress looked back at him and says, "why, there wouldn't no nigger dare come in here." So, you're dealing with a man whose bias and prejudice are making him loose his mind, his intelligence, every day. He's frightened. He looks around and sees what's taking place on this earth, and he sees the pendulum of time is swinging in your direction. The dark people are waking up. They're loosing their fear of the white man no place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting someone your and my complexion. And they're beating him. He can't win anymore. He's won his last battle. He failed to win the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had to sign a truce. That's a loss. Any time Uncle Sam, with all his machinery for warfare, is held to a draw by some rice eaters, he's lost the battle. He had to sign a truce. Americas not supposed to sign a truce. She's supposed to be bad. But she's not bad anymore. She's bad as long as she can use here hydrogen bomb, but she can't use hers for rear Russia might use hers. Russia can't use hers; for fear that Sam might use his. So, both of them are weaponless. They cant use the weapon because each ones weapon nullifies the others. So the only place where action can take place is on the ground. And the white man cant win another war fighting on the ground. Those days are over. The black man knows it, the brown man knows it, the red man knows it, and the yellow man know sit. So they engage him in guerrilla warfare. That's not his style. You've got to have heart to be a guerrilla warrior, and he hasn't got any heart. I'm telling you now. I just wan to give you a little briefing on guerrilla warfare because, before you know it, before you know it. It takes heart to be a guerrilla warrior because you're on your own. In conventional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to back you up- planes over your head and all

We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is Black Nationalism, means: "give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough. I might stop right there to point out one thing. Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you, anyone who's depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it. And anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal. And this was pointed out by the Supreme Court decision. It outlawed segregation. Which means segregation is against the law. Which means a segregationist is breaking the law. A segregationist is a criminal. You can't label him as anything other than that. And when you demonstrate against segregation, the law is on your side. Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law; they are not representatives of the law. Anytime you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it; if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill that dog. Then you'll put a stop to it. Now, if these white people in here don't want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police department to pull the dogs in. that's all you have to do. If you don't do it, someone else will. If you don't take this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and think "shame". If you don't take an uncompromising stand, I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do. And that's the way every Negro should get. Anytime you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within

your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. but don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander. When we begin to get in this area, we need new friends, we need new allies. We need to expand the civil rights struggle to a higher level-to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil rights struggle, whether you know it or now, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. No one from the outside would can speak out in your behalf as long as your struggle is a civil rights struggle. Civil rights comes within the domestic affairs of this country. All of our African brothers and our Asian brothers and our Latin American brothers cannot open their mouths and interfere in the domestic affairs of the United States. And as long as its civil rights, this comes under the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. But the United Nations has what's known as the charter of human rights. You may wonder why all of the atrocities that have been committed in Africa and in Hungary and in Asia, and in Latin America are brought before the UN, and the Negro problem is never brought before the UN. This I part of the conspiracy. This old, tricky blue-eyed liberal who is supposed to be your and my friend, supposed to be in our corner, supposed to be subsidizing our struggle, and supposed to be acting in the capacity of an adviser, never tells you anything about human rights. They keep you wrapped up in civil rights. And you spend so much time barking up the civil rights tree, you don't even know there s a human rights tree on the same floor. When you expand the civil rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN. You can take it before the general assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court. But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civil rights keeps you under his restrictions, under his jurisdiction. Civil rights keeps you in his pocket. Civil rights means your asking uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were worn with. Human rights are your god given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. And anytime anyone violates your human rights you can take them to the world court. Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number one hypocrite. He has the audacity- yes, he has – imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world! And you over here singing "we shall overcome". Expand the civil rights struggle to the level of human rights. Take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weights on our side, where our Latin American brothers can throw their weights on our side, and where 800 Million chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on our side. Let the world know how bloody his hands are. Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the billet. When you take your case to Washington, D.C., your taking it to the criminal who's responsible, it like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in cahoots together. They all work political chicanery and make you look like a chump before the eyes of the world. Here you are walking around in America, getting ready to be drafted and sent abroad, like a tin soldier, and when you get over there, people ask you what are you fighting for, and you have to stick your tongue in your cheek. No, take Uncle Sam to court, take him before the world. By ballot I only mean freedom. Don't you know I disagree with Lomax on this issue- that the ballot is more important than the dollar? Can I prove it? Yes. Look in the UN. There are poor nations in the UN; yet those poor nations can get together with tier voting power and keep the rich nations from making a move. They have one nation- one vote, everyone has an equal vote. And when those brothers from Asia, and Africa and the darker parts of this earth get together, their voting power is sufficient to hold Sam in check. Or Russia in check, or some other section of the earth in check. So, the ballot is most important, right now, in this country, if you and I, 22 million African Americans – that's what we are- Africans who are in America. Your nothing but Africans, nothing but Africans. In fact, you'd get farther calling yourself African instead of Negro. Africans don't catch hell. You're the only on catching hell. They don't have to pass civil rights bills for Africans. An African can go anywhere he wants right now. All you've got to do is tie your head up. That's right, go anywhere