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15	report	Stokely Carmichael	C	3	1/10/68	A
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16	report	Stokely Carmichael: Internal Security- Miscellaneous Sedition	" S	4	1/5/68	A
16a	report	Hubert Geroid Brown Also Known As (aka) H. Rap Brown: Internal Security- Student Non- Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)	" C	6	12/29/67	A
18	report	Stokely Carmichael	" S	54	11/16/67	A
18a	report	Stokely Carmichael	" S	1	11/16/67	A
19	report	Stokely Carmichael: Internal Security- Miscellaneous	" C	3	5/31/67	A
23	report	Stokely Carmichael: Internal Security- Miscellaneous	" S	51	11/4/66	A
23a	report	Stokely Carmichael, also known as G. Welcher	" S	1	11/4/66	A

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11/2/2007

Af
Initials

Carmichael

UPI-138

CORRESPONDENTS:

BLACK POWER LEADER STOKEY CARMICHAEL WILL BE INTERVIEWED LIVE
ON WOL'S "SPEAK-UP" BROADCAST SUNDAY NIGHT FROM 11:00 P.M. UNTIL
1:00 A.M.

WCNS

1/12--TM534PES

M. C. Miskovsky

January 2, 1968

M. J. Connell

Stokely Carmichael

"...If you're really serious about it, it seems to me you're got to think about whether or not you're opportunistic. It bothers me a lot. If I see my name in the paper, I'm not sorry its there. When...you want to interview, I'm not sorry. I sort of feel good. That's one of the things you're got to be worried about. The trouble is you get an opportunist, and he becomes a rhetorician, he says things that are really going to appease people, he's not really looking for solutions."

Stokely Carmichael, quoted above from Robert Penn Warren's Who Speaks For The Negro (published Feb. 1965) told an all Negro audience in Los Angeles, May 1967 that he was talking quietly because he was talking seriously. He went on to say that it was necessary to create a legitimate political activity to cover the guerrilla warfare movement which is required.

In May 1967 when he was replaced as National Chairman of SNCC by H. Rap Brown, Carmichael said that he would be happy to return to his field work in Washington, D.C. Between the time of that statement and his departure for London, England, on 14 July, he spent three and a half days in Washington.

In the interview with Robert Penn Warren which was taped in 1964, Carmichael derided the Malcolm X position which excluded all whites from any role in Negro affairs. In May 1967 he proposed that SNCC cease accepting financial assistance from whites. In Havana, he was quoted

as having said on 2 August "We accept with us only whites willing to pick up arms and destroy the capitalist system. The rest is talk."

In that same talk he also said "Our heroes are colored men: Malcolm X, W. E. B. DuBois, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, and Mao Tse tung..."

He went on to say "...For four hundred years black people of the United States have tried to peacefully co-exist within the boundaries of the United States, to no avail. We have no alternative but to pick up arms, to wage a struggle for liberation. "Black Power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary...joining hands with oppressed people outside the United States and fighting to smash the imperialist capitalistic structure of the United States..."

Carmichael's background is well known. Born in Trinidad in 1941, he was brought to this country at age 11 and became a citizen through his father's naturalization. He was educated at the Broux High School of Science and at Howard University, receiving his BA in philosophy in 1964 and has been associated with SNCC since then. He had been active in civil rights activities during the latter part of his college years.

He was elected National Chairman of SNCC in 1966 and became famous for his chanting use of the phrase "Black Power." His demigodic ability and his verbal excesses coupled with frequent encounters with the police (among other arrests, he has been indicted for inciting a riot in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1966) and participation in disorders created a demand for his presence at rallies, meetings and conferences. He became a drawing card and began demanding large fees for speaking engagements.

As early as Feb. 1966 Carmichael was quoted in the San Rafael, California "Independent Journal" (5 Feb. 66):

"Our country does not run to reason, it is run on violence. That's the reality of how things are done here.

"It is to my benefit to get the Negro out on the streets to stop the machine which is keeping me from my rights. Whether they do it by marching or singing or dancing or fighting is irrelevant...

"Being non-violent is a personal thing; I might be non-violent but I wouldn't try to push that on the people I am trying to organize. If the people were out there - ready to fight for their rights...I'd tell them to get what they deserve...

"This non-violence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up...the violence is inevitable...I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it."

On 29 August 1966 Carmichael said, in New York at a SNCC benefit, "By calling us stupid and uncivilized, they are right for if we were in power there would be an escalated war in which we would drop bombs on the U.S."

MJC:is

1 - ^{MJC} ~~HHH~~ Chron.
✓ - Organization Carmichael

DPI-176

(CARMICHAEL)

NEW YORK--A CROWD OF ABOUT 100 FOLLOWERS WAS ON HAND TO WELCOME STOKELY CARMICHAEL BACK TO THE UNITED STATES TODAY WITH SHOUTS OF "BLACK POWER!" AND "MAU MAU!"

CARMICHAEL, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, RETURNED AFTER A FIVE-MONTH TOUR OF AFRICA, THE FAR EAST AND EUROPE.

JUST BEFORE CARMICHAEL ARRIVED, THE STATE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT WAS SENDING TO CONGRESS LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE "CRIMINAL PENALTIES" AGAINST PERSONS WHO TRAVEL TO RESTRICTED AREAS ABROAD. CARMICHAEL'S WORLD TOUR INCLUDED UNAUTHORIZED VISITS TO NORTH VIETNAM AND CUBA--PROHIBITED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

PREVIOUSLY, THE PERONS WHO VISITED RESTRICTED REAS HAD THEIR PASSPORTS REVOKED AND THERE WAS NO FURTHER PENALTY FOR THE ILLEGAL TRAVEL.

THERE WERE REPORTS THAT STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAD TAKEN PASSPORTS FROM CARMICHAEL AND DALE SMITH, A MAN TRAVELING WITH HIM FROM PARIS, AT THE AIRPORT. FEDERAL AGENTS COULD BE SEEN PHOTOGRAPHING THE TWO PASSPORTS AND MAKING TELEPHONE CALLS.

THERE WERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. MARSHAL'S OFFICE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE U. S. IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, ON HAND FOR HIS ARRIVAL.

U. S. ATTORNEY JOSEPH P. HOEY CONFIRMED THAT THE PASSPORT OF CARMICHAEL HAD BEEN TAKEN BY DEPUTY U. S. MARSHALS. HOEY SAID THERE WAS NO DECISION ON WHETHER ANY OTHER ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST CARMICHAEL.

AS CARMICHAEL STEPPED FROM THE CUSTOMS AREA AT KENNEDY AIRPORT, HE WAS MOBBED BY THE SPIRITED CROWD OF FOLLOWERS THAT STOOD WAITING FOR HIM. THE GROUP INCLUDED CHARLES 35X KENYATTA, HEAD OF THE HARLEM MAU MAU SOCIETY, AND OTHER BLACK NATIONALISTS WHO RALLY BEHIND THE "BLACK POWER" PHRASE THAT STARTED WITH SPEECH TWO YEARS AGO BY CARMICHAEL.

POLICEMEN OPENED A PATHWAY THROUGH THE CROWD FOR CARMICHAEL TO GET TO A JAPANESE-MADE CAR BEARING AN ALABAMA LICENSE PLATE. SOME BYSTANDERS AT THE AIRPORT FLED FROM HIS PATH AS CARMICHAEL RAN TO THE CAR. SEVERAL AIRLINE MECHANICS SHOUTED OBSCENITIES A THE CROWD AND THE NEGROES HAD AN EQUAL AND OPPOSITE REACTION TO THEIR CATCALLS.

THERE WAS ALSO AN ANGRY EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE CROWD WAITING FOR CARMICHAEL AND POLICE. THE BLACK POWER FOLLOWERS CHARGED THAT NEWSMEN WERE BEING SHOWN FAVORITISM BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T HAVE TO STAND BEHIND POLICE BARRICADES. POLICE REMOVED THE BARRICADES BRIEFLY, THEN SHOVED THE CROWD BACK AFTER ANOTHER OUTBURST FROM THE CROWD.

NEWSMEN TRIED TO SET UP A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH CARMICHAEL, BUT HE STEPPED OUT OF THE CUSTOMS BUILDING AND RUSHED TO THE WAITING CAR AND DROVE OFF WITH POLICE ESCORTS. THE POLICE CAR BEHIND CARMICHAEL'S CAR DROVE OFF WITH ITS SIREN WAILING.

JAMES FORMAN, NOW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF SNCC AND, LIKE CARMICHAEL, A FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP, MET HIM AT THE AIRPORT.

ONE OF THEIR FOLLOWERS SAID THAT THE TWO HAD LEFT FOR A RENDEZVOUS IN HARLEM WITH H. RAP. BROWN, THE PRESENT CHAIRMAN OF SNCC, WHO HAS BEEN SOUNDING THE CALLS FOR "BLACK POWER" IN CARMICHAEL'S ABSENCE.

12/11--TS610PES

December 8, 1967

Note To: M. C. Miskovsky
S. P. Hebert

From: *mjc*
M. J. Connell

I believe Carmichael spoke to this group last May. Shall we file for future reference?

College Editor Is Threatened

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 10 (AP) — Plainclothes police guarded the office of the California State College at Los Angeles student newspaper today after militant Negroes allegedly threatened the paper's editor.

Eight Negroes claiming to be members of the Black Student Union marched into the paper's office and demanded that Editor David Shelburne use the word "black" or "African-American" instead of "Negro" in stories, said Bob Lerner, campus public relations director.

When Shelburne, 21, refused, an African-robed spokesman for the group told him he will "face the political consequences of your decision," Lerner said.

Los Angeles Police Department officers were called in to supplement campus police, Lerner said, in view of Monday's attack on the San Francisco State College newspaper staff by militant young Negroes.

MJC:acc

UPI-27

(CARMICHAEL)

PARIS--STOKELY CARMICHAEL SET ABOUT PREACHING BLACK POWER TO PARISIANs TODAY AFTER AUTHORITIES TOOK HIS NAME FROM A LIST OF "UNDESIRABLES." CHEERING FRENCHMEN HEARD HIM CALL FOR A U.S. DEFEAT IN VIETNAM.

THE FIRST THING HE DID AFTER RELEASE FROM 12 HOURS OF DETENTION AT ORLY AIRPORT WAS TELL 3,000 PERSONS AT AN ANTIWAR RALLY THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AMERICA LOSE THE VIETNAM WAR.

"WE DO NOT WANT PEACE," THE 25-YEAR-OLD BLACK POWER ADVOCATE SHOUTED. "WE WANT THE VIETNAMESE TO DEFEAT THE UNITED STATES." THE CROWD ROARED ITS APPROVAL.

12/7--TD1005AES

Carmichael

Carmichael ⁶

LBJ-Clark Differ on Handling Stokely

By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson

An important, undisclosed policy disagreement over Stokely Carmichael has developed between President Johnson and Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Carmichael, the rostin, 'ootin' advocate of Black Power, is reported about to sneak back into the United States. This poses the question: Should he be prosecuted for sedition?

Born in the West Indies, Carmichael came to the United States to obtain a college education and American citizenship, recently has been castigating the United States from the safety of various Communist capitals throughout the world.

In Cuba, while wine and dined by Fidel Castro, he called upon Negroes to rise up in revolt against the United States. Then he went to Hanoi, curried favor with Ho Chi Minh, again denounced the adopted country which had educated and befriended him.

More recently he turned up in Denmark, where he attended the mock trial of the United States for war crimes. Carmichael had bought an airline ticket in Tanzania, permitting stops in Rome and

Paris, but didn't linger in either place. He went direct to Scandinavia to make a speech at Uppsala University in Stockholm.

SNCC headquarters in Atlanta is now expecting him to return. The report is that he'll try to sneak into the United States via Canada unannounced.

If and when this happens, the Justice department will be faced with the question of whether to prosecute.

Carmichael appears to have clearly violated the 1917 Sedition Act, and President Johnson has argued that his prosecution would put other militants on notice that there is a limit to treasonous activities against the United States of America.

However, Attorney General Clark believes this would only make a martyr of Carmichael. A great majority of American Negroes are fed up with Carmichael's grandstanding, and Clark believes he will kill himself if he continues his seditious activity.

Hungry People

A tough foe of the Great Society, Rep. Albert H. Quie (R-Minn.), has come to the rescue of a Mississippi-sponsored move to help the hungry.

When Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) introduced a bill to pro-

vide \$25 million to feed starving people, Southern colleagues on the House Agriculture Committee held secret hearings and promptly sidetracked it. Whereupon Quie went to bat singlehanded.

"The Agriculture Committee agreed to a six-month study of the problem, but it seemed to me that hungry people

couldn't wait six months to be fed," he told this column. Quie has been a thorn in the side of the Administration in battles over aid to education, the OEO and other issues. He says: "When you are a member of the minority, you've got to take a tough position to get your views across."

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UPI-158

(CARMICHAEL)

PARIS--FRENCH POLICE DETAINED AMERICAN "BLACK POWER" SPOKESMAN STOKELY CARMICHAEL FOR QUESTIONING TONIGHT ON HIS ARRIVAL AT ORLY AIRPORT.

ARRIVING TO PARTICIPATE IN A FRENCH PROTEST AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR WEDNESDAY NIGHT, CARMICHAEL WAS HELD BY POLICE IN THE AIRPORT TRANSIT LOUNGE.

THE MILITANT FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS BEEN OUT OF THE U.S. FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. HE ANNOUNCED RECENTLY THAT HE EXPECTS TO BE ARRESTED UPON HIS RETURN TO THE U.S. FOR PASSPORT VIOLATIONS.

12/5--TS504PES

UPI-132

(CARMICHAEL)

WASHINGTON--THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID TODAY THAT IT HAS REVOKED THE PASSPORT OF BLACK POWER ADVOCATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND IS NOT PLANNING FURTHER ACTION AGAINST HIM.

DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN CARL E. BARTCH SAID ANY FURTHER ACTION WOULD BE UP TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT.

BARTCH COMMENTED AT A BRIEFING ON REPORTED REMARKS BY CARMICHAEL, FROM OSLO, NORWAY, THAT HE COULD FACE FIVE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT UPON RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES. CARMICHAEL SAID HE PLANNED TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS.

CARMICHAEL'S PASSPORT WAS REVOKED FOR TRAVELING TO HAVANA FOR A COMMUNIST CONFERENCE WITHOUT SPECIAL VALIDATION BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

11/30--EG245PES

~~Robert~~ 2

Early

Carmichael
file

UPI-66

(CARMICHAEL)

CAIRO--STOKELY CARMICHAEL, DECLARING THAT HE DOESN'T KNOW IF HE'S A COMMUNIST, SAID TODAY HE WILL RETURN HOME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO RESUME HIS BLACK POWER ACTIVITIES.

CARMICHAEL, INTERVIEWED BY THE NEWSPAPER AL AHRAH, CALLED THE UNITED STATES THE WORLD'S "STRONGEST IMPERIALIST FORTRESS."

ASKED IF HE WAS A COMMUNIST, HE SAID: "I DON'T KNOW. BUT MY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IS INFLUENCED BY THE CHINESE AND CUBAN REVOLUTIONS."

10/25--GE1147A

Stokely Carmichael Speaks, Lives In Defense

COLIN MC GLASHAN

London Observer

Stokely Carmichael is a phenomenon. His slogan is Black Power. His color is his country. He is openly at war with the society he lives in.

At 26, he is the man opponents of black militancy blame for inciting violence and causing riots. He is a man to hate and fear — and, for America's young, militant, and growing Black Nationalist movement, the man to follow.

He can quote Sartre and Camus. He has spent seven of his last eight birthdays in jail. He is 6 ft. 1 in., laughs easily, has charm and physical grace, and can talk like a ghetto hustler, a black share-cropper, or a university intellectual. He has been all three.

He merges into any scene with the assurance of an outsider who has never felt he belonged anywhere. In his teens while he was one of five black students at a select high school in New York, he was also "war counsellor" — planning thefts — for an all-white gang.

He has not yet got his identity worked out: each audience finds it for him. He can look tormented by the fame that perhaps for seven-eighths of the time he doesn't want and still believes he can edge out of.

In seven years, Carmichael transformed the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee known as SNICK) from pacifism to militancy. He was recently in London, holding a series of meetings.

Like some other American Negro militants, Carmichael was born under British rule in the West Indies.

"I guess what I hate was that I wanted to be white. We used to have a game in Trinidad: you took a mango skin and threw it in the air. If it fell with the brown skin showing, it meant you would marry a brown-skinned girl. I kept throwing that mango in the air and hoping it'd come down with the white inside facing up, so I'd marry a white girl."

Did he ever have a relationship with a white girl?

"Just once when I was at high school in New York. It was more platonic than sexual. It was a very, very important relationship for me. I wanted to ask the girl out but I was so afraid it would upset her morality and she would insult me and I wouldn't know what to do.

"Well, I tried to figure out what to say, what to talk about. We went on the subway together, that's when it really started, everyone looking at us. I think she was conscious of this, but acted as if she weren't. I was conscious of it and got hung up. I just kept stuttering. We went to a school dance. I remember the looks of my teachers. I was hitting the real taboo, the white woman."



Stokely Carmichael as he arrived in Havana Tuesday for revolutionary conference.

Carmichael grew up with two sisters, three aunts and a grandmother at the top of 42 steps in the best house in Oxford Street, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. His father, a carpenter, built it, then left to work in the United States. Carmichael did not see his parents from the time he was two until he joined them in New York at 12.

The striking thing is that England and an English-style education made Carmichael and govern his thinking today: he gets really angry about it.

Aged 10 he was wearing the grey serge trousers, stiff white shirt and long stockings of Tranquillity Boys School. He says he once stood for four hours to wave a Union Jack at royalty, and meant it. He admits that he still has not forgiven himself.

"I'm angry because I was drugged by white supremacy and I didn't rebel. I'm mad because the people I admired in the West Indies didn't rebel either: they forced it all down my throat.

"At school we were made to memorize Kipling's 'White Man's Burden,' told we didn't exist until a white man called Sir Walter Raleigh discovered us, and we went to the movies and yelled for Tarzan to beat the hell out of Africa."

At meetings at Hackney, Notting Hill, Brixton and elsewhere last week Carmichael's bitter memories of a West Indian childhood reached and moved his audiences. "If you ask a black child any place in the West Indies about the Nile Valley or Hannibal he doesn't know anything about it, but he can get up and tell you who was king, who was queen, who was king."

He ignored a newspaper report of one of his London meetings — "BLACK POWER VIOLENCE CALL" — to stare for a full minute at photographs of Princess Margaret. "They're still lining up for her: I don't see why."

"My father," said Carmichael, "was submissive, quiet and obedient: everything I'm not. He believed what the white man told him: if you work hard you will succeed. He died like he came into the world, poor and black. Well, work wasn't for me. If I wasn't in the movement I'd be a gangster.

"My father did three jobs at a time: carpenter, then odd jobs, then drove a taxi at night. We only saw him on Sundays. He was very religious. I went to Sunday School and church until I was 15 and then I cut it loose."

Carmichael remembers his father being out of work for three weeks because he was too honest to bribe the union representative to find him a job. "My mother went and hustled 50 dollars, then she invited the representative to the house and gave him the money and some expensive perfume. My father got a job, and said, 'That's what happens when you pray to God.' My mother is a fighter: If she wanted something, she'd just take it."

He talked about his teenage years on the streets of Harlem and the Bronx: "We stole cars, batteries, hub-caps, then we got together and started knocking off candy stores. I did the planning. I was pushing pot at 16: they wouldn't let you push cocaine until you were 21."

Apart from his upbringing, one of the main influences on him has been Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader assassinated in Harlem three years ago. Many of his speeches echo Malcolm X's thinking: On the need for black pride, for example. "We must see ourselves as beautiful people. We keep thinking the only thing that is beautiful is white, a chick with long blonde hair. We've got to understand that we have thick lips and flat noses and curly hair and we're black and beautiful. And we're not going to imitate the white man any more."

Carmichael calls Malcolm X "my patron saint." Malcolm's photograph hangs over the desk in his Atlanta, Ga. headquarters, next to a post of SNICK's leaping black panther: "Move on over or we'll move on over you."

"I admired his intelligence, his analytical mind, his forthrightness, and his willingness to begin to move to bring his people: He stopped speaking to of us young grads got from Malcolm was that he spoke to his people: he stopped speaking to whites.

"Yes, I've a lot of white friends, but I don't equate my friendships with white people on how they see the Black Political Ideology. The trouble with white liberals, every time you sit down to talk with them they want to talk about race. It isn't the type of friend I want. I just want to sit down so we can dig

What did he do if he was walking with a white girl and a white man called her a prostitute?

"I guess I just keep walking. You'd just get into a long debate or a fight and I'm not sure it's worth fighting over."

How did that square with his ideas about not turning the other cheek?

"I can't fight the individual battle, I'm fighting institutionalized racism. My job is not to allow the white man to define my attitudes."

He shrugged off discussion of the uses of violence.

"The white man is talking about violence. Did he talk about violence when he raped Africa? They say Black Power means violence. The white man has been violent to us for 400 years. If we are violent to him he deserves every bit.

"It's totally irrelevant to talk about violence in a world like this. People die of hunger every day when there's food in the world: that's violence. The Indian Government is going to force people to be sterilized. That's worse than shooting a man to death, but nobody sees that as violent. The British government thinks it's good.

"They say I'm a rabble-rouser and inciting to riot because when I speak to a black audience I don't reason or intellectualize. There's no need: They know it instinctively and emotionally. For example, they know police brutality: With whites, you've got to get out the case reports."

What about the recent riots in Newark, when 23 people were killed?

"We don't call them riots, they're rebellions. I've been involved in eight. They should use that killing as a political death. It should be a revenge so that white society should know it can't go on shooting people in the streets, but also a political act so the struggle goes on.

"The death game is what they play to scare us: look, you lost 21, we only lost two, you'd better stop. Well, SNICK is respected because if we say 'Burn, baby, burn,' we'll be the first people to strike a match. The closeness in Watts and Newark now is something 100 years couldn't bring about.

Yes, I think I could shoot a white policeman in a black man's area because I don't think he's any business there. If a man's standing on your toe and you've petitioned, begged, pleaded, done every possible thing and he won't move, you've got to push him off.

"You can have peace in the U.S. for 400 years if every time a white man wants something he says 'Nigger do this' and the black man does it. That's peace. Yeah."

How did he see the future? Did he expect white counter-violence?

"The U.S. can't use an H-bomb against black people inside the U.S. If they surround the ghettos we will blow up every damn thing they build; we will blow our country to the ground if they mess with us."

Carmichael says he has been in jail 35 times, eight times for inciting to riot. He's been shot at eight times, too: "Never hit me—too, too fast." But three years ago, a close friend was shot behind the wheel of Carmichael's car. He's let no one drive it since. He's been beaten up more times than he can remember, and rolls back his sleeve to show fresh scars he says came from a police pistol barrel a fortnight ago.

Earlier this year, Carmichael predicted that he wouldn't live through the summer. How did he see his chances now of being killed like Malcolm X?

"That's the dilemma they face. They made a mistake with

Malcolm and made him a martyr. They face the problem of killing me or putting me in jail. That's one of the reasons they didn't draft me."

Carmichael's description of his political aims has changed in recent months. He used to define his advocacy of "Black Power" as meaning simply that Negroes should hold office in means the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation—by any means necessary, to quote Brother Malcolm.

"We want control of the institutions of the communities where we live, and we want control of the land, and we want to stop the exploitation of non-white people around the world."

He goes back this week to aim for SNICK's most ambitious target: Washington, which has a Negro majority. Black men, he says, should run the cities where they're in a majority. "There's nothing wrong with living in a black ghetto if you're free from oppression. It won't be apartheid, because we won't say white people can't come in."

At 26, and reluctantly, Stokely Carmichael is inheriting Malcolm X's throne, the world's chief symbol of black militancy. He still needs to grow into this role — as Malcolm X himself grew into it during his last year. Carmichael's tragedy and his people's may be that the world will give him neither the time nor the understanding he needs.

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SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

REPORTAGE AND COMMENT ON STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S

ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS ABROAD

FROM 10 AUGUST TO 5 OCTOBER 1967

For Official Use Only
9 OCTOBER 1967
FB 06/67

*For earlier related materials see
FBIS Special Memorandum "Reportage
and Comment on Stokely Carmichael's
Activities and Statements Abroad"
Dated 9 August 1967*

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C O N T E N T S

Translation of Carmichael's speech at LASO conference, from 11 August issue of Havana magazine BOHEMIA	1
Peking NCNA report on impact of Mao Tse-tung's 8 August 1963 statement on American Negro struggle as reflected in violent outbreaks in Watts, Newark, and Detroit, citing 1 August statement by Stokely Carmichael that many black American strugglers carry Mao's "little red book"	12
Chilean Socialist Senator Carlos Altamarano invites Carmichael to Chile	15
Rio de Janeiro paper O GLOBO of 2 August quotes Carmichael telling Cuban journalists at LASO conference that Wilson, McNamara, Rusk, and Johnson run risk of being assassinated in reprisal for racist aggression in United States	15
Montevideo's MARCHA of 11 August carries Carlos Maria Outierrez article describing flight from Prague to Havana with Carmichael, Ware, and Lester, their comments on "black power" and the "third world"	15
Igor Hajek in 11 August issue of Prague LITERARNI NOVINY assesses Carmichael's views and concludes that while they might seem illogical at first, they are shared by many leftist intellectuals in Western capitalist countries	26
Havana radio reports Carmichael's statement that British officials had barred SNCC official George Ware from entering Britain	28
Havana radio cites PRENSA LATINA interview with Carmichael in which he said revolution is most appropriate method for American Negroes and that he will recommend that SNCC change its name to Negro Liberation Movement	28
The Santiago, Chile PUNTO FINAL of 15-31 August gives account of Carmichael's activities in Cuba, quoting him on the need for "armed struggle"	29
Radio Havana "Friendly Voice of Cuba" commentary says Carmichael was welcomed in Cuba as one of best U.S. representatives speaking for oppressed masses	34
Message from Carmichael to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans on second anniversary of Watts, as reported by Havana radio, says American Negro "has no alternative" to armed rebellion	35
Santiago, Chile newspaper EL MERCURIO says Carmichael visit to Chile would be "undesirable"	36

Chilean Interior Minister Leighton says he would urge government not to grant Carmichael a visa if he requests one 36

Havana's PRENSA LATINA provides text of Carmichael's Watts anniversary message to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans 37

In interview with Mexican magazine SUCESOS, cited by PRENSA LATINA, Carmichael says aim of American Negroes is to "destroy the capitalist economy because it always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation" 39

Havana radio program prepared by Chileans residing in Cuba censures Chilean Government for barring Carmichael 42

Sao Paulo daily O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO of 13 August reports on Carmichael's trip to Cuba, quotes him on training "urban guerrilla" bands, and concludes Carmichael has become "a moral issue to be used by the communists" 43

Radio Hanoi on 29 August reports arrival of Carmichael in North Vietnam at invitation of Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee 43

Carmichael received by Chairman of Standing Committee of DRV National Assembly Truong Chinh, Hanoi's VNA reports, adding that Carmichael stressed determination of black people of United States to unite closely with Vietnamese in struggle against U.S. imperialism 44

VNA reports meetings of Carmichael with DRV Premier Pham Van Dong, Fatherland Front official Xuan Thuy, NFLSV official Nguyen Phu Soai, and Carmichael's attendance at an 18 August meeting to mark day of international solidarity with the Afro-American people, with Carmichael quoted as saying: "We are revolutionaries" who "seek to change the imperialist system of the United States" 44

Hanoi's NHAN DAN, in an editorial noting closer links between American Negro struggle movement and struggle of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans against U.S. imperialism, says this is best reflected by Stokely Carmichael's visit to North Vietnam 49

Peking NCNA correspondent, writing of oppression of American Negro, cites Carmichael's claim that the Negro's problems can only be solved by destroying capitalism 50

Algiers radio reports Carmichael due to arrive in Algeria 7 September 52

Statement by Carmichael on arrival in Algeria, as reported by Algiers radio, quotes him referring to Algeria as the most revolutionary African country and reasserting revolution is "only solution" for American Negroes 53

Algiers radio reports Carmichael met FLN official Cherif Belkacem	54
Headline from Damascus radio's review of Syrian press says Carmichael to visit Syria after Algeria	54
Algiers radio reports Carmichael statement to ALGERIE PRESSE SERVICE in which he says movement he represents wants Vietnamese to defeat United States; also criticizes Israel as pawn of imperialists	55
Paris AFP cites Carmichael interview with FLN publication REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in which he advocates urban guerrilla warfare and denounces American Negro organizations as protest movements rather than resistance movements	56
Algiers radio reports Carmichael's meeting with national oil company official, and his arrival in Oran for tour of district	56
Cairo's MENA supplies "exclusive interview" with Carmichael in which he accuses the United States of participating in recent Arab-Israeli war and criticizes Martin Luther King for making pro-Israel statements	59
Algiers radio reports Carmichael's visit to Oran, including a speech at a movie theater in which he again said "armed struggle" was "only possible way" for the colored people in America to gain liberation	62
Radio Havana, in English-language broadcast, carries extensive recorded excerpts of Carmichael's interview with Mario Menendez, editor of Mexican magazine SUCESOS	64
Algiers radio reports Carmichael press conference at FLN headquarters in which he said "it is time to follow the path of armed struggle" in America, and denounced President Johnson as "the archenemy" of the black power movement	75
NCNA correspondent's dispatch on Carmichael's Algiers press conference notes his criticism of Martin Luther King's advocacy of nonviolence and quotes Carmichael as saying that "we live in the most violent and the most disgusting country in the world" and that encouraging Afro-Americans to remain nonviolent "is to drive them to suicide"	76
Cairo's MENA on 16 September reports Carmichael's arrival in Cairo and quotes him as saying that if violence is only way to secure Negro rights in United States, "then let it be so"; Cairo radio, on following day, reports Carmichael met with officials of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization	77

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iv

- Radio Hanoi on 15 September, in broadcast to American servicemen in South Vietnam, carries recording by Carmichael who expresses his regret to Vietnamese people that American Negro soldiers are in Vietnam "murdering your people, raping your homeland for the benefit of an imperialist power, the United States" 78
- A MENA correspondent in Damascus reports Carmichael's arrival there on 19 September at the invitation of the Syrian committee of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) 79
- A Beirut RNS dispatch from Damascus quotes Carmichael accusing U.S. "senior officials" of cooperating with Zionism; Damascus radio reports beginning of talks between Carmichael and AALAPSO officials 79
- Radio Hanoi on 18 September, in its English-language broadcast for American servicemen in South, carries another recording by Carmichael who describes the squalid life of American Negroes 80
- Radio Hanoi on 20 September carries another talk by Carmichael in the broadcast for GI's, in which Carmichael praises Cassius Clay for refusing to be drafted 81
- Damascus radio reports Carmichael met with Syrian Premier Zuayyin, while Damascus' SYRIAN ARAB NEWS AGENCY cites a speech delivered by Carmichael to Syrian trade union officials in which he stressed the links between Negroes and Arabs; the agency also reports a meeting of Carmichael and Bath Party officials 82
- Beirut's RNS on 21 September quotes Carmichael as saying in Damascus that "CIA and world Zionism" are after him and that he expects to be arrested when he returns home to the United States "in two or three months at most" 83
- AFP on 23 September reported that Carmichael had returned to Algiers from Syria; Algiers radio on 25 September reported that Carmichael had a long talk with FLN official Cherif Belkacem; AFP reported on 26 September that Carmichael had left Algeria for Guinea to attend the Guinean Democratic Party Congress 83
- AFP on 27 September reported Carmichael's arrival in Conakry; in a brief interview on arrival in Conakry, as presented by Conakry radio, Carmichael said Afro-Americans should return to "the motherland" Africa whenever they have a chance 85
- PRENSA LATINA reports a visit to Guinean militiamen in Conakry by Carmichael and South African singer Miriam Makeba, with Carmichael telling militiamen they have taken the correct road under Sekou Toure by "taking up arms and being ready to kill the enemy who has killed so many patriots throughout the world, such as Lumumba and Malcolm X" 86

S U M M A R Y

In addition to providing reportage and comment on Stokely Carmichael's visits to North Vietnam, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Syria, and Guinea, this Special Memorandum includes the purported text of Carmichael's speech at the LASO conference in Havana early in August, as published in the Havana weekly magazine BOHEMIA. Radio Havana provides extensive recorded excerpts of an interview given by Carmichael to Mario Menendez, editor of the Mexican magazine SUCESOS, in which Carmichael is quoted as saying that the aim of American Negroes is "to destroy the capitalist economy because it always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation."

Throughout his trip, Carmichael is quoted to the effect that revolution is the only way American Negroes can solve their problems. Thus, at an 18 August meeting in Hanoi, Carmichael is quoted by Hanoi's VNA as saying: "We are revolutionaries" who "seek to change the imperialist system of the United States." Similarly, on his arrival in Algeria, Carmichael, according to Algiers radio, Carmichael said that "it is time to follow the path of armed struggle" in the United States, and he denounced President Johnson as "the archenemy" of the black power movement. A dispatch on the same press conference by a correspondent of Peking's NCNA notes Carmichael's criticism of Rev Martin Luther King's advocacy of nonviolence and quotes Carmichael as saying that "we live in the most violent and the most disgusting country in the world," and that to encourage Afro-Americans to remain nonviolent "is to drive them to suicide."

In his visits to Arab countries, Carmichael is reported as making anti-Israel statements and accusing the U.S. Government of backing Israel in the June war with the Arab countries. According to Beirut's REGIONAL NEWS SERVICE, Carmichael, while in Damascus on 21 September, said that the "CIA and world Zionism" are after him and that he expects to be arrested when he returns to the United States "in two or three months at most."

In mid-September, in three separate English-language broadcasts to American servicemen in South Vietnam, Radio Hanoi presented what it said were recordings made by Stokely Carmichael (Carmichael was in North Vietnam at the end of August). In the first broadcast, Carmichael expressed his regret to the Vietnamese people that American Negro soldiers were in Vietnam "murdering your people, raping your homeland for the benefit of an imperialist power, the United States." The other two broadcasts were concerned with the slum life of American Negroes and with Cassius Clay's refusal to be drafted.

Peking media gave little attention to Carmichael's tour. Aside from the NCNA dispatch from Algiers cited earlier, there was an NCNA report on the impact of Mao Tse-tung's teachings on the American Negro movement as reflected in the violent outbreaks in Watts, Newark, and Detroit, noting that Stokely Carmichael had said that many black American strugglers carry Mao's "little red book" of quotations.

The only available Moscow item on the Carmichael trip was a few brief, factual reports by TASS noting Carmichael's departures and arrivals.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPEECH AT FIRST LASO CONFERENCE

[Following is a translation of a speech made by Stokely Carmichael at the Havana Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, in the Spanish-language weekly magazine *Bohemia*, Havana, 11 August 1967, pages 29-32.]

We greet you like comrades, because it is becoming more and more evident that we share a common struggle with you. We have a common enemy. Our enemy is Western imperialist white society. (Notice that we use the term Western white society in opposition to Western white civilization. The West never has been civilized. It has no right to speak of itself as if it were a civilization.) Our struggle is to overthrow this system that is nurtured and expands by means of the economic and cultural exploitation of the non-white and non-Western peoples: the Third World.

We also share with you a common view of the establishment of humanist societies in place of the ones now in existence. Together with you, we are attempting to change the bases for power in the world, in which Man will share the resources of his respective nations, in which civilizations will be able to retain their cultural sovereignty instead of being forced to submit to foreign governing authorities who impose their own corrupt cultures on those civilizations that they dominate.

White society has been almost completely successful in keeping all of us -- the oppressed people of the Third World -- separated and fragmentized. They do this in order to survive, because if we should sense our unity, we would become aware of our strength. Especially here on this Continent, on which white society is a minority, it has been successful for hundreds of years in avoiding having us, the oppressed, carry out our common endeavor. But Che Guevara's call for a continental struggle against a common enemy seems to have decreased this fragmentization among those who are inclined to offer resistance to Western imperialism.

We are talking with you, comrades, because we want to leave it firmly established that we realize that our destinies are interwoven. Our only world can be the Third World; our only struggle, in behalf of the Third World; our only outlook, the Third World.

Until a short time ago, most of the Afro-Americans thought that the best way to alleviate the oppression that they are undergoing was by means of attempts to become integrated into society. Many of us thought that if we could enjoy public services in the United States (motels, hotels, restaurants, etc.), our situation would be alleviated. This attitude was characteristic of the "civil rights movement" and it clearly reveals the bourgeois nature of that "movement". Only the bourgeoisie was in a position to be concerned over public services. On the other hand, the Afro-American masses have no work or housing that can be called decent, or money to enjoy restaurants, hotels, motels, etc. The "civil rights movement" did not actively mobilize the masses, because it said nothing about the needs of the masses.

However, the "civil rights movement" was a beginning, and owing to the fact that its objectives encountered resistance throughout the United States, deep-seated evidence of racism, heretofore unrecognized, was uncovered. It had been thought that the objectives of the "civil rights movement" would be easily attainable, because the Constitution of the United States backed them. But thousands of Afro-Americans were imprisoned, intimidated, beaten and some were murdered for agitating in favor of those rights guaranteed by the Constitution but available only to the Whites.

Eventually, the United States Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill and a Right to Vote Bill, assuring us of those rights for which we had been agitating. By that time, however, an increasing number of us were beginning to realize that our problems would not be solved by the promulgation of these laws.

Actually, these laws do not meet our needs. Our problems were part of those problems inherent in the capitalist system and, therefore, could not be alleviated under that system.

The Afro-American masses had remained on the side-lines of the "civil rights movement". For four years they remained observing to see if significant changes occurred as a result of non-violent demonstrations. It became evident to us that nothing would change and, in the summer of 1964, only a couple of weeks after passage of the Civil Rights Bill, the first of the rebellions occurred, which up to now have reached a figure greater than 100. In the following year, the same year in which the Right to Vote Law was promulgated, one of the largest rebellions occurred in Watts. These rebellions were violent uprisings in which the Afro-Americans exchanged shots with police and Army troops, burned

business establishments and took from them those items that are rightfully ours -- food and clothing -- which we never had. These rebellions have been increasing in intensity and regularity every year to a point at which at present almost every large city has seen us rise up to say: We shall now fight fiercely until we win or fall in the attempt!

The "civil rights movement" never was able to attract and hold the young blood that was clearly aware of the savagery of the white American, those young people who are ready to oppose this savagery with armed resistance. Those who have "young blood" are especially those who carry inside them the hatred of which Che Guevara talks when he states: "Hatred as a factor of struggle, unyielding hatred of the enemy that drives beyond the natural limitations of the human being and turns him into an efficient, violent, selective and cold killing machine." The Black Power movement has been the catalyst for the union of this young blood: the true revolutionary proletarian, ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people. In unmasking the extent of the racism and the exploitation permeating every institution in the United States, the Black Power movement exerts an attraction unique in its kind on young Negro students in educational institutions all over the country. These students have been deceived by the fiction existing in the white United States, according to which, if the black man were educated and behaved properly, he would be sufficiently acceptable so that by abandoning the ranks of the oppressed, he would be incorporated into the white society. This year, when they were provoked by savage white policemen, the students in many schools offered them resistance, while formerly they had endured these incidents without rebelling. In the measure that the students participate in these rebellions they acquire an awareness of the need for resisting. They begin to realize that the white United States will allow very few of them to be incorporated individually in the main stream of its society and that as soon as the Negroes act concertedly as such, it will reply with a fury that reveals its real racist nature.

We are on our way toward control of our Afro-American communities, just as you are on the road to snatching control of your countries -- of the whole Latin American continent -- from the hands of the foreign imperialist powers. Therefore, there is only one road open before us. We must change the United States in such a way that the country's economy and politics will be in the hands of the people. Our people -- the Afro-Americans -- are our special concern. But, of course, a community based on the common ownership of all resources could not exist within the present capitalist framework. So that the total transformation may be carried out, the Whites should view the struggle in which we are involved as their own struggle. That is not so at present. Although the white worker is exploited, he believes that his best interests coincide with the present social structure. Owing to the racist nature of this country, we cannot work in white communities, but we have asked those Whites who work together with us to go to their own communities to

stimulate propaganda and organization. When the white workers become aware of their real situation, then there will be a possibility for alliances between them and us.

However, we cannot wait for this to happen or be discouraged if it does not happen. The struggle in which we are involved is international. We know perfectly well that what is happening in Vietnam is reflected in our struggle here and that what we are doing is reflected in the struggle of the Vietnamese people. This is still more obvious when we view ourselves not as Afro-Americans of the United States but as Afro-Americans of the Americas. At the present time, the power structure has reaped the seeds of hatred and discord sown among the Afro-Americans and the Spanish-speaking inhabitants in the large cities in which they live. In the State of California, the Mexican-Americans and Spanish-speaking people make up almost 50% of the population and, nevertheless, they look at each other with suspicion and, at times, with open hostility. We recognize this as the old device of "divide and conquer" and we are working to achieve that this time it will not triumph. Last week, Puerto Ricans and Negroes went out into the streets together in the city of New York to fight against the police, which demonstrates that we are progressing on this front. Our destiny cannot be separated from the destiny of the white Hispanic population in the United States and in the Americas. Our victory will not be attained unless they achieve their liberation shoulder to shoulder with us. For their struggle is our struggle. We have already pledged ourselves to do whatever we may be requested to do to assist in the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence, to free it from the domination of the economic and military interests of the United States. And we see Cuba as a brilliant example of hope in our Hemisphere. We do not believe that our struggle is confined to the limits of the United States, as they are defined on present-day maps. Instead of that, we are anxious for the day to come when a real United States of America will extend from the Tierra del Fuego to Alaska, when those who have been oppressed until now will rise up united as liberated peoples.

We are a colony within the United States. You are colonies outside the United States. To say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and of colonial exploitation is more than a manner of talking. This is true, in common economic and political terms. We are over thirty million Negroes in the United States. Most of us live in closely confined areas in the Negro rural regions and the towns of wretched shacks in the South, and more and more in the slums of the industrial cities in the West and the North. It is estimated that in the next five to ten years, two-thirds of our thirty million Negroes in the United States will live in the ghettos located in the heart of the cities. The hundreds and thousands of Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Indians are together with us. Essentially, the American city is inhabited by Third World people, while the white middle-class flees from the cities to the suburban districts.

We do not control our resources in these cities. We do not control the land, the houses or the shops. These are owned by the Whites who live outside the community. They are real colonies, in which capital and cheap labor are exploited by those who live outside the cities. The white authority creates the laws and enforces them by means of the use of weapons, clubs and billies in the hands of white racist policemen and black mercenaries. The capitalist system created these black enclaves and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status, as was done, for example, by the apartheid government of Azania [sic], which the United States is keeping in power by means of its support. The struggle for Black Power in this country is a struggle to free these colonies from their foreign domination. But we are not attempting to create communities by replacing the white governing authorities with black governing authorities who will control the life of the black masses and their money will land in a few black pockets. We are attempting to fill the common pocket. The society that we are attempting to build among the Blacks is not a capitalist society of oppression, because capitalism -- owing to its real nature -- cannot create structures that are free from exploitation. We are fighting for a redistribution of wealth and for putting an end to private ownership within the United States.

The following question may come up: How is the struggle to liberate these internal colonies related to your struggle to destroy imperialism?

We have estimated our number and we know that it is not possible for the Negroes to seize the country militarily and to dominate large amounts of land.

The struggle is different in a highly industrialized country. The heart of production and of business is in the cities. We are in the cities. With our rebellions we have become a disrupting force in the flow of services, goods and capital.

Since 1966, the cry of the rebellions has been "Black Power". An ideology that the masses understood instinctively was implicit in that cry. They oppress us, because we have no power and we can make decisions, govern our lives and our communities only with power. Those who have power have everything. Those who have no power have nothing. Without power, we have to beg for what rightfully belongs to us. With power, we shall have our innate rights, because they took away our innate rights with power.

Black Power is more than a watchword. It is a way of looking at our problems and the beginning of their solution. It attacks racism and exploitation, the horns of the bull that is attempting to drain our blood.

The United States is a racist country. Since its beginnings, it has set itself up on the basis of the subjection of the colored population. The Europeans who settled in the United States continued to steal land systematically and they destroyed the native population -- the Indians --, confining them to reservations where they live at present, reduced to only 0.3% of the total population. And, at the same time as the United States was conducting genocide against the Indians, the African Continent was deprived of its natives by bringing them to America to work as slaves.

Justification is needed in order to enslave other human beings, and the United States has always found this justification by proclaiming the superiority of the Whites and the inferiority of the non-Whites. We are called "Niggers"; Spanish-speaking people, "Spicks"; the Chinese, "Chinks"; the Vietnamese, "Gooks". Consequently, by dehumanizing us and the other colored people, the idea is created in the white man that it is just for us to be enslaved, exploited and oppressed.

However, it is even more easy to keep a man a slave when he himself can be convinced that he is inferior. How easy it is to keep a man in chains by making him believe in his own inferiority! As long as he believes it, he will keep himself in chains. As long as a slave allows his master to call him a slave, he will be a slave, even if his master dies.

This method has been practised successfully not only against us but also wherever the people have been enslaved, oppressed and exploited. We can observe this today in the schools in the large cities in the United States, where Puerto Rican and Mexican children are not allowed to speak Spanish and they are taught nothing about their countries and their history. This is evident in many African countries, where one is not considered educated unless one has studied in France and speaks French.

Black Power is fighting against this brain-washing by stating that we ourselves will define ourselves. We shall no longer permit the white man to define us as repulsive, ignorant and uncivilized. We shall recognize our own beauty and our own culture and we shall never again be ashamed of ourselves, because a people ashamed of itself cannot be free.

Since they have made use of our color as a weapon to oppress us, we should use our color as a weapon for liberation. It is as other peoples do who make use of their nationality as a weapon for their liberation.

This manner of uniting ourselves by racial ties was an inevitable part of our struggle. However, we realize that this is not all, but merely the necessary beginning.

Black Power realizes that as long as they make us feel inferior, it will be with the intention of our being more easily exploited. Even if we should destroy racism, we would not necessarily destroy exploitation. Consequently, we must make an attack with two objectives. We should constantly keep a watch on both horns of the bull.

Color and culture were and are key points in our oppression; therefore, our analysis of history and our economic analysis are based on these concepts. Our historical analysis, for example, considers the United States to have been conceived in racism; even though the first colonizers were fleeing from oppression and in spite of the fact that their armed uprising against their homeland was due to a worsening of colonialism, "taxation without representation", etc. The white European colonizers were unable to extend their sublime democratic theories to the Indians, whom they exterminated systematically, when they -- the colonizers -- expanded to the interior of the country. In fact, the first slaves brought from Africa were taken to those same cities in which the colonizers had set up their model of government.

In our economic analysis, our interpretation of Marx comes not only from his writings, but also from how we view the relations of capitalism with the colored population. The worker movement in the United States fought essentially only for more money, although at the beginning it had some great leaders in the struggle against the absolute domination of the economy by the gentlemen of industry.

Those few who were clear-sighted enough to extend the struggle so that the worker would control production, were never successful in transmitting their whole image to the rank-and-file. This worker movement was seen asking the industrialists, not to turn over control, but merely to give it a few fruits of that control. They, differently from us, did not raise the question of the redistribution of wealth in the United States.

In such a way, the United States got ahead of Marx and avoided an inevitable class warfare within the country, by means of its expansion within the Third World, by exploiting the resources and the slave labor force of the colored people. The capitalists in the United States never decreased their domestic earnings, in order to share them with the workers. Instead of that, they expanded internationally and they tossed the bones of their earnings to the American working class. The American working class is enjoying the results of the labor of the Third World workers. The proletariat has become the Third World and the bourgeoisie has become Western white society.

The real potential revolutionaries in this country are the young black people in the ghettos; the ones who have developed insurgency in the cities are the Afro-American and Latin communities, in which past rebellions have provided important lessons in fighting against the government's armed reaction to our uprisings.

These rebellions are not to be taken lightly. In the last three years, over one hundred uprisings have occurred in the internal colonies in the United States. Undoubtedly, these rebellions are reported to you as "small riots initiated by a few discontented people". These are large rebellions with a multitude of participants who are developing an awareness of resistance.

We view with increasing concern the fact that the United States will try by every available means to avoid the liberation struggles that are spreading all over the Third World, but we know that American imperialism fears primarily the struggles for liberation on this continent.

For its geographic security, the United States has to count on Latin America economically as well as politically and culturally. The point is that it is important for the white racist society not to remain isolated on a hostile continent.

Black Power is not directed solely against exploitation, but also toward solving the problem of cultural integrity. Wherever imperialism has been present, it has imposed its culture by force on other peoples, obliging them to adopt its language and its way of life. When the African slaves were brought to this country, the Whites realized that if they eliminated the language of the Africans, they would break one of the bonds that kept them united and with a spirit of struggle. The Africans were forbidden to talk among themselves in their own language. If they were caught doing so, they were beaten savagely until they were made to remain silent. Western society has always been aware of the importance of language to the cultural integrity and knowledge of the people.

When it penetrated in the Third World, it did so to impose its language. In Puerto Rico, when the imposition of American culture reaches its highest degree, the English language is taught in all the secondary schools for three years, while Spanish is taught for two years.

White racist society has learned other valuable lessons from the slavery of Africans in this country. If a family is separated -- as was done with the slaves -- their resistance is also weakened. But carry that separation farther. Take a few of the more passive slaves and treat them like domestic animal pets (slaves with the lightest skin, fruit of the rape of African women by the masters, were the ones preferred), give them the leftovers from the master's table and his used clothing and soon they will be afraid of losing these small comforts. Then make use of this fear to have him inform on the activities of the "bad" slaves: reports of attempts to revolt and to rise up. Mistrust and dissension arise among the Africans and in this way they will fight among themselves, instead of uniting to fight against their oppressors.

The present descendants of the African slaves who were brought to America have been separated from their cultural and national roots. Negro children are not taught the merits of African civilization in the history of Mankind. In their place, they are taught this about Africa: "The Black Continent is inhabited by cannibalistic savages." They are not taught about the thousands of black martyrs who fell resisting white slave-traders. They are told nothing about the numerous insurrections and revolts in which hundreds of brave Africans refused to submit to slavery. In place of this, they are told in their history-books about "the happy slaves who sing in the fields ... content with their new life." The "few" slaves who actually offered resistance are called "provokers", "non-conformists", "madmen".

Negro children grow up with the single aspiration of entering the society of the Whites, not only because in the society of the whites they eat better, have a better house, dress better and can have a better life, but also because they have been bombarded by propaganda media controlled by the Whites and because they have been taught by Negro teachers whose minds have been molded by the Whites (our despicable servile Negroes) that what is white is better, what is white is beautiful. Anyone wanting to triumph, must acquire traits, manners of speaking and aspirations with white characteristics, even within the Negro community. The white man rarely needs to keep policemen in their colonies within this country, because he has exterminated the cultures and enslaved the minds of the colored population so far that their resistance has been paralyzed by hatred of themselves.

Therefore, an important battle in the Third World is the struggle for cultural integrity. Wherever Western society has been established, as Franz Fanon tells us, it has imposed its culture by means of force. By means of force and bribery (by giving a few crumbs to a few Negroes who renege on their race), the people of a conquered country begin to believe that Western culture is better than their own culture. The young people begin to cast aside the wealth of their native culture to put on the tinsel of Western "culture". They are ashamed of their origin and inevitably can only be caught in a life of scorn for themselves and in a private search for their own interests. For this reason, the West causes whole peoples to fall into the trap with little resistance.

One of our main battles is to uproot the corrupt Western values and our resistance cannot win out, unless our cultural integrity is restored and maintained.

Therefore, through the history of our people we are aware that our struggles and yours are the same. We have difficulty in obtaining the information that we need on what is happening in your countries. In many senses, we are illiterate with regard to your heroes, battles and victories.

We are now working to increase the awareness of the Afro-Americans and for it to spread internationally. The United States fears this more than anything. Not only because this awareness could destroy in the black communities the minoritarian complex that the white racists have cultivated so carefully, but also because they know that if the Negro realizes that the counter-insurgent efforts of this country are directed against his brother, he will not go, he cannot go. Then it will be as clear as crystal to the world that the imperialist wars are racist wars.

During last year, we initiated a Negro resistance with regard to the military draft, not only because we are opposed to having Negroes fight against their brothers in Vietnam, but also because we are sure that the next Vietnam will be on this continent. Perhaps in Bolivia, where there now are "special forces advisers"; perhaps in Guatemala, Brazil, Peru or the Dominican Republic.

During these last four hundred years, the Afro-American has tried to live peacefully in the country. This has been in vain. Our history shows that the reward for trying to coexist peacefully has been the physical and psychological assassination of our population. We have been lynched; bombs have been thrown at our houses and they have burned our churches. Now we are shot in the streets like dogs by the white racist police and we can no longer accept this oppression without replying to it. We must unite with those who are in favor of armed struggle everywhere.

We realize that in extending our resistance and in internationalizing the awareness of our people, as our martyred brother Malcolm X taught us, the government will take the same reprisals against us as it took against him.

As the resistance struggle is escalated, we are well convinced of the reality of the words of Che Guevara when he said that "the struggle will not be a simple street struggle ... but rather it will be long and hard". In short, our common brotherhood supports all of us while we fight for liberation, by every means necessary.

But Black Power means that we view ourselves as part of the Third World; that we see our struggle closely related to the struggles for liberation everywhere. We must bind ourselves to these struggles. We must ask them, for example: When the black people in Africa begin to take Johannesburg by assault, when the Latin Americans rise up, what will be the role of the United States and of the Afro-Americans? It seems inevitable that this nation will then act to protect its financial interests in South Africa and Latin America, which means that it will protect white domination in these countries. At that time, the black people in the United States have the responsibility of opposing, at least, to neutralize that effort by the United States. This is only one example of many similar situations that have already come up everywhere -- and that will

continue to come up. There is only one place for the American Negroes in these struggles, and that place is on the side of the Third World. Franz Fanon clearly states the reasons for this and the relation of the concept of a new force in the world, in *Los Condenados de la Tierra* (The Condemned of the Earth): "Let us decide not to imitate Europe. Let us try to create the new man that Europe has been incapable of bringing triumphantly into the world."

Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to compete with Europe. It triumphed in such a way that the United States of America turned into a monster in which the corruption, disease and inhumanity of Europe has grown to terrifying dimensions.

"The Third World looks on Europe at present as a colossal mass, whose objective should be to try to solve the problems for which Europe has been unable to find an answer..."

It is a question of the Third World's starting a new history of Man, a history that will take into account the sometimes prodigious theses that Europe has presented, but that will not forget Europe's crimes, of which the most horrible one was committed in the heart of man, and it consisted in the pathological separation of his functions and the wearing away of his unity.

No, it is not a question of a return to nature. It is simply the very concrete question of not pushing men to be mutilated, of not imposing rules on intelligence that obliterate and destroy it rapidly. The pretext of coming out of backwardness, must not be utilized to push men, to alienate them from themselves or from privacy, in order to destroy them and assassinate them.

No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want is to go ahead always, day and night, in union with Man, in union with all men.

MAO STATEMENT INSPIRES US NEGRO STRUGGLE

Peking MCNA International Service in English 2153 GMT 7 August 1967--W

(Text) Peking, 7 August--MCNA correspondent--Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement published on 8 August 1963 in support of the Afro-Americans in their just struggle against racial oppression by US imperialism has struck the American land like a thunderbolt. This statement of the great leader of the world's revolutionary people has given powerful encouragement to the Afro-American struggle for survival and liberation.

During the past four years, the level of consciousness of the broad masses of the black Americans has risen steadily. Today, their fighting will is much firmer and their morale much higher than before. They have already broken out of the bonds of the doctrine of "nonviolence" and risen up to resist counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. They have thus brought about a new high tide in the Afro-American struggle.

The four years of struggle of the black Americans have fully borne out the whole series of brilliant theses put forward by Chairman Mao in his statement and proved the mighty power of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The young black American leader Stokely Carmichael in an interview with a correspondent on 1 August said that "Mao Tse-tung has brought to the West the thought to struggle... Many black-Americans who took part in the struggle had in their hands his little red book. Many of his teachings are very clearly stated, such as 'We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports' and 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' These ideas are daily helping to awaken the black Americans."

Since the black people in Harlem started the first large-scale fight against police violence in the summer of 1964, the Afro-American armed struggle against police brutality has been surging forward wave upon wave and spreading to wider and wider areas, involving larger and larger numbers of people who are more politically conscious and better organized and have gradually improved their tactics in struggle. They have struck heavier and heavier blows at the white ruling circles. At present the main form of struggle of the Afro-Americans is armed struggle against police violence, and this is the most salient and important feature of the development of the struggle.

In the past two months the flames of the black people's armed struggle against racial oppression have not only spread to more than 90 cities and towns including New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Detroit, but also to Washington, the ruling center of US imperialism. The black people in Detroit, the fifth biggest city in the United States, fought heroically for nearly a week to resist the sanguinary suppression by nearly 20,000 troops and armed police, thus adding a new, moving chapter to the history of the Afro-American struggle. The surging tide of the black people's armed struggle against racial oppression has shaken, with great force, the domestic rule of US imperialism and has thrown the reactionary US ruling clique into a panic. They described the situation as "the gravest domestic crisis" in the United States in more than a century.

The repeated sanguinary massacres of the black people by the US ruling clique in the past four years have taught the broad masses of the black people by negative example. More and more Afro-Americans have begun to understand the necessity of arming themselves with guns.

No longer satisfied with using rockets, clubs, and bottles as their weapons in self-defense, more and more Afro-Americans have determinedly taken up arms in their fight with the fascist troops and police. In some cities the black people broke into the shops selling firearms or armor to seize weapons to arm themselves. In the recent struggle in Detroit, the black people used machineguns for the first time to support a sniper group, dealing a telling blow to the troops and police.

Every big-scale Afro-American struggle against police violence in the past four years--in Harlem in 1964, in Watts in 1965, in Chicago in 1966, and in Newark and Detroit in 1967--has steeled the masses of the Afro-Americans, increased their militancy, and enhanced their confidence in their own strength. The Afro-Americans in Newark called, with pride, their recent struggle against racial oppression "the July rebellion," and said that after this rebellion, they "are just not afraid any more" and "are stronger now."

As the idea of violent struggle has taken deeper and deeper root in the minds of the people, the broad masses of the black people have smashed to pieces the doctrine of "nonviolence"--the spiritual yoke imposed on them for years by the reactionary US ruling clique to lull their militancy. If one can say that Martin Luther King and his like, the handful of Afro-American "moderates" who have been in the pay of US monopolies for a long time, could deceive some black people several years ago, their traitorous features have been fully exposed before the Afro-Americans today in the course of the struggle. In the recent Afro-Americans' fight against racial oppression in Newark, a few black "moderates" tried to "persuade" the black people to adopt the attitude of "tolerance" before the guns and bayonets of the troops and police and asked them to "keep peace" and "go home" in an attempt to help the reactionary authorities "put out the fire." But they were denounced as "traitors" by the angry masses and had to step down from the rostrum amidst booing and hissing. Some were even beaten up or fired at. Michigan Governor George Romney admitted with great concern that "moderate Negro leadership" found little support in the Afro-American movement today. "More and more Negroes are listening to the supporting" the "militant revolutionists" who are preaching "violence and rebellion." "We should not ignore these grave facts," he added.

Meanwhile, through the baptism of fire and sword in their armed struggle against oppression, a new generation of black people is rapidly growing up. Thus the present struggle of the Afro-Americans has taken on a new militant look compared with a few years ago.

All these young people are between the age of 15 and 25, born in slums and suffering since childhood from hunger and cold on top of all kinds of discrimination. They are filled with hatred toward the racist rule of the US monopoly group and its hounds, the police. They scorn the whole set of "laws" and "order" of the ruling clique. They are the least poisoned by the doctrine of "nonviolence" and are the most resolute in accepting the line of violent struggle. They stand always in the forefront of the struggle. They have no fear of death and have shown the greatest bravery, resourcefulness, and stanchness. Their fighting slogans are: "Black power!" and "It is better to fight on your feet than to live on your knees!"

At present the leadership of the black people's struggle is actually in their hands. They are the pride and hope of the black Americans. Some progressive representatives among them have begun to realize that under the present system of U.S. imperialism, the black people cannot achieve real emancipation, economically or politically, unless the old system is completely destroyed. They have also come to realize that the black people's struggle is a component part of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world. Proceeding from this understanding, they have, in the struggle for their own liberation, actively participated in the activities opposing the Johnson administration's war of aggression against Vietnam. Many Afro-American youths prefer to be jailed rather than to be enlisted to slaughter their Vietnamese brothers. Many other young black Americans have seen clearly that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the black Americans and the Vietnamese people.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." The rapid spreading of the black people's violent struggle since this summer is the inevitable result of the unprecedented sharpening of the internal class contradictions in the United States. The Afro-Americans have always been the victims of the most barbarous enslavement, oppression, and discrimination. At present employment is one of their biggest threats. They are always the last to be employed and the first to be sacked. The rate of their unemployment is far greater than that of the whitemen workers. In recent years, as the agricultural capitalists have stepped up the use of machines in place of manpower, hundreds of thousands of black agricultural workers were forced annually to leave their homes and seek jobs in industrial cities. This has aggravated the employment problem of the black people and further worsened the unbearable living conditions in the ghettos.

Official figures show that 40 percent of the male grownups of the Afro-American population in the ghettos are jobless, with the unemployment rate in some places running as high as 80 percent. The jobless black people have to live month after month and even year after year on the verge of starvation.

The Afro-Americans live in slums, but their house rent is unbearably high. Police persecution has made their misery complete. In addition the Vietnam war has brought them higher prices and more taxes. Many of the black youths have been sent to the Vietnam battlefield as expendable flesh.

Seething with anger at all this, the black people are ready to give vent to their fury on the slightest provocation. The outbursts of armed struggle have made it clear that the Afro-Americans will no longer tolerate such atrocious persecution and are resolved to rise in rebellion. The American rulers' attempt to limit the Afro-American movement to a "civil rights" movement has proved a dismal failure. American bourgeois papers have pointed out that in the eyes of the black people, the bill of rights is only a fraud. The "civil rights" movement has fizzled out, they deplored.

The vigorous armed struggle of the Afro-Americans has greatly alarmed the Johnson administration which is racking its brains for a way out of its Vietnam impasse. It hastily came out with repressive measures to crack down on the black Americans, casting aside all its camouflage of "democracy and freedom." On the other hand, it did not forget to use deceptive tactics to try to buy over the Afro-Americans. But the awakened black masses who are fighting for complete emancipation will neither yield before brute force nor deception. They are determined to intensify their armed struggle and that on a nationwide scale.

The Afro-Americans will eventually win their struggle because they have the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as their guide and the vigorous support of all revolutionary people of the world. Chairman Mao made this wise prediction four years ago: "With the support of more than 90 percent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people."

ALTAMIRANO INVITES CARMICHAEL TO CHILE

Lima AFP in Spanish 0103 GMT 10 August 1967--P

(Text) Santiago--Chilean Socialist Senator Carlos Altamirano, who heads his party's delegation to the LASO conference, has invited the revolutionary U.S. Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael, to visit Chile. Altamirano issued the invitation in Havana and it was officially announced here today by the secretary of that organization.

The same spokesman said, however, that Carmichael's visit to Chile depends on the Chilean Government granting the necessary visa. Altamirano announced that he will return to Chile next week and will attempt to bring Carmichael with him as a guest.

CARMICHAEL STATES LIVES OF U.S. OFFICIALS ENDANGERED

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO 2 Aug 67

[Text] Havana (FP UPI O GLOBO) Stokely Carmichael, leader of the so-called Black Power in the United States, speaking the Cuban journalists at the First LASO Conference stated: "The great leaders of the Western world, such as Wilson, McNamara, Rusk, Johnson, run the risk of being assassinated in reprisal for the racist aggression in the United States. I myself run the same risk and the CIA would be responsible for my death no matter what. We must not wait to be assassinated. We must be prepared to kill first."

Carmichael pointed out that the North American Negroes had undertaken "urban guerrilla warfare" to defend their rights and "a revolutionary movement" is underway. On the Negro soldiers' participation in the war in Vietnam, he said: "We are ready to spend five years in prison for refusing to wear a military uniform. But the presence of 40 percent of Negro soldiers in the front lines in the war in Vietnam has a certain advantage: the North American army has taught them to kill the whites in the United States." With respect to the cooperation of his followers with white liberals, he affirmed: "We will accept only those whites who are willing to carry a rifle to destroy the capitalist system." After commenting on the Chinese, Russian and Czechoslovakian regimes, he concluded by saying: "We believe that the Cuban system is more to our liking."

CARMICHAEL, BLACK POWER AND THE THIRD WORLD

[Following is a translation of an article by Carlos Maria Gutierrez in the Spanish-language newspaper Marcha (Advance), Montevideo, 11 August 1967, pp. 16-18.]

Havana.

Two tall, slender, poker-faced young men were traveling on the plane which brought me from Prague to Havana. During the long and tedious 22-hour trip, the rainy Irish climate we encountered at Shannon and then the news of the Cuban triumph over the US in baseball served as pretexts for engaging in the rambling conversation of traveling companions with these young men. Later, when we touched down in Canada, at Gander, the two young men introduced themselves during a longer chat, while we waited for the plane to take off. They belonged to the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee in the United States. One was Stokely Carmichael, the leader whose beliefs about black power have made him the main figure in the black mass movement. The following week, I had occasion to see Carmichael and his comrade, George Ware, again in Santiago de Cuba, during the 26 July celebrations, and in the Oriente Mountain Range, when newsmen and guests of the Latin American Solidarity Organization traveled 14 hours by bus, truck and jeep with Fidel Castro to learn about the notable experiment in agricultural recovery being carried out in the zone called Gran Tierra.

Later, in Havana, I exchanged questions and answers with Carmichael, Ware, and other SNCC leaders who are now in Cuba, Julius Lester, the famous jazz critic and performer, and Elizabeth Sutherland, a newspaper woman. In suite 2007 of the Habana Libre, where Carmichael and Ware stayed, I obtained, during a long discussion with the two which began in a restaurant,

was continued in a bar, and finally ended in one of the most impressive press conferences I can remember (because of its length, the boldness of the positions expounded by Carmichael, and the icy determination with which he outlined them), a picture of the struggles for black power which Latin Americans, especially those from the south, only have some notions of through partial information. However, we have not yet understood its full dimensions as the definitive uprising of the North American Negroes against the white country of which they are a part, with a now irrevocable choice of the path of armed violence, and the acceptance, for the first time in a modern history of civil rights, of methods which no one of the black leaders had undertaken to support previously (with the exception of Malcolm X., in the last months of his activity, which without a doubt was one of the motives behind his assassination), in the belief that no true liberation of the Negro is possible without the exercise of black power and the destruction of capitalist structures. The internal struggle of the Negroes is now closely linked with the foreign anti-imperialist movement and must coordinate its strategy accordingly, especially in Latin America.

In suite 2007, Carmichael and Ware appeared to be two young Negroes given to jokes, laughter and loud congratulatory applause, and if one were to depend on the first impressions, they might be taken for two students tremendously enjoying the joy of youth and the discoveries they are making on their first Cuban visit. But when the conversation turns to the subject of black power, these young tourists are replaced by two leaders seriously dedicated to the explanation of their beliefs, capable of quoting Sartre, Camus or Fanon to good purpose, with a proper and well informed picture of the balance of forces in the Third World (uncommon in US political leaders), and clearly thoroughly familiar with the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao, Guevara and Debray.

Neither of them is yet 25, and they also represent significant exceptions in terms of background. Both described themselves as coming from the Negro bourgeoisie, they have studied political science on the university level, and prior to the beginning of their militant activity in the SNCC, their lives put them in contact with white people in high social and university circles who encouraged the intellectual development of the two young men and offered them scholarships and friendly access to white power circles.

When the SNCC was founded in 1960, its 13 original members, Carmichael and Ware and 11 others, all students, renounced their middle class origin and the kind of life that goes with it, in practice. Curiously, and despite the nature of the mobilizations it promotes, the SNCC is not technically a mass movement. It is a kind of service which supplies trained organization specialists. Its membership has never exceeded 100, and internally, the strictest discipline is practiced. Any tendency toward personalism or centralization of authority in individuals is unceremoniously cut short. Stokely Carmichael is now a world known figure and the structures of white power within the United States respect his influence (the government has not chosen to penalize him for his refusal to go to Vietnam), but within the SNCC today, he is only an organizer, holding no executive post. The leaders are less famous individuals: H. Rapp Brown, President, Stanley Wise, Secretary, Ralph Feather and Janus Forman. George Ware, himself, who is Carmichael's companion or secretary, is the director of university programs, and has greater authority than Carmichael, who after five years as an organizer, served as President of the SNCC for a short time, but resigned from that post in order to return to his propaganda work. In the conversations I had with them, it became obvious how the two young men coordinate their statements and definitions. Ware is the theoretician of the two, less brilliant, but more solid. Stokely has an innate gift of speech and oratory, a fascinating style of address which can be cutting sometimes, and often completes an idea with an unexpected turn of phrase. Negroes in the United States admire him for his bold oratory, such as they had never heard before, and they rightly regard him as the interpreter of a challenge which has remained unexpressed in the mind of the community and which he alone has dared to put into words. His answers at a Havana press conference were typical of this style, both calm and full of pride. When he was asked about the statements made by the spokesman of the State Department, Robert McCloskey, to the effect that his passport would be recalled because of his visit to Cuba, Carmichael answered, standing arms akimbo: "Mr. McCloskey -- I call him Mr. out of courtesy -- is neither my father nor my mother. When I was 16 I ceased asking my mother for permission to go wherever I wanted. We will travel where we need to when we want to. We will visit the countries we decide to visit. The devil with Mr. McCloskey and the State Department!"

As an SNCC organizer, Carmichael must observe the committee discipline strictly, and this situation is reflected in his relations with Ware and Lester, whom he often consults before answering. "Stokely went to London," Ware explained to me, "for the Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation, and there he was invited by Castro to come to Havana. However, his work

is inside the United States and he will have to return there. Our organizers are subject to strict regulations. When they begin work, they are provided with an automobile and funds for two months, at the rate of 20 dollars a week. They are assigned to a place of conflict where they must go to organize the protests of the black community. If after two months, they report that more funds are needed, we provide them. An SNCC organizer, like a guerrilla fighter, must learn to live with the people and win and maintain their acceptance of him as one of their own."

Carmichael, Ware and the other eleven founders of the SNCC undertook to integrate themselves fully in the underprivileged Negro sectors. These young university students who quote Camus know how to share and feel the needs and the way of life of the poor farmer, the rural agricultural laborer or the unemployed factory worker (and not only externally, but mentally and spiritually as well). Carmichael can talk with the neo-Elizabethan generation in London, or with the hippies in San Francisco, talking the language of these modern groups, but he has also picked cotton with other transient workers in Alabama and he has been in prison in Mississippi. Because of his gifts, he has been accepted by whites since his infancy. He was the only Negro member of the Morris Park Dukes in the Bronx, a teenage gang, and later he enrolled in the Bronx High School of Sciences, an institution which only accepts outstanding students. After his graduation in political science, various white colleges offered him scholarships. However, he preferred to enroll at Howard University, in Washington, a Negro school. It was there and in other colleges in the south that the activities of the SNCC began.

Unwittingly, although he is now aware of the similarity, this young intellectual put into practice the concepts which Mao, and later, Guevara, had set forth on the role of the intellectual in the revolution. Motivated by the conditions of their struggle, the young people in the SNCC instinctively implemented the theory which requires the intellectuals to immerse themselves in the main popular trend. Now Carmichael expresses himself with the hardness of the Negro intellectuals:

"In the United States, black intellectuals are generally concerned with fame and money alone. A true intellectual should be like Fidel Castro: an intellectual is not simply one who writes books, but one who educates the masses and spends his time with them. The Negro intellectuals are operating within the white structure, and they give lectures which Negroes do not understand and write books which the Negroes cannot read. Art, for us, should be political or it is not art. When a

black intellectual returns to his people and ceases to think of money, then we accept him." "Does this apply to James Baldwin, too?" I asked. "To James Baldwin, too."

"You have repeatedly defined black power," I said to Carmichael, "but I would like to hear it from you myself."

Carmichael gave his answer slowly:

"Black power seeks to unite the American Negroes so that, joining efforts with the oppressed peoples abroad, they can undertake the struggle against capitalism. An article published this year developed the idea: in the final analysis, if the Negroes are to control their own lives, it is necessary to change the foundations of the economic structures in this country. It is necessary to free the colonies of the United States and they include, of course, the Negro ghettos in the North and the South. And it sets forth the specific proposition: where the Negroes are not in a majority, black power means adequate representation and participation in control. It means the establishment of power bases from which the Negroes can work to transform the state or national structures of oppression, through the pressures of force, replacing the evidence of weakness. Politically, black power means what it has always meant to the SNCC: the grouping of Negroes to elect representatives and to make these representatives into spokesmen for their needs. This does not mean only placing black representatives in the legislatures. Black power must correspond to (and emanate from) a community."

"It is a question, then, of participating in elections and electing representatives and senators who will respect the mandate of the community?"

"Exactly."

"And will this not mean, in the final analysis, integration in the establishment, action within the white power structures? What kind of revolution can be carried out this way? What sense is there in integration of this kind, in terms of real liberation?"

"You forget," Carmichael answered, "that the prior condition for the program is the breakup of the economic structures. Our goals, through which we seek equality, are not the same as those of the equalizers (a pejorative term applied by the SNCC to the black bourgeoisie within the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League who are demanding "equal rights"). For example, we do not believe in

the classic integration. Integration cannot come about until the people are equalized by putting an end to capitalist exploitation. Up until the present, integration has been defined as the entry of the black into the white community, rather than the reverse. This reflects the innate racism of the white society, even of the white integrationists. It has been assumed that the Negroes have nothing to give, that the Negroes should transform themselves into whites. Until we gain power, talk of integration has no meaning. The idea is but a subterfuge of white supremacy. We seek to introduce into Negro thinking the idea that there are Negro prototypes, for example, that there is a Negro type of beauty in our kinky hair, our noses and our mouths. The Negro must cease to straighten his hair, to dye it, to seek plastic surgery. He must cease to attempt to resemble the white as one of the goals of his liberation.

Rejection of comparison with white models, rejection of involvement in the white undertakings such as the war in Vietnam, rejection of the jurisdiction of white law.-- these are changes which Carmichael and his comrades regard as the point of departure. Their resistance, moreover, is not passive. The SNCC has also stated that violence will be an essential factor in the process.

"First," says Carmichael, "comes the acquisition of an awareness of blackness. Then the struggle against the capitalist structure within and imperialism without, through common strategy with the Third World (after all, the ghettos in Harlem and Watts are as much a part of the Third World as Bolivia or Algeria.) Finally, we will win political power."

"To what end?"

"The control of resources is power. When the Negro women in Boston rebelled because they wanted to administer the resources in the social security for themselves, they were supporting this idea on the local level. We do not want charity. We want control, which is power. We want it to be the people, black and white, who really control the resources of the nation, and not the corporations and politicians. And in regard to this position, legal recourse, the nonviolent way, gradualism do not serve our purpose. To us it makes no sense to go to white courts with white judges and white law. This means playing their game. We must develop new ones. Ours is guerrilla warfare.

"The Negroes," Stokely says, "inspired by Mohammed Ali Cassius Clay (whom the members of the SNCC always call by his Moslem name), have refused to serve in Vietnam. Our enemies

are the white people of the United States. The people of Vietnam are our brothers in the struggle."

"Nonetheless, many Negroes are fighting in Vietnam."

"Forty percent of the soldiers are Negroes. And this is the only good thing about the Vietnamese war. There, the whites have taught us to kill, and when the Negroes return from Asia, they will make use of this apprenticeship in the cities of the US."

Ware spoke up:

"In the large industrial cities, we are in the majority, and there the whites cannot use the repressive tactics they employ in Vietnam. In the Vietnamese war they are using napalm and splinter bombs, but what can they do in their own cities? The whites are generic cowards. Unless they want to destroy themselves, the Vietnamese weapons will not be of use to them in our urban guerrilla warfare, as has already been seen in Newark and Detroit. Here they must fight hand to hand with us. And we will overwhelm them."

"Will this tactic be coordinated with the common strategy being developed by the Latin American Solidarity Organization?"

"Our presence here," said Carmichael, "shows we are coordinating this struggle."

"Our internal rebellion," added Ware, "will very soon have its effect on the liberation struggle in Latin America. To fight us, the imperialists must gradually withdraw their interventionist troops. Perhaps we will force them to abandon Guantanamo. We will make it necessary to bring the Green Berets back from Bolivia, so that their skills can be used at home, where they will have to defend their mothers and fathers."

When someone at the press conference asked Carmichael if the goals of the SNCC are communist, Stokely rounded out the preceding concept in his answer.

"It is necessary first to define what communism is," he said. "Communist system to which we feel closest is that in Cuba. Our political guides are Malcom X., Dubois, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung. Guevara's idea of creating more Vietnams is magnificent as a tactic. We are trying to link these rebellions with the other world. When there are 50 rebellions within the United States and 50 black rebellions,

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imperialism will begin to die."

"A short time ago," I said to Carmichael, "you told Gordon Parks, in a Life article, that you did not expect "to live to see the end of this summer." How do you think your possible assassination might influence the advance of the black power movement?"

"The arm of the CIA reaches every corner of the world, and it has license to kill. Its murders are legalized. Thus, we have developed an internal structure to combat the CIA, to protect ourselves from it and to respond with its own methods. It is true that some of us may be assassinated like Malcom X., but this is not important to me personally. It is important, on the other hand, that it be known as of now that if any of us dies from any cause, the murderer will be the CIA. It was thus that Richard Wright was poisoned in Europe, thus it was that Turcios died in an accident, and thus it was that Ben Barka was eliminated. Reprisals should be directed, if the murders continue, against the leaders of the western world. Wilson, Johnson or McNamara should pay personally for the death of any guerrilla leader. This is a necessary stage in the struggle of our people, including killing them first. They murdered Malcolm X by making use of Cuban refugees and then they blamed it on the black Moslems. For many months afterward we could not convince the masses that the CIA was to blame."

"There is one statement I did not understand properly. You just said that political murders should even be used as protest, rather than a reprisal?"

"We do not know," Carmichael clarified his point, "if the black masses are ready for this yet, but we are moving rapidly toward such a situation. The violence of the imperialists and their crimes should justify the murder of the western leaders in the conscience of the Negro. The most important aspect of our struggle is the establishment of the legitimacy of violence, because the western world has inculcated the taboo on violence in the people."

The SNCC would not allow any US newsmen at the press conference. Not only was James Reston, representing The New York Times, the A.P. and the UPI excluded, but John Gerassi of Ramparts, and the correspondent of the National Guardian, as well. For this reason, these journalists were prevented from hearing the statements made by Carmichael and Lester, when a newsman asked them about the support the US Communist Party is giving the struggle for black power.

"The Communist Party," said Carmichael, "is full of rich people profiting from the capitalist system. They have no problems. Whenever I visit a white communist in his home, his standard of living, the domestic servants, impress me. When I see a proletarian American communist, I will believe in US communists. They seek to convince themselves that they are revolutionaries. But they are not in the streets and they have excellent relations with the power structures. Their meetings never draw more than 50 persons, and they are all members of the white bourgeoisie. They simply use the name communist."

Lester gave further details:

"In 1964," he said, "the Communist Party supported the candidacy of Lyndon B. Johnson for the Presidency. Now it supports nonviolence, and negotiated peace in Vietnam. Any revolutionary knows that the question of peace is also a moral question. What they propose for Vietnam is something like my proposing to negotiate the situation if I were sitting in my living room and a man came in and hit my wife. This is the position of the Communist Party."

This morning, at a plenary session of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, Stokely Carmichael mounted the platform (he was unanimously voted a guest of honor by the conference) and made a statement . . . which summarizes the entire policy of his movement: "We will defeat imperialism from within, and you will defeat it from without." This idea shows the importance the insurrectional line, which to date has seemed to have a majority support of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, assigns to the links with the black movement in the United States. US Negroes have decided to regard themselves as a part of the Third World and they condemn their government on two counts -- imperialism and capitalism.

The cold extremism motivating the SNCC is proof of its strength and internal cohesion, but also of the desperate situation of the Negro within the white society of the United States. The preaching of violence has been heard for some years, but the fact that its spokesmen have now come to constitute the vanguard of the racial struggle shows that a change of guard has been effected. Mass support has been given to a series of rebellions in which whole Negro communities faced death but also killed, following the insurrectional line of the SNCC. From the point

of view of ideology and final goals, the program of the SNCC seems, however, to stop short, failing to provide a satisfactory description of the future. But this lag (which in no way alters the real fact of the existing rebellion and its circumstantial tactics) will be filled, no doubt, by means of coordination with the movements in the Third World, which will provide the internal revolution against capitalist structures with the ideological content the Negro struggle still lacks. A frightening prospect lies before us, given these facts.

BLACK POWER THREAT EVALUATED

Prague LITERARNI NOVINY No 32 11 Aug 67 p 8

[Igor Hajek in his article "Black Power" evaluates quoted statements of Stokely Carmichael, which are enclosed in quotes in the following excerpt.]

[Excerpts] "Our final goal is to eliminate the hegemony of whites. For this purpose it is necessary to destroy capitalism, since it basically is a producer of exploitation.... We base our economic analysis and explanation of the current situation on Marx.... Today the proletariat is the nations of the third world, and the bourgeoisie is the entire white Western world. We shall be able to cooperate only when a genuine revolutionary organization arises in some country of the West. Meanwhile, the white working class lacks a revolutionary consciousness and lives at the expense of the third world -- all suffering and hardship rests only on us."

Carmichael belongs to those who are attempting to divide-up the world anew and for whom the constantly acute difference between the rich and the poor on a world-wide scale conceals all other contradictions. One cannot expect him to be logical. His extreme views are conditioned by the extreme situation: at least in this sense he remains willy-nilly explainable by white people. However, I have become convinced that to some extent his statements and discussions are shared by many leftist intellectuals in the Western capitalist countries (that is, in the West, as we understand it). They are willing to listen attentively to everyone who offers an immediate, radical solution, regardless of the means used. Carmichael's extremism is an expression of internalized poverty: he views with suspicion everyone who is not poor. Then extremism is an expression of the frustration of the members of the middle classes. The abundance in which they live has become an internalized fact for them. They take it as self-evident and do not understand that the solution of economic problems is for the European socialist countries a question of being or not being not only of their but also of the third world. Also of that world, whose revolutionary representatives in recent years have so enthusiastically received Stokely Carmichael at the conference of the Latin American Organization of Solidarity in Havana.

"Our struggle is a part of the struggle of the third world, and the problems of the United States are foreign to us. We are fighting against the internationalist capitalist and racist system. Our struggle is being international..... There do not exist any undeveloped countries, for that is a term which was invented by whites. There exist only very exploited countries. We must develop a consciousness of the brotherhood of all colored peoples. The whites fear nothing more than that the colored people should join together. They speak of the population explosion -- because they fear the increase in the colored population. They speak of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons -- from the moment when the colored people obtained them. If the African countries do not obtain the hydrogen bomb elsewhere, they will receive it from China which will provide them with it in the interest of its own self-protection. We do not believe in the idea of peaceful coexistence; armed struggle is far more meaningful to us. Power directs the course of the world. For centuries the white man has played God, but this time has come to an end."

It may seem to us that what Carmichael is saying pertains to us only remotely. We may assume that the political line which he proclaims is so evidently illogical, so contradictory internally, so adventuristic, that its questionableness and impossibility of realization must be evident at first glance to every educated person. But, Carmichael generally does not speak to educated people. He turns to those who for the most varied reasons find in his program the only hope for improving their unbearable living conditions and for realizing their own humanity.

The words of Stokely Carmichael come to us from the West, but they are being brought by the East wind. We should listen very carefully to his voice, even though at the moment he speaks only for a part of the third world.

CARMICHAEL ACCUSES BRITISH OF BARRING WARE

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 0000 GMT 10 Aug 67 E

[Text] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael has declared in Havana that British authorities barred George Ware, director of activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, from entering London. Carmichael said that Ware arrived yesterday in the British capital from Switzerland, but that he was immediately shipped off to the United States.

CARMICHAEL CALLS FOR U.S. NEGRO REVOLUTION

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1400 GMT 14 Aug 67 E

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, the U.S. Negro leader who was a special guest at the First LASO Conference, said in Havana that Revolution is the most appropriate method to put an end to the cruel exploitation of the Negro people in the United States.

In an interview granted to PRENSA LATINA, Carmichael reiterated the determination of the Afro-Americans to fight weapon in hand to attain their rights in the entire country. "The fight will be long and difficult," said Carmichael, "but there is no other way." He also said that the U.S. Negro citizen, infused with a new revolutionary spirit, is fully convinced that the peaceful coexistence policy with the exploiters has not had, nor will it have, any positive results.

Carmichael revealed that on his return to the United States he will recommend that the current name of his organization be changed from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to Negro Liberation Movement. He explained in this connection that the movement's new name will have a decided effect on the minds of the Afro-Americans and help them acquire a fuller conception of the struggle for their total emancipation, when they understand that it is also a part of the struggle being waged by the exploited peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Finally, Carmichael reiterated that the young U.S. Negroes are firmly opposed to fight in Vietnam or to participate in any other war of the U.S. imperialists against peoples fighting for their liberation.

[Buenos Aires REUTERS in Spanish at 1647 GMT 14 August 1967 reports that "the interview, published yesterday with a Havana dateline, did not indicate where it was held nor where Carmichael is at this time. On Saturday, 12 August, some sources indicated that the Negro leader had left Havana by air for Madrid and perhaps Prague, but he could not be located in either of those two capitals. Friends of Carmichael told reporters last week that no information would be given on Carmichael's departure because they would not help the State Department trail him. However, employees at the Havana Libre Hotel, where he was staying, said that Carmichael is no longer there."]

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CARMICHAEL IN CUBA

[Following is a translation of an article by Augusto Olivares in the Spanish-language periodical Punto Final (Period), Santiago, Chile, No. 35, 15-31 August 1967, pp. 36-37.]

On 23 July, a Cuban Aviation plane landed at Jose Marti Airport in Havana following a flight from Prague. One of the passengers, a tall, mature young Negro, was welcomed by important Cuban government officials. He was Stokely Carmichael, 26, a student and leader of the movement known in the United States as the SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a part of the "black power" campaign.

Some days later, in a sensational press conference, Carmichael undertook to make it clear that the expression "non-violent" was made a part of the name of the committee for tactical reasons, but that in reality, its members are definite partisans of violence "to liberate the Negro people of the United States."

On this same occasion, Carmichael said: "We Negroes have chosen armed struggle, which we will promote on a great scale and in a coordinated way."

Those who saw this young Negro student arrive in Havana may not have realized that among the accredited delegates to the First Conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization, he would represent a country of 30 million Negroes made up of the segregated inhabitants in the United States.

On 3 August, the young Negro leader H. Rap Brown, only 23 years old, the President of the SNCC, stated in New York that "the Negroes will fight with the revolutionaries in Latin America. We are in contact with the peoples in Latin America, Vietnam and Africa, with all the oppressed peoples."

The arrival of Carmichael in Cuba occurred at a time when thousands of his racial brothers were battling with the police and the armed forces in the United States.

This was the greatest rebellion to occur in this country since August 1965, the month in which the events in the Watts district of Los Angeles took place, lasting 10 days and costing 36 lives (almost all Negroes), wounding 900 and resulting in the arrest of 4,000 people, the burning of 209 buildings, damage to 787, and material losses totaling 46 million dollars.

The writer of these lines had occasion, exactly a year ago, to see the outbreak and development of a Negro rebellion in the most segregated sector of New York, and the valor with which the Negroes struggled against the most modern means of repression used by the white police made a lasting impression on his mind. However, there is every indication that there has never been anything like what has happened this summer in the principal US cities.

The presence of Carmichael in Cuba precisely at this time when the black struggle was being waged in the United States still further inflamed the racists and Johnson's government. The spokesmen of the US State Department announced that the Negro leader would be penalized for traveling to Cuba without special authorization, to which Carmichael, in Havana, responded with a happy smile and an ironical phrase: "The devil with McClosky! He is not my father and cannot choose my friends or prevent me from traveling where I wish."

Carmichael knows, as he said in Havana, that it is not only court penalties which await him in his homeland. Also, at every turning, he expects an attempt upon his life planned by the CIA or one of the racist organizations which are multiplying in the United States and which have announced their intention of murdering him. He says proudly: "I do not fear death. If it benefits my people, I will give my life."

Those who believe that Carmichael is a young charlatan whose words are the product of the vitality which radiates from his slender figure are mistaken. This young man, a philosophy and political science student, is a true leader. This is what even the harshest commentators in the United States believe,

although they have only seen him on television, since he will not allow white newsmen at the gatherings in which he participates.

Some leftist white journalists in his country insinuate that Carmichael is mean-minded, because he does not acknowledge the support they are giving him. This leader answers: "We are working to gain control of our Afro-American communities, while you are working to wrest control of other countries, of the entire Latin American continent, from the hands of foreign imperialist powers. Thus, there is only one path open to us. We must change the US in such a way that the autonomy and the politics of the country are in the hands of the people. Our concern is the Afro-American people. But it is obvious that a community based on the common ownership of all resources cannot exist within the current capitalist structure. If a total change is to be effected, the whites must see the struggle to which we are dedicated as their own. Currently, they do not. Even when a white worker is exploited, he believes that his best interests coincide with the current social structure. Due to the racist nature of this country, we cannot work in white communities, but we have asked some of the whites who are working with us to promote propaganda and organization in their own communities. When the white workers understand their true situation, then the possibility of the alliance between them and us will exist."

Carmichael, along with many other Negro young people, has studied the history of his country and the world in order to formulate a theoretical plan to support the new struggle of the Negroes.

This leader impressed journalists during the speech he gave in Havana when he said that for him, Abraham Lincoln was but a racist who promoted the Civil War for exclusively economic purposes, which did not include freedom for the Negroes, which he only proclaimed during a very delicate period in the struggle when he glimpsed the danger of defeat.

Carmichael says: "The United States is a racist country. From its beginnings it has been based on the submission of the colored people. The Europeans who settled in the United States systematically appropriated land and destroyed the native population, the Indians, confining them to the reservations where they live now, reduced to only 0.3% of the total population. While the United States was practicing genocide with regard to the Indians, it was robbing the African continent of its natives, bringing them to America as slaves. The United States has always found a justification for the enslavement of other human

beings, in speaking of the superiority of the whites. "They call us 'niggers,' Spanish speaking people 'spiks,' the Chinese 'chinks,' and the Vietnamese 'gooks.' Thus, by dehumanizing us and other non-white citizens, the white man creates an image which justifies his contempt and his support of slavery."

According to Carmichael, the white workers, even those in the lower salary brackets, are making no effort to destroy the capitalist regime because all they want is to have a little more of the wealth possessed by the powerful.

This leader says that the whites have contributed to avoiding the class struggle within the United States through economic expansion to the Third World, and particularly through the exploitation of the colored people within and outside of the country. Carmichael adds: "The US capitalists have never given up any of their domestic profits in order to share with the workers. Instead of this, they have expanded internationally and tossed the scraps from their banquet to the US workers' class. That class is enjoying the fruits of the labor of the workers of the Third World. The proletariat is found in the Third World and the bourgeoisie is western white society. The true potential revolutionaries in the United States are the young Negroes in the ghettos. It is the Afro-American and Latin communities which have promoted rebellion in the cities. Past rebellions in these ghettos have provided important lessons for the struggle against the armed reaction of the government to our uprisings."

Carmichael has announced that the Negroes will fight alone and to the end in the United States, and that they will seek the revolutionary Latin American peoples and all those in the Third World as their allies,

He conceives of this battle solely in terms of armed struggle: "It is evident that we have decided to face up to oppression with weapons. We must unite ourselves with those in the world who are in favor of armed struggle as the only means of solving our problems. For four hundred years we have tried to live within the United States on terms of peaceful co-existence, and the result has been life under the most fascist regime in the world. Our salvation is to destroy this regime, or to be destroyed in the struggle. In any case, we will battle for our revolution with arms."

Carmichael defends the new stage in the armed struggle as follows: "We have found ourselves forced to engage in guerrilla warfare in the cities. We have no other alternative. This type of struggle has more advantages for us than for other peoples who are also struggling for their liberation. The armed forces of the white police cannot use our powerful weapons against us, because our guerrilla warfare will be in the cities and therefore a mass attack against us would affect the whites, too. They cannot bomb us, for example. In this new stage in our struggle, we can count on our brothers who have been trained to participate in the struggle against the heroic peoples of Vietnam. We are resisting being sent there, as in the case of our exemplary champion Cassius Clay, but they are still in power, which fact, if indeed it is repugnant to us, at least gives us an advantage. Our brothers are mastering the perfective techniques used by the whites in killing."

Carmichael speaks with confidence, answers readily and puts a combative note into his statements. He recognizes Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara as "his brothers." He recalls with emotion that when the Cuban Prime Minister was in New York to attend the discussions in the United Nations, he stayed at the Teresa Hotel in the heart of Harlem, the Negro quarter.

Carmichael says: "I believe that we began to read the works of Che Guevara in 1955. We had heard about him since the beginning of the Cuban revolution, but because we could not find translations of his works, we had difficulty in learning what he thought. For two years now he has been read by Negroes, especially young people, and we can say that he is one of us. We all know that Guevara said the struggle would be long. We are preparing for prolonged resistance. At the beginning many will die, but victory will be ours."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S ROLE IN LASO ASSESSED

Havana Friendly Voice of Cuba in English 1000 GMT 16 Aug 67 E

[Station commentary: "Comments on Current Events"]

[Excerpts] It will be of special interest to our English-speaking listeners to know that Stokely Carmichael received an especially warm welcome as a visitor to the LASO conference. There were some attempts made in the monopolist press to give the impression that LASO was organized against the United States and all its people. The warm reception for Stokely Carmichael definitely demolishes this falsehood.

Cubans and all the other delegates to LASO greeted Carmichael as a representative of the United States, as one of its best representatives, speaking for the oppressed masses who are determined to break their chains of economic slavery in much the same way as the Cubans won their independence, in much the same way as the patriotic armed guerrillas of Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries are striking at their dictators, dictators who are creatures of U.S. imperialism.

No, it is not the United States as such that LASO is against. LASO is only against the billionaires whose way of life demands aggression against Vietnam, the stifling of independence movements in Latin America, and specifically, the vicious campaign against the first free territory of America--Cuba.

LASO is not against the people of the United States. In fact, Fidel Castro made it clear during the course of the LASO conference, that a person like Stokely Carmichael can consider himself a citizen of Cuba too and that if it were not for the fact that he wants to return to his own country to work in the freedom struggle there, he would be invited to remain in Cuba for as long as he might want to stay.

CARMICHAEL SAYS ARMS ARE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 0108 GMT 18 August 1967--F

(Text) We have no other alternative but to take up arms and fight for our complete liberation and for a total revolution in the United States, declared North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael. The North American Negro leader sent a message over Radio Havana Cuba to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America on the second anniversary of the imperialist massacre of the Negro population in the Watts district of Los Angeles.

Carmichael adds: Our struggle is a struggle for a total revolution in which we intend to change the imperialist, capitalist, racist structure of the United States which oppresses you abroad and us within. Continuing in the same vein, he added: Our struggle is a struggle for justice, equality, and the redistribution of the wealth in the United States.

In another part of his message, Carmichael said that the United States criminally exploits the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The struggle of North American Negroes, he said, is a struggle to eradicate that exploitation. He then declared that Negroes of the United States are creating a movement of resistance against being drafted into the US Armed Forces. He declared that his race brothers are opposed to the criminal war being waged by Washington in Vietnam. Each time that a rebellion takes place in one of the main cities of the United States, he said, we are striking another blow against the imperialists. He added: Every time that we fight we strike a blow in the name of the one million people murdered in Indonesia. Every time that we rebel in a great city in the United States we strike a blow against the promoters of the invasion of Playa Giron.

In another part of his message to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael explained the historic importance of 18 August 1965. That is a date, he said, which all of us in the United States bear in our heart, because that was the date that we decided that arms are the only reply. The era of talk has ended and the struggle of our revolution will continue. He also expressed the solidarity of US Negroes for the struggle of all fighters who confront imperialist and colonialist oppression. He declared: Our struggles must be coordinated. Our peoples have been oppressed for centuries. It is time that we join and (?coordinate) once more so that we can be happy, free people. That is the task we have ahead of us, he said.

EL MERCURIO SCORES INVITATION TO CARMICHAEL

Lima APP in Spanish 0010 GMT 16 Aug 67 P

[Text] Santiago--The newspaper EL MERCURIO terms Negro revolutionary leader Stokely Carmichael's visit "undesirable." The Negro leader was invited to visit Chile by Socialist Senator Carlos Altamirano, who attended the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) conference in Havana.

The paper points out that if Carmichael should make a request to visit Chile, it would be advisable for the Foreign Ministry, through legal channels, to deny permission for the visit, which would serve no good purpose.

The editorial states that it should be added that Carmichael's visit to Chile would be of no political value to him, because, in Chile, there is no discrimination, and that, therefore, his trip would become part of a personal campaign being waged by Senator Altamirano and his followers to discredit the U.S. Government.

The newspaper adds that Carmichael's visit has no justification whatsoever and if his motive is a political one, that, in itself, is sufficient cause for the ministry to deny his entry permit.

BRIEFS

CARMICHAEL VISA OBJECTION--Interior Minister Bernardo Leighton would urge his government not to grant Trinidad-born Stokely Carmichael a visa to enter Chile if it were requested. He told newsmen, however, no application had been made for a visa for the black power leader. The Chilean Socialist Party announced earlier this week that Carmichael had been invited to visit Chile by Socialist Senator Carlos Altamirano. The invitation was made in Havana, where both were attending the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) meeting earlier this month, the party said. Leighton based his objection to the visa on the grounds that Carmichael was espousing the "killing of all whites in the United States." (Buenos Aires REUTERS English REUTERS London 1811 GMT 18 Aug 67 C)

Each time a rebellion takes place in one of the principal cities of the United States we want you to know that it means a new blow against the imperialists who oppress you. Each time we struggle in the cities we inflict a blow in the name of Nkrumah, who was overthrown by the CIA. Each time we strike a blow we strike in the name of Sukarno and the million persons murdered in Indonesia. Each time we rebel in some large city we strike a blow in the name of the Playa Giron invasion. Each time we rebel we strike a blow on the imperialists who have occupied and run Puerto Rico as they please. Each time we rebel we strike a blow in the name of the people of Malaysia, Aden, Tanzania, and Mozambique. We want you to know that 18 August 1965 is a date that we in the United States remember in our hearts. This is the date of the Watts rebellion. That was the day the Afro-Americans in the United States decided that it is no longer possible to continue to coexist and that the only solution is a Negro revolution. That was the day we decided that arms are the only answer. That was the day we decided that we were fed up with words, because as long as we continued to talk our people continued to suffer. The age of words has ended, we cannot continue to stand the suffering of our people.

We want you to know, brothers and sisters of the world, that your struggle is our struggle. From now on the men that the United States has trained in Vietnam, the Negroes who have been taught to kill other nonwhites, are returning to their homes and they will no longer kill you. When we fight again, we will be fighting in Portuguese Guinea with our brothers and comrades, like Amilcar Cabral, against the Portuguese. When we fight again we will be fighting in Tanzania against the oppressive forces. When we fight again, we will be fighting in Zimbabwe against Great Britain and the United States. When we fight again, we will be fighting in the Congo. When we fight again, we will be fighting in Brazil against the establishment which oppresses the Brazilian people. When we fight again, we will be fighting in Colombia, New York, Detroit, Newark, Watts, Chicago, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. These are the places where we will fight. Our struggle will be the same. Our struggles should be coordinated. Our peoples have been oppressed for centuries. It is time that we unite and face the sun again, where we belong, so that we can be proud, happy, and free peoples. That is the task before us.

Brothers, we are ready to begin today to destroy from within the establishment which has oppressed all of us, and we hope that you begin to destroy it from the outside. We will go forward. We will win!

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEW URGES GUERRILLA WAR

Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0145 GMT 21 August 1967--E

(Text) Mexico City, 20 August--In an interview granted the Mexican magazine SUCESOS, Stokely Carmichael said that the aim of U.S. Negroes is not to set up a Negro capitalist system, but to "destroy the capitalist economy because it always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation." He pointed out that the U.S. Negro population has come to the conclusion that it can never have a decent life under the capitalist system, and for that reason, he said, "we understand that we must join hands as a united people in order to attain our liberation."

Carmichael said that the principle of peaceful coexistence as a tactic in the struggle is far from the minds of the Negro masses. "Armed struggle," he said, "is the only way, not only for us but for all the oppressed peoples of the world." He added that "the people who speak of peaceful coexistence today are speaking about maintaining the status quo, for the only way to destroy an imperialist system is by the use of force, since nothing is achieved by talking."

Advancing many reasons in support of the armed struggle, the former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee explained that "talking about liberating oneself from exploitation and oppression with those responsible for them is ridiculous. This," he went on, "is as if a slave were to sit down with his master and ask him when he is going to be set free. It makes no sense," said Carmichael, "because the master has no wish to offer him freedom." He pointed out that, in view of this situation, the slave has no other remedy than to rebel and kill the master if he refuses to halt his exploitation. "This," he said, "is the only solution." He continued: "At any rate, as far as we are concerned the matter is very clear: armed struggle. We have talked and talked for a long time. We must destroy the system by force."

He then suggested that the oppressed peoples of the world legalize violence in their own minds as a means of solving the problem. He explained that "the reactionaries are staying in power only by force of arms. They legalize their violence and then, with unheard-of cynicism, preach that violence is not the method that should be used."

Carmichael said further that the reactionaries make themselves heard by the peoples because of their arms, but "take away the bases they have in Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, and in all Latin America, and take away the arms they have in those places, and you will see that no one will pay them any attention."

He then said that the peoples have to get used to weapons and must have the will and determination to fight. "Then," he pointed out, "the reply will be the correct one." He said that the West has developed an extraordinary system of deadly armaments but that even so "it can never defeat man's will to fight. A good example of that," he continued, "is Vietnam, where the United States is dumping all its armament and finding it impossible to defeat a small nation because it has the will to fight and is ready to fight to the death rather than allow the United States to enslave it."

The Afro-American leader then said that what the US people have gathered from the book entitled *Revolution Within the Revolution?* by a French writer now imprisoned in Bolivia is that one must begin to act far beyond a defensive war and that the future step of the peoples of the third world is to act far beyond a defensive war. After explaining that the imperialists "have taken everything by force," he said that there is no other alternative than to obtain liberation by force and that, to do so, "the only way to pave the way for force is to begin guerrilla warfare."

As for guerrilla warfare as a method of struggle, Carmichael indicated that it is foolish to begin a discussion as to whether it is wise or not. "It would be playing the game of the imperialists," he said. Then he added: "When a war is going on, nothing is good or bad about it. It is simply that one feels the need of attaining his aim. That is what we should understand, those of us who belong to the world of the oppressed. There is no doubt about it: guerrilla warfare is the only way. Let us not ask ourselves whether it is good or bad. Let us only raise the tactical question of when to use it. That is the only question that must concern us."

Carmichael then warned that the US Negroes are already mobilizing for guerrilla warfare. He said: "We are going to wage urban guerrilla warfare and we are going to beat them there because there is something that the imperialists do not have--namely, their men have no desire to fight. They do not have the desire to engage in what they call guerrilla warfare, which is really hand to hand fighting. White North America is the most cowardly nation in the world. It can send a million men to Vietnam but cannot kill the Vietnamese people, who will annihilate them without a doubt in hand to hand fighting."

In the course of the interview granted Mario Menendez Rodriguez, the editor of SUCESOS, Carmichael forecast success for the US Negroes in guerrilla warfare. He explained that the imperialists cannot use napalm against the Negroes in the urban areas and that the fight must be hand to hand. He added: "The opposite of this will be in the south, where we are familiar with the terrain, where for years we have worked the land, and where the white man has benefited from our sweat, making us walk all over the area. Really, they have done us a great favor, because we have come to know the area, and when we take to the mountains, we shall beat them again in guerrilla warfare. The only way we can bring them to their knees is by guerrilla warfare, which is the only form in which they cannot fight with their big cannon and bombs. This is the path to follow."

In passing, Carmichael referred to the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle against the imperialists, and said in this connection that "one of the things we are now doing is to promote our relations with those groups" and that "the first thing we must do is to meet with all the fighters. We must sit down and talk to them and exchange views. Then, once we have done this, we can begin to move together and plan together the strategy and tactics that must be used for our liberation. However, the only time we can do this is when we have begun to internationalize our struggle."

The Afro-American leader continued: "Once we have seized power--and we shall do it--the problem will be to start developing an international system that will stop capitalism and that we can use to trade with one another on the basis of our needs and what each country has, rather than to try to control the world market, where prices are set for merchandise on the basis of profits and not on the needs of humanity. Unless we have the spirit, will, and intelligence of the Cuban leaders when we take power, many of us will end up like other countries that are prone to coups d'etat, or where the seizure of power ended with the acceptance of the total bureaucratic structure that the imperialists have imposed in their countries and are not in a position to fight."

Carmichael then said: "The other thing we must begin to do is to exchange letters with the peoples of Africa and Latin America fighting for their liberation. By this way we can set an international system of guerrilla warfare and, for example, when we are able to start fighting the real war in the United States, if people from other countries want to come to the United States and help us fight, that will be all right and good. We want to do the same thing. We will want to go out and fight because that is what the capitalists are doing. Every time one of their countries has problems, they send help to that country. That is clear and it happened with Israel, a capitalist country backed by western imperialism. When it had a problem, all of them backed it. What we must do once the fight begins is to demonstrate the will to support the liberation forces with our men, just as they have the will to support one another with their cannon, money, and men."

Carmichael then told Mario Menendez that he had felt "honored, happy, and pleased" with having participated in the First LASO Conference recently held in Cuba. He added: "Cuba is part of Latin America, and the United States really wants to smash Cuba. Cuba is an inspiration and a hope, not only to the US Negroes but also to all the countries of Latin America, to start struggling and fighting. Thus it is just and proper that the First LASO Conference was held in Cuba and that we went there to demonstrate our solidarity, not only with words, but with our determination to give our lives on the firing line of the Latin American struggle."

Carmichael said he was interested in sending a message of greetings and encouragement to guerrilla leaders Douglas Bravo of Venezuela, Fabio Vazquez and Marulanda of Colombia, and Cesar Montes of Guatemala, as well as to the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas. He said: "We wish to tell our brothers, our comrades, that many of us here follow closely and carefully any news about their struggles. We know that they are waging a victorious, brave, and good fight, and though we have no control over the communications system, we can say to them that they must never despair or even fear that their fight is in vain or that no one knows of it. We do know about it and we are with you. The day is not far off when we will be able to work with you freely and together, in friendly cooperation, to construct the world for which we are fighting. Our only message to you is not to despair and to keep fighting because you are our inspiration and hope."

Stokely Carmichael summed up his impression of Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Fidel Castro as follows: "He is the greatest man I have ever known."

Concerning guerrilla commander Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Carmichael said: "We agree with him 150 percent. He is becoming one of the most read men by the US Negroes today. The Negroes are reading him everywhere. Not only this, but all the world reads 'Che's' work."

Concerning the possibility of his assassination in the United States, Carmichael said: "Brother Malcolm X used to tell us that there are several kinds of death. I think that dehumanized people that do not return the blow are dead people. Today we are alive. We are alive in the whole world. All the oppressed peoples are returning to life because they are returning blows and fighting for humanity. When you are dead, when you do not rebel, you are not fighting to live. You are dead. We are alive, though, and love life so much that we are ready to lose it. We are alive. Death cannot stop us."

CHILEAN REJECTION OF CARMICHAEL VISIT SCORED

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 0200 GMT 22 August 1967--E

(Program for Chile: "The People's Revolution Versus Bourgeois Reformism," prepared by Chileans residing in Cuba)

(Excerpt) In Havana when Senator Carlos Altamirano invited Stokely Carmichael to visit Chile, the US Negro leader replied that there was nothing to prevent his visiting our country, "as long as the way is open." Well, everything today indicates that Stokely will not be able to reach Santiago de Chile. Hardly had EL MERCURIO learned of the possibility that the rebel former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) could turn up at any moment at (Purabuey--phonetic) Airport, when it began a campaign against him and his movement for racial equality. President Frei's government, echoing EL MERCURIO's clamor, declared, through Interior Minister Bernardo Leighton, that Stokely Carmichael could not go beyond the international airport without a proper visa.

What do the ultrareactionaries and the Chilean Government seek in preventing the arrival of the US student leader in our country? Simply to prevent the powerful and caustic voice of one of the victims of US racism from being heard in one of the countries of the hemisphere whose government has the duty to praise the State Department. The US Embassy in Chile has been active from the moment Carmichael's probable trip was reported. That embassy required of the Frei government a negative reply to the visa request from the Negro leader. If Carmichael really cannot step on Chilean soil, it will be another piece of evidence of the unconditional submission of our government to the dictates of Washington.

Two representatives of the most reactionary Latin American press, EL MERCURIO and JORNAL DO BRASIL, have agreed to join their technical and publishing efforts as the basis of a future Latin American press organization which will defend our common democratic ideals. The idea is not even original. It is based on the newspaper chains existing in the United States and the permanent message of the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) which does not bring together the hemisphere's newsmen, but rather the owners of newspapers, such as Augustin Edwards and Miguel Francisco Nascimento Brito, the two signatories of the agreement.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] On 13 August 1967 Sao Paulo daily O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO published a lengthy article by J Alves dos Santos ("Who is Stokely Carmichael) containing background information on SNCC and detailed biographic information on Stokely Carmichael. The article traces his trip to Cuba and quotes the "agitator" thus: "In Newark we used guerrilla warfare tactics. And we are training groups of urban guerrillas to defend ourselves. The price for such rebellion is high, but it is necessary that we pay it. The struggle will not be simply a street demonstration. It will be a fight until death."

Dos Santos begins his article by saying that Stokely Carmichael was relatively unknown until a few days ago. "Today he makes the headlines. His name is a North American Negro, is a probable Castro communist, is malicious burnings, pilage and death in Watts, Newark and Detroit. Equally associated with that name is the idea of the new left or new radicalism in America and its resultant phenomena of our times: black power."

The article concludes by saying that Stokely Carmichael has ceased to be man and has become a moral issue to be used by the communists. "He will enter the secret world, that is, he will no longer be himself and he will become a thing, a puppet or as Sartre would say, a shadow.

"The successive actions of his 22 million Negro brothers, now that they have been thrown into the arena of ideologies and world interests in conflict, into despair, hate, and racism against the whites, will determine his future image."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN NORTH VIETNAM

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 29 Aug 67 B

[Text] At the invitation of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the U.S. Negroes' struggle movement in the United States, has arrived in the DRV. The Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee received the U.S. Negro leader at its head office.

Comrade Ton Quang Phiet, chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, expressed the profound admiration and the firm support of the Vietnamese people for the heroic struggle waged by the U.S. Negroes to achieve freedom and equality and to oppose racial discrimination, exploitation, and barbarous repression by the U.S. leading clique.

Carmichael, in turn, stressed the warm militant solidarity between the U.S. Negroes and the Vietnamese people and expressed absolute confidence in the final and complete victory of the common anti-U.S. imperialism struggle waged by the U.S. Negroes and the Vietnamese people.

[Editor's Note: Hanoi VNA in English at 1550 GMT adds that Secretary General Mme. Nguyen Thi Luu was also present.]

TRUONG CHINH RECEIVES STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1556 GMT 30 Aug 67 B

[Text] Hanoi--Truong Chinh, chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRV National Assembly, has received Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the black people's movement in the United States, who is on a visit to Vietnam. Present at the reception was Ton Quang Phiet, chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and secretary general of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

Chairman Truong Chinh warmly hailed the valiant spirit of struggle of black people in the United States against the brutal policy of racial discrimination practiced by U.S. ruling circles. He expressed the Vietnamese people's firm support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States for freedom and quality.

Stokely Carmichael expressed his sincere thanks for the warm support of the Vietnamese people and stressed the determination of black people in the United States to unite closely with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism. The reception took place in a cordial and (friendly atmosphere.)

CARMICHAEL CONTINUES ACTIVITIES IN HANOI

Meeting With Pham Van Dong

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1633 GMT 31 Aug 67 B

[Text] Hanoi--Premier Pham Van Dong has received Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the movement of black people in the United States, now on a friendship visit to Vietnam. Also present to receive the guest were Xuan Thuy, member of the VWP Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the Vietnam Fatherland Front Central Committee, and Ton Quang Phiet, president of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The reception took place in an atmosphere of warm solidarity and friendship.

After hearing Carmichael speak about the movement of black people in the United States against brutal racial discrimination by the U.S. ruling circles, Premier Pham Van Dong said: The Vietnamese people deeply sympathize with the sufferings of black people in the United States and regard black people in the United States as their brothers and close comrades in arms in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

The Vietnamese people sincerely thank black people in the United States for the warm support they give to the Vietnamese people's cause of resistance to the U.S. aggressors and of national salvation, and rejoice to see that this valuable support is developing with every passing day among black servicemen in the U.S. Army.

The Vietnamese people fully approve and firmly support the just struggle of black people in the United States who under the leadership of their own leaders are thoroughly opposing the policy of racial discrimination which is made a state policy and practiced in a most odious and cruel manner by the U.S. ruling circles. Since this struggle is aimed at winning the legitimate rights and responding to the deep aspirations of black people in the United States, it has the power to stimulate the spirit of close solidarity and staunch fighting spirit of black people and is bound to develop broadly and quickly and become an invincible strength.

The Vietnamese people firmly believe that the just struggle of black people in the United States, which is enjoying the sympathy and vigorous support of the African peoples, as well as the people of other countries in the world, will surely tide over all difficulties and hardships, and win glorious victory.

Meeting With Xuan Thuy

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1644 GMT 31 Aug 67 B

[Text] Hanoi--During his stay in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the movement of black people in the United States, has called on the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, where he was warmly received by Xuan Thuy, member of the Presidium, and members of the front's Central Committee.

Xuan Thuy warmly welcomed the spirit of valiant struggle of the black people in the United States against the brutal racial discrimination of the U.S. ruling circles. He voiced the Vietnamese people's firm support for the just struggle of black people in the United States for freedom and equality, and expressed firm confidence in the certain victory of this struggle.

Carmichael voiced the close militant solidarity of black people in the United States with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

Stokely Carmichael also met the DRV commission for investigation of U.S. imperialists' war crimes in Vietnam, and heard reports by Pham Ngoc Thach, president of the commission, on the savage crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors against the Vietnamese people. He also visited places attacked by U.S. aircraft in the center and on the outskirts of Hanoi, met witnesses, and collected documents necessary for the trial of U.S. war crimes.

Stokely Carmichael also met various mass organizations and strata of the people--workers, peasants, intellectuals, armymen, and militiamen--with whom he talked about the movement of black people in the United States.

Everywhere he went, Carmichael was warmly welcomed and given the pledge of close solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

Visit to NPLSV Mission

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1638 GMT 31 Aug 67 B

[Text] Hanoi--Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the movement of black people in the United States, now on a visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, has visited the permanent representation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in North Vietnam. He was warmly received by Nguyen Phu Soai, acting head of the representation.

Stokely Carmichael expressed his joy and emotion at the militant solidarity between the South Vietnamese people and black people in the United States. He praised the just struggle of the heroic South Vietnamese, which is bound to win victory.

Your valiant struggle, he said, has laid bare the U.S. imperialists' vile and cruel nature, camouflaged under the cloak of democracy, which is in fact the freedom to kill, to commit aggression, to practice racial discrimination, and to trample upon man's dignity and life.

Stokely Carmichael said that the movement of black people in the United States to refuse to join the war is expanding rapidly. Black people in the United States, he added, have put forward the slogan "Rather go to jail in the United States than die in South Vietnam." We are firmly convinced, he stressed, that for their own existence, black people in the United States will develop their struggle still more vigorously, and that the close solidarity and mutual support between black people in the United States and the Vietnamese people will certainly defeat the common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

On behalf of the permanent representation of the NPLSV and the South Vietnamese people, Nguyen Phu Soai thanked black people in the United States for their support, and voiced the deep sympathy and full support of the front and people of South Vietnam for the just struggle of black people in the United States.

Nguyen Phu Soai warmly hailed the resolution adopted at the first national conference on black power held from 20 to 23 July demanding equality and opposing the U.S. ruling circles' repression and exploitation of black people in the United States. He said the South Vietnamese people regard this as a great contribution to the cause of liberation and the oppressed peoples in the world who are struggling against U.S.-led imperialism.

Solidarity Meeting

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 0854 GMT 31 Aug 67 B

[Meeting in response to day of international solidarity with the Afro-American people]

[Text] Hanoi--A meeting marking the day of international solidarity with the Afro-American people--18 August--was recently held here under the joint sponsorship of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Vietnam Students Union, and the Vietnam Youth Federation. The meeting was held in response to a resolution of the first conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization and an appeal of the Permanent Secretariat of the Tricontinental Solidarity Organization. Representatives of broad masses of the Hanoi population and many public organs attended the meeting.

Present on the Presidium were: Ton Quang Phiet, chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; Madame Nguyen Thi Luu, assistant secretary general of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front; Madame Le Thi Xuyen, vice president of the Vietnam Women's Union; Do Trong Giang, member of the Presidium of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions; Tien Phong, secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Labor Youth Union; Hoang Hoa, secretary of the Vietnam Students Union; and Nguyen Van Hieu, chairman of the Hanoi Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. Also on the presidium were Truong Cong Dong, representative of NFLSV permanent representation in North Vietnam, and Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the movement of black people in the United States, on a visit to North Vietnam.

After the opening speech by Ton Quang Phiet, Hoang Bac, assistant secretary general of the Vietnam Afro-American solidarity committee, spoke of the struggle of black people in the United States. He said: The struggle of black people in the United States is a concentrated manifestation of their dauntless fighting spirit and their readiness to make sacrifices for their just cause. This struggle has laid bare the present corrupt social regime in the United States which is cloaked by the U.S. ruling circles under such beautiful words as civilization, freedom, and democracy. Being subjected for a long time to most barbarous oppression and exploitation, it is natural that black people in the United States have risen up against oppression and exploitation. The persistent struggle of black people in the United States is a logical necessity of history and an objective reality that completely conforms to justice. This struggle fully corresponds with the noble traditions and legitimate interests of the American people and with the worldwide struggle for national liberation, peace, democracy, and social progress. That is why this struggle enjoys the growing sympathy and support of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and all progressive mankind.

Hoang Bac warmly welcomed the visit to Vietnam of Stokely Carmichael--a standard-bearer in the undaunted struggle of black people in the United States--at a time when the Vietnamese people are stepping up their resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation. Hoang Bac said: The Vietnamese people warmly hail the valiant fighting spirit of black people in the United States. We vehemently condemn the brutal policy of racial discrimination practiced by the U.S. ruling circles, resolutely demand that they stop all acts of repression and persecution against black people, compensate the families of those killed by them, and set free those still illegally detained. We fully support the just cause of black people in the United States. We hold that the movement of black people in the United States, like any other revolutionary movement, still has to go through many hardships and sacrifices in a protracted struggle before winning victory. This movement may experience ups and downs but will certainly win final victory, provided it has a correct line and correct policies, provided its participants are courageous, do not indulge in self-complacency in victories or lose heart in setback, and know how to organize a new fight after each temporary failure with a spirit of persistent and continuous struggle. Therefore, we are convinced that, although many hardships and difficulties are still ahead, with their close unity and their determination to struggle without letup, black people in the United States will certainly succeed in abolishing the odious regime of racial discrimination and win freedom and equality.

Hoang Bac stressed: We regard the struggle of black people in the United States as our own struggle. We unite with our black brothers and sisters in the United States and are resolved to coordinate our fight with them. We are confident in the triumph of the just cause of our black brothers in the United States just as we are confident in the victory of the just cause of our people.

Speaking at the meeting, Stokely Carmichael expressed the deep feelings and firm support of black people in the United States for the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression. He declared: We are here today in your country not in the uniform of the imperialists, but in the uniform of humanity to tell you that we are building a strong movement in the United States, a movement where black people--young black people like myself--are refusing to serve in the imperialist armed forces. The penalty for refusing to serve in the armed forces of the imperialists is five years in jail, yet thousands of young black men are saying to the imperialists: "We would rather spend five years in jail than wear your filthy uniforms." We know the U.S. propaganda agencies will not let this news outside their shores, but the movement is growing every day. Our slogan is very simple: "Hell no, we will not go!"

Describing the unbearable life of black people in the United States, Stokely Carmichael said: I cannot begin to describe to you in words the treatment our people receive inside the United States. The United States is the richest country in the world, yet daily black people die of hunger. In the southern part of the country our people are murdered at the hands of white racists and these murderers go unpunished. Our people are forced to work for wages which are not enough for them to buy food.

Reaffirming the firm determination to fight of black people in the United States, Carmichael said: We are not reformists. We do not seek to reform. We do not wish to be part of the U.S. Government, of its system. We are revolutionaries. We seek to change the imperialist system of the United States. We will be satisfied with nothing less. In this sense I repeat our struggle is the same. In this sense we are comrades. But we are comrades in a much greater sense. We are comrades because we seek to redeem humanity, because we seek to stop the greatest destroyer of humanity--the United States--and when we succeed, and we will succeed, our blood, our lives would have been a little price to pay.

The participants unanimously adopted a resolution warmly supporting the just struggle of black people in the United States against racial discrimination, for freedom, and equality. The resolution expressed the Vietnamese people's heartfelt thanks to black people in the United States for their valuable support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The resolution stressed: The Vietnamese people are determined to unite and coordinate actions with black people in the United States in the struggle against the common enemy--U.S. imperialism. They firmly believe that with the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the whole progressive mankind, the struggles of black people in the United States and the Vietnamese people will win a glorious victory.

NHAN DAN HAILS AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1644 GMT 1 Sep 67 B

[Text] Hanoi--NHAN DAN in its editorial today hailed the seething struggle of black people in the United States for freedom and equality. The paper said this struggle marks a new and important step in the growth of the movement of black people for their vital rights. The paper noted that this movement is being linked more and more closely to the struggle of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples against aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialism. This is best illustrated by the visit to North Vietnam of Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the black movement.

After condemning the U.S. ruling circles' ruthless exploitation and repression of black people in the United States, the paper said: Wherever there is oppression there is struggle. That is an inexorable law. Black people in the United States have been awakened and are rising up vigorously. Through the practice of their struggle, black people in the United States have gradually come to two important conclusions:

1--They must oppose revolutionary violence against the counterrevolutionary violence of the ruling capitalist class. The uprisings in Watts, Los Angeles, in 1965 and in Detroit and Newark in 1967, and in scores of other U.S. cities have convincingly proved that violence and armed self-defense are the logical development of the black movement in the United States.

2--They must link the struggle of black people in the United States for their fundamental rights more and more closely with the liberation movements of oppressed peoples in the world.

NHAN DAN emphasized: The black movement in the United States is greatly contributing to a hastening of the collapse of U.S. imperialism. The ever-closer relations between that movement and the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is a logical necessity which fully conforms with the interests and aspirations of black people in the United States and the Vietnamese people.

The paper went on: The visit to Vietnam of Stokely Carmichael has opened a new page in the history of the militant solidarity of black people in the United States with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the common enemy: U.S. aggressive imperialism.

The paper recalled that 44 years ago in his well-known book "The Verdict of Colonialism" President Ho Chi Minh spoke of the life of black people in very moving words. The Vietnamese revolutionaries, imbued with the teachings of the party and President Ho, have always linked their struggle for national liberation to the struggle of other oppressed peoples in the world. Their vigorous support for the black movement proceeds from the revolutionary sentiments of proletarian internationalism.

The paper continued: Our people have always highly valued the struggle of black people in the United States for their fundamental rights. If Vietnam is considered the forefront against U.S. imperialism, the fierce struggle of black people in the United States, in close coordination with the American people's movement to oppose the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, has in practice formed a second front against U.S. imperialism right on U.S. soil.

Premier Pham Van Dong declared, when receiving Stokely Carmichael: The Vietnamese people sincerely thank the U.S. black people for the warm support they give to the Vietnamese people's cause of resistance to the U.S. aggressors, for national salvation, and rejoice to see that this valuable support is developing with every passing day among black servicemen in the U.S. Army.

The Vietnamese people fully approve and firmly support the just struggle of U.S. black people who, under the leadership of their own leaders, are thoroughly opposing the policy of racial discrimination which is made a state policy and is practiced in a most odious and cruel manner by the U.S. ruling circles. Since this struggle is aimed at winning legitimate rights and responds to the deep aspirations of U.S. black people, it has the power to stimulate the spirit of close solidarity and dauntless fighting of black people and is bound to develop broadly and quickly and become an invincible strength.

At present, no force in the United States can stand in the way of the vigorous development of the black people for freedom and equality. This movement is part of the great liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the world. The just struggle of black people in the United States is bound to end in glorious victory.

AFRO-AMERICANS HITTING HARD AT EXPLOITERS

Peking NCNA International Service in English 1415 GMT 1 Sep 67 W

[Text] Peking--NCNA correspondent--Chairman Mao has said that in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. The fierce armed struggles of the Afro-Americans which shook the whole United States this summer were an inevitable result of ruthless exploitation and persecution of the black people and discrimination against them by the American ruling class.

Ever since the Afro-Americans were brought to the United States as chattel slaves from Africa several hundred years ago, they have been living generation after generation at the bottom of American society. A large part of America's primary capital was accumulated out of the sweat and blood of the African slaves.

Today the Afro-Americans, who are rated as "second-class citizens," are used by American monopoly capital as a source of cheap labor, the dumping ground for its poor-quality commodities, and cannonfodder for its aggressive wars abroad. They are driven to the slums of the big American cities. They have become the victims of exorbitant exploitation by white merchants and slumlords as well as of police brutalities. They are constantly menaced by unemployment and starvation and have no way out but to rise in revolt to fight for their emancipation.

It is by no means accidental that the ghettos in the big cities are the main battlefields in the present struggle of the black people. After World War II, as the owners of big capitalist farms in the South replaced farm workers with machines, tens of thousands of Afro-Americans have been forced every year to leave their homes and drift into the ghettos to swell the army of unemployed there.

Now some three fourths of the Afro-American population in the United States lives in cities, and 8 million, or two fifths of all the black people, are imprisoned in the ghettos of the 12 largest cities. These increasingly congested big-city slums provide living proof of the most naked and cruel crime of racial segregation and oppression perpetrated by the United States ruling class against the Afro-Americans.

Unemployment is the biggest curse for the Afro-American slum dwellers. The Western bourgeois press disclosed that in the ghettos and among teenagers, the rate of unemployment for Afro-Americans is four or five times as high as that for the white people. Unemployment among the Afro-Americans, in fact, is worse than during the "great depression" of the 1930's. Those Afro-Americans who are lucky enough to have jobs are mostly engaged in unskilled manual labor. Statistics show that 83 percent of all Afro-American male workers are in "blue collar" occupations, or are service and farm workers.

Wages for Afro-American workers are generally much lower than for white workers doing the same work. The difference in wage scales between Afro-American and white workers alone enables the American monopoly capitalists to rake in at least 14 billion dollars of extra profit each year from their exploitation of the Afro-Americans. Chronic unemployment and low pay have made it impossible for many Afro-Americans to maintain their families. Large numbers of Afro-Americans have to live below the minimum subsistence level.

Afro-Americans in slums are also subject to cruel exploitation by the white merchants and slumlords. The great majority of stores in the ghettos are owned by white merchants who monopolize the retail sales, raise prices, and grab as much super-profit as they can from the Afro-Americans. American bourgeois papers have revealed that in the ghettos, goods are often worse in quality but higher in price than in stores in the white districts. "Easy credit" can often double and treble the prices for the black consumers.

Housing in the Afro-American quarters is hardly any better than in the slums of Calcutta, the American press admitted. In the slums of Cleveland, the black people live in tumbling three-story apartment houses, or wood houses in decay swarming with rats. But the white slumlords rent them out at very high rentals.

The black masses feel the full weight of police oppression under the regime of the racists and exploiters. The cops prowl the ghettos every day, insulting and clubbing at will, and even killing the black people on trumped-up charges. These daily insults and suppressions have engendered in the Afro-Americans a deep hatred for the police, and the black people's struggle, which have been growing in scale in recent years, have always been touched off by police atrocities.

In the eyes of the American rulers, the tens of thousands of jobless black youths in the ghettos are an ideal pool to draw on for cannon fodder for their wars of aggression abroad. Driven to the wall by unemployment, poverty, and hunger, many Afro-American youths were compelled to put on a military uniform to serve and die for U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam. According to press reports, the black people account for roughly a quarter of the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam, in the paratroop units, which have sustained the heaviest losses, their proportion has exceeded 40 percent.

SECRET

With the steady escalation of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, the casualties of the black Americans have sharply increased. This has aroused strong resentment among the Afro-Americans, and an increasing number of them have joined the struggle against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and against the draft.

Where there is oppression there is resistance. The ruthless exploitation and oppression of the Afro-Americans by the U.S. reactionaries cannot but arouse their increasingly strong resistance and struggle. And the most bitter struggles have broken out in the ghettos in the major U.S. cities, where the contradictions are most concentrated.

On the basis of their personal experience over a long time, more and more Afro-Americans have seen through the hypocrisy of the fine words of the reactionary U.S. authorities. A number of black militants have openly stated that "beautiful words have been spoken from Abraham Lincoln on down to President Kennedy, but they are just words. They hold no real meaning for the black men"; "we already have decided to use the only means to face oppression: take up arms."

In the battle they have started, the black people have hit hard at the oppressions and exploiters sitting on their backs--the police, white merchants, and slumlords. With the struggle developing in depth hereafter, they will certainly direct the spearhead of their struggle against the bosses of these people--the government in Washington and the imperialist system. Stokely Carmichael, leader of young black Americans, stressed recently that the problems confronting the black people in American cities "cannot be solved within a capitalist society." The only solution is "the destruction of capitalism, the destruction of North American imperialism," he said.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO ARRIVE ON 7 SEPTEMBER

Algiers Domestic Service in French 2210 GMT 5 Sep 67 L

[Excerpt] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael is due in Algeria on Thursday at the invitation of the National Liberation Front.

NEGRO LEADER CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN ALGERIA

Meetings With Council Members

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 6 Sep 67 L

[Excerpt] Stokely Carmichael, leader of the American Negroes, is now in Algeria. He will be received at 1100 tomorrow by Cherib Belkacem, member of the Revolutionary Council and coordinator of the executive secretariat of the party. An hour earlier he will be received by Mohamed Tayebi, member of the Revolutionary Council and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Executive Secretariat of the party.

Statement on Arrival

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2300 GMT 6 Sep 67 L

[Excerpt] Carmichael, the leader of American Negroes, who is now in Algeria, on his arrival in Algeria made a statement to APS:

After a tour across the countries of the third world, I am in Africa, the motherland. The American of African origin is an alien deprived of his personality. He must gradually regain his personality together with developing his revolutionary awareness. I have come to the motherland, particularly Algeria, the most revolutionary African country, to witness this for myself. It is clear that the only solution for the Negroes in the United States is revolution. We came to see what we can learn from our African brethren.

Carmichael in answer to a question mentioned three items which affected him. They are:

1--The war is not affecting the Vietnamese people. They are a living people into whose life war has come. They are the people of life not death.

2--The United States is trying to use its technical knowledge to murder the Vietnamese people, while they are using their science to save people. They achieved miracles in the medical field. They are able to treat and repair bodies born by shrapnel within three and one half months.

3--All Vietnamese people from (?Pham Van Dong) to the peasant are concerned and indignant about the repression and injustices in the United States. In spite of the bombs which fall on them every day, they care about the suffering which awaits me in the United States. This is the real humanity of the people who protest for our sake and offer us their aid without being preoccupied with their own pains and sufferings.

CARMICHAEL MEETS WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS

Algiers Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 7 Sep 67 L

[Summary] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael was received at 1100 this morning by Cherif Belkacem, party executive secretariat coordinator and member of the Revolutionary Council. At 1000 he was received by Maj (Si Larbi), member of the Revolutionary Council and chairman of the party's foreign relations commission.

Carmichael is now visiting the veterans council. A delegation of this group is leaving Algiers today for Yugoslavia, where it will spend about 10 days.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY TO VISIT SYRIA

[Editor's note] Damascus Domestic Service at 0345 GMT 8 September includes the following headline in its press review: "U.S. Negro Leader Stokely Carmichael to Visit Syria After Algeria."

REPORT ON CARMICHAEL STATEMENT TO APS

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 8 Sep 67 L

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, leader of U.S. Negroes, who is on a visit to Algeria, has made a statement to APS [ALGERIE PRESSE SERVICE] in which he said in particular: My visit to Algeria is within the framework of making contacts with the countries of the third world. I also wanted to visit countries which are either waging or have waged revolution through people's wars and armed struggle; for contemporary history has taught us that countries to which independence was granted in fact received nothing, because independence is not merely a question of negotiations. The Western powers must leave the African countries. We are not of less value than the whites. It would be absurd for one to think of how to spend his time before thinking about how men can cease oppressing one another. It would also be absurd for us to compete in this question with the oppressed himself.

Carmichael added: My visit to Hanoi meant that African and American men reject the war in Vietnam. Indeed they are with their brothers in Vietnam. The movement I lead and other Afro-American movements hold some divergent views on the issue of Vietnam. As to the movement which I lead, we do not merely believe that the U.S. air raids should cease or that the U.S. aggressive policy in Vietnam should be terminated; we want the Vietnamese to win this war, to triumph over the United States, and to drive it out of their country.

Carmichael said that the struggle of U.S. Negroes is linked with the struggle of the third world in particular and of our African forefathers in general, and added: Our struggle aims at destroying the imperialist regime in the United States, a regime which has turned us into slaves. For 400 years we have tried experimenting with peaceful coexistence, but it has become apparent that its price is to maintain the status quo. For this reason, as far as we are concerned the only solution is armed struggle.

Carmichael said: We realize that the Jews were destitute for centuries and tortured during the Nazi regime in German, but we Africans were also tortured by whites. Therefore, the Jews have no right at all to oppress the Africans, especially the Arabs. If there must be a state for the Jews, the Western powers had the right, when they decided to divide Germany after World War II, to give a part of German territory to the Jews, because it was Germany which wanted to exterminate them. Israel at present is being used by the imperialist powers to spread dissension and division and to create economic and political trouble in the Arab east. The only solution to the Palestine question lies in taking up arms.

[Paris AFP coverage from Algiers of the statement, broadcast in French at 1613 GMT on 8 September, added the following information: "Carmichael stressed that the American Negroes number at least 40 million persons, namely 20 percent of the U.S. population, and not 11 percent as stated by the U.S. authorities.

"In connection with the aims of the Negro struggle, he stated: Our primary objective is the control of the Afro-American communities in the United States by the Afro-Americans themselves. This is the most immediate objective. Today, however, there are no longer isolated struggles: they are all correlated."

["Referring to an eventual sedition charge awaiting him in the United States, Carmichael stressed that the people had the right to change any form of government that denies them their right to life, liberty, and happiness. He said: It is clear that the Western white society has imposed on us not only its culture, but also its heroes-- heroes who had been racists and had exploited our people. In order to recover our cultural integrity. . . our heroes should come from ourselves. Our youth need not seek to imitate Napoleon Bonaparte or General De Gaulle.

["Carmichael said: I personally think that wise men of the third world have much more to offer for the creation of a humanist society in the third world than their counterparts in the West. The color of the skin is of no importance. All those who are opposed to Western white domination are black people, be they natives of the Middle East, the Far East, or the heart of Africa."]

CARMICHAEL ON URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN U.S.

Paris APP in French 1912 GMT 9 Sep 67 E

[Text] Algiers--We do not want to be part of the United States because its people are the most disgusting in the world, American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael said Saturday in an interview for the Algerian weekly REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the National Liberation Front [FLN] publication. After advocating urban guerrilla warfare to terminate the racial problem in the United States, Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], denounced other American Negro organizations as protest movements rather than resistance movements.

He opposed integration, explaining: The other movements feel that the solution is to sit beside a white man. If the white accepts them, the problem is solved. This is no solution for us, and without being a racist, I believe it is better for the blacks to stay away from the whites.

The only way to destroy the United States, the Negro leader said, would be to destroy its means of production inside the country and its fighting forces abroad.

Discussing practical means of taking political and economic power in the United States, Carmichael stressed the need to establish new rules inspired by the Negroes, since the ones currently in force were not laid down by them. He continued: Political or economic power must be seized as best one may. No question of legality. Only what is legitimate counts. It is for us to decide. We do not mean that what is legitimate is legal.

After stating that all oppressed countries are colored countries, he accused the white West of representing real imperialism and he stressed the hangman's role taken by the United States.

SNCC LEADER TOURS ALGIERS, ORAN; ADDRESSES FLN

Meeting with SONATRACH Director

Algiers Domestic Service in French 2215 GMT 9 Sep 67 L

[Excerpt] Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who is now staying in Algeria at the invitation of the FLN, went to the headquarters of SONATRACH [National Company for the Transport and Marketing of Fuels] this morning, where he had a lengthy talk with the director general, Ahmed Ghazali, on the oil policy of Algeria.

Brother Ghazali outlined for his benefit the main trends of the Algerian policy of withdrawal of international oil cartels. He expressed, furthermore, the solidarity of all employees of SONATRACH with the struggle of the Negro people of America for the securing of their rights.

Carmichael stressed that the nationalization of American oil companies was the best welcome he could have received on arrival in Algeria.

At the Al-Jumhuriya farm the guest of our country, conducted by the departmental agricultural officials and the officials of the farm, was able to visit the main workshops and be present at the vatting of freshly pressed grape juice.

After his visit to the Al-Jumhuriya farm, the Negro leader had a conversation with Vietnamese officials in Algiers about the common struggle which his people and theirs are leading against American imperialism. This brotherly conversation took place during a luncheon offered by the DRV ambassador, Nguyen Van Phat, at which the NPLSV representative in Algeria, Tran Hoi Nam, also took part.

Tonight Stokely Carmichael will visit the international fair of Algiers and will be received at the Syrian pavilion by the Syrian ambassador in Algeria.

Let us recall that the American Negro leader made a tour of Al-Kasbah last night, in the company of several members of the Federation of Greater Algiers. The chief advocate of urban guerrilla tactics in American cities was able to make a comparison between the tactics he advocates and those followed by Algeria in the recent past when he visited the places where the workshops for the fabrication of bombs and grenades had been, the hideouts, and in particular those of [words indistinct], and the shelter of the FLN leaders during the war.

Itinerary in Oran

Algiers Domestic Service in French 2000 GMT Sep 9 67 L

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader and guest of Algeria, will leave for Oran tomorrow where he will stay for 48 hours. He will have talks in the capital of western Algeria with the leaders of the FLN political commissariat. Next Wednesday, at 1100 [presumably local time] Carmichael will hold a press conference--his second [since arriving in Algeria]--at the seat of the FLN executive secretariat in Algiers.

Yesterday a first contact with the press allowed Carmichael to define the movement he represents from the political as well as the ideological point of view.

Further Details

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 10 Sep 67 L

[Text] Carmichael, the American Negro leader, arrived this afternoon in Oran where he is the guest of the party [FLN] national committee. A reception given in his honor on his arrival was attended by the party's national cadres and mass organizations.

He will give a lecture tomorrow to the party cadres and local authorities at the National Theater in Oran. He will also visit some self-managed farms and glass factories and will tour the district before returning to Algiers.

[Paris AFP in French at 2351 on 10 September specified that Carmichael would tour Oran and its environs on 12 September in the morning and then drive back to Algiers that afternoon.] (S. 100-100000-100000)

CARMICHAEL ON MIDEAST, THIRD WORLD, U.S. NEGRO

Cairo MENA in Arabic 0940 GMT 11 Sep 67 M

[Text] Algiers--U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, who is now visiting Algeria, expressed the belief that the United States took part in the recent Middle East war and that it intends to continue its aggressive actions.

In an exclusive statement to MENA, Carmichael said that U.S. Negroes should take over the administration of establishments in their small local communities in the United States preparatory to assuming authority in their great society.

Carmichael called for the consolidation of relations between U.S. Negroes and the motherland, Africa, and the third world.

Carmichael also called for guerrilla warfare in the liberation battles. The Negro leader declared that this movement represents this phase of the U.S. Negroes' comprehensive armed struggle now that their 400-year struggle has failed to solve the contradictions within U.S. society by peaceful means. Carmichael added that U.S. Negroes have tried for 400 years to coexist peacefully with the whites, despite the fact that they have been deprived of their dignity and human rights. They have not been treated as human beings. Savage methods have been used against them and they have been treated as slaves.

Carmichael pointed out that some U.S. Negroes are now trying to coexist peacefully in the United States. However, the United States has taken this as evidence of their weakness and of their need to submit to U.S. control. He emphasized that U.S. Negroes now have no alternative but to remove this control by armed struggle.

Comparing his movement with other Negro movements in the United States, the young Negro leader said: The only thing that joins us to other organizations is that we all call for the liberation of the black minority in the United States. Carmichael added: Despite this, we differ with them because some of them think the liberation of U.S. Negroes should be accomplished within the framework of constitutional law in the United States. But we consider this an impossibility. Carmichael said it is impossible to liberate U.S. Negroes as long as U.S. constitutional law remains unchanged because it is, of course, a capitalist-imperialist law.

Speaking about the desired U.S. Negro society, Carmichael said Negroes should have sovereignty in their societies so they may supervise their own political and educational institutions and their local police forces. They should have the right to own the land, houses, and shops within the Negro areas. Carmichael added: This is the immediate aim we are trying to achieve. Of course if we can achieve this, we will be able to determine how the land in Negro areas is to be redistributed. Carmichael affirmed that the realization of this goal will cause the Negroes to enter into a struggle with the regime in the United States. Thus, the matter depends on whether the Negroes can mobilize their forces and throw more light on the contradictions to enable them to move toward the final overthrow of that regime.

Carmichael, who has always linked his revolutionary activity with the third world, finds it difficult to predict the degree of success his Negro movement will have in the long run in setting up a socialist regime.

In this connection he said that the Negroes' position in the United States is very much like that in a colony. We represent a unique problem. That is why we feel that our economic development depends on the way the U.S. economy develops. But he corrected himself and said: One of the aims the U.S. Negroes will seek is a change in the U.S. economic system.

Carmichael added: There are many kinds of socialism and our basic problem is to find the economic system which suits us. It is very difficult to predict now if we will apply any kind of socialism. Carmichael said further: Production means and industrial profit should be placed in the hands of the workers. This means the United States will have to change to a large extent until we see it on the way to a philosophy very close to socialism or at least favoring socialism.

The leader of the "black power" movement expressed the belief that the visits he paid to Cuba, North Vietnam, and Algeria can be considered a factor for coordination between the liberation movement in the United States and the other liberation movements in the third world.

Carmichael pointed out that (many Negro) technicians have graduated from schools and acquired technical skill. Carmichael added that the United States enlists these young men who have technical skills in the "small" Central Intelligence Agency known as the Peace Corps. It sends them to African countries where their primary task is not to impart technical skill to Africans, but to overthrow the regimes in these countries. Carmichael said further: If we succeed in finding a number of these Negroes with such technical skills who desire to take part in building up their motherland, we will help send them to Africa.

Speaking about the call of Negro leader Marcus Garvey and other Negro leaders who had called during the first half of this century for U.S. Negroes to return to motherland Africa, Carmichael said: Marcus Garvey did not exactly call for returning to Africa. His program reasoned that, if Africa wanted salvation, then it was incumbent upon U.S. Negroes to return to the motherland to help save it. Carmichael added: Thus Garvey felt that some Negroes should return to Africa. He therefore began drawing a plan for this purpose. He believed that the contradictions resulting from the difference in color in the United States were so strong as to make the return to African logical.

The Negro leader further said: We feel that we have built the United States with the sweat of our brow. That is why we will not leave this country which we built with our work during the era of slavery, after the age of slavery, and during the present age. Thus, we have a share in this country.

Carmichael said: Africa is the continent from which we were uprooted and in which the roots of our culture exist. It is the land of our ancestors and from this land our history begins. He added: The most logical conclusion to be drawn from this reciprocal link with Africa is that we should begin to weld ourselves with the Africans both psychologically and materially. We believe that many U.S. Negroes should go to Africa to fight in the ranks of the liberation movements there, he said.

Carmichael believes that all U.S. Negroes can help their motherland in another way. For example, the liberation wars which we must fight in the future will have a deeper effect on us if we find our way together rather than if we resort to isolation, he said.

Carmichael said: The intrigues of the (?West) have been aimed at isolating the people who are fighting for their freedom so that they feel forsaken and unable to achieve victory. But these intrigues intensified the peoples' determination to fight to the end because the African peoples and the U.S. Negroes have realized that they are not alone in the battle and that there are other people in [words indistinct] world who back them. This backing does not have to be expressed in words because it is real and cannot be extended to them by the warmonger or the capitalist. It instills true courage in their hearts to continue their struggle.

Discussing the experience he had during his tour of third world countries, Carmichael said: I believe that all these countries are carrying out national liberation war. In Vietnam, for instance, we find every man, woman, and child carrying arms. The national liberation war does not depend on an army or regular forces, and these peoples employ commando tactics and guerrilla warfare. It is true that the Algerians developed guerrilla warfare but this does not prevent other people from practicing what we call revolutionary violence. He added: These are the three tactics--guerrilla warfare, commando tactics, and the national liberation war--which one should consider and understand.

Carmichael said: The second point which I noted during my tour is the difference in ideologies. Ideology is considered a factor toward achieving unity after a government is taken over. Otherwise how can the governments or the people in power continue to rally their people?

Carmichael then said: When you are in the midst of a struggle against the enemy your hatred of him is sufficient to rally our people. But when you defeat the enemy, then you need something to unite the people. You need an ideology to make sure that the people are proceeding toward the goal.

Asked by MENA's correspondent in Algeria about statements by Negro leader Martin Luther King in support of what he called the Israeli rights against Arabs, Carmichael said: Our organization denounced the war as Zionist aggression. We have always been aware that Israel is a tool in the hands of U.S. imperialist forces in dividing the Arab states, preventing their unity and dominating the Suez Canal. This was clear to us. For this reason, we adopted a stand of opposition to Israel and its aggression. We feel that Israel should not be considered a state because it is no state. I cannot understand the reason behind the statements made by Dr Martin Luther King, and I feel that you should ask him personally about them.

The Negro rebel leader was then asked if he intends to continue to unmask the crimes committed by the United States and Israel as part of the third world struggle. He replied: Yes, because we consider the part of the third world struggle in the Middle East to be of great importance. We intend to extend our hands firmly to those Arab states which desire to talk to us so that we may continue to use our propaganda machinery to foil the Zionist propaganda in the United States. All the masses of U.S. Negroes support the Arabs emotionally and politically. I believe that some people misunderstood things when they saw the responsible U.S. officials appoint a Negro to an important post in the United States in order to make a leader of him. But these people must realize that this is not so since this appointment does not make a leader out of him nor does it make him a representative of Negro power.

In the United States, Carmichael added, Jewish business owners exploit Negroes. The question of Jewish exploitation in the United States is an important matter which some of those who call themselves leaders allege to be nonexistent. But this question does exist. For a long time U.S. Negroes have been aware of the crimes committed by Israel and Zionism against the Palestinian people. We denounced the U.S. Government loudly for its connivance with Israel, but it prevented any filtration of news about our solidarity with the Arabs. When the Arab peoples fought their just battle against the Israeli aggression, we supported their struggle not only by word but also by deed. We sent people to join the Arab student demonstrations in the United States. But the U.S. Government prevented any news of this from leaking outside the United States while it permitted the dissemination of news of support for Israel and denunciation of the Arab struggle.

Carmichael expressed confidence that full details will soon be known to the role the United States played in the Israeli aggression against the Arab states, because he believes that the Zionists will not stop their aggression but will continue it with the desire of dominating all Arab areas in the Middle East. We in the United States, he said, feel that the continuation of the armed struggle is the only solution for the problem.

Carmichael added that it was clear to all U.S. Negroes that the United States took part in the Middle East war. We do not need anyone to tell us this because anyone with any intelligence knew that the United States was there. We knew it was there intuitively for we live within the United States and know the horrible monster well. However, I believe that the developments will become clearer and clearer in the future because the aggression will be continued.

Carmichael added that the action his movement will take in the United States will be escalation of the armed struggle to destroy the U.S. system from within while external wars are destroying it from without. He said that he would return to the United States after his tour of the third world. He then laughed as he said that he knew what was awaiting him when he returns.

It is known that U.S. authorities have announced they will indict him for traveling to Cuba and Vietnam without permission.

Carmichael concluded his statement by saying that he wishes to see as many African countries as possible before returning to the United States and that he is very anxious to visit Syria and the UAR.

FLN OFFICIALS ESCORT CARMICHAEL ON ORAN TOUR

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 11-Sep 67 L

[Text] The American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, who arrived in Oran yesterday, today visited the self-managed farms in the Oran vicinity. The Negro leader, who expressed admiration for the way these farms are being utilized, was accompanied by brothers Maghrawi, member of the FLN Central Committee, and Al-Arusi of the FLN Foreign Relations Department. Carmichael conversed with the workers during this inspection visit. This afternoon he visited the North African glass factory before he held a conference with FLN cadres.

CARMICHAEL IN ORAN OUTLINES NEGRO STRUGGLE

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2300 GMT 12 Sep 67 L

[Summary] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael left Oran this afternoon for Algiers. While in Oran he visited self-managed farms in the area and the national glassworks. Speaking at an Oran movie theater last night, he outlined the struggle of American Negroes against the white racists.

"In this connection, he said that the only possible way for the colored people in the United States was to wage an armed struggle to attain their liberation. The blacks cannot accept the internal laws in the United States which only serve the interests of the whites, he said, and which are based on the exploitation of man by man and which also work at helping Israel, South Africa, and Salazar. Carmichael went on to say: The destiny of the American blacks is tied with the destiny of Africa and the third world."

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED BY SUCESOS MAGAZINE

Havana in English to South America 2106 GMT 9 Sep 67 E

[Excerpts of undated recorded interview given by Stokely Carmichael to Mario Menendez, editor of Mexican Magazine SUCESOS, during Carmichael's stay in Havana]

[Text] Question: What is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee?

Answer: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is the organization for which I work and is a group of young black people in the United States who decided to come together to fight racial and economic exploitation.

Question: When and why was it founded?

Answer: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded in 1960 by a group of young black students who felt the need to come together and actively fight against racial segregation in the United States. They came together because they felt the older organizations were not doing an effective job and were not actively participating. Most of them were taking their troubles to the courts and we felt that you could not take a problem of the whites' injustice to black people to the courts if those courts were all white. You would be taking an unjust problem to people who themselves were unjust.

It could not be solved that way. The only way to solve it was in the streets. We used the name nonviolent because at that time Martin Luther King was the central figure of the black struggle and he was still preaching nonviolence, and anyone who talked about violence at that time was considered to have committed treason, so we decided that we would use the name nonviolent, but in the meantime we knew our struggle was not about to be nonviolent, but we would just wait until the time was right for the actual [word indistinct] name. We came together, we would coordinate activities between the students wherever we have a nonviolent demonstration.

But after one year many of us decided that demonstrations were not the answer. The only answer was organizing our people. So we moved into the worst state, Mississippi, and began to organize our people to fight. And we are now at the front where we are encouraging people to pick up arms and fight back.

Question: What are the political, social, and economic goals pursued by your organization.

Answer: Politically, we want black people in the United States to be free of oppression. We also want the peoples of the third world to be free from oppression, particularly Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We see that our freedom, our liberation, depends on these people and vice versa, their liberation depends on us, so we must wage the same struggle.

Politically speaking [words indistinct] in the United States we want the right to politically control the communities in which we live. In the United States we cannot do that. The communities in which we live, which they call ghettos, are politically controlled by whites. So in a real sense, we have colonialism inside the United States, just like colonialism in Latin American countries, or I should probably say all the Latin American countries, with the exception of Cuba, are controlled politically from the outside by the United States. Politically, we seek to free those colonies of any political intervention from the outside.

Economically speaking, we want our people to be able to enjoy life and to get all the things they need for a decent life without having to struggle as hard as they now do because they are economically exploited by the imperialist power structure of the United States, just as the colonies outside are economically exploited. We want to be able not only to control the resources inside our communities, but also we want to be able to divide those resources among the people of the (?backward) communities. We do not want to set up, for example, a black capitalist system. We want to economically destroy capitalism because capitalism goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation. Wherever capitalism has gone, those two characteristics are sure to follow, racism and exploitation, so we must destroy the capitalistic system which enslaves us on the inside and the people of the third world on the outside.

Socially, I guess we want what most people want out of life: people who are happy and free and who can live (?better) than they now live and who make and participate in decisions that affect their lives, and never feel ashamed of the color of their skin or ashamed of their culture. In order for capitalism to exist it must make the people they conquer feel ashamed of themselves, ashamed of their culture, and what we want to do is to make our people not ashamed [word indistinct] so that they can feel that they are equal to anybody else psychologically, physically, and morally.

Question: In particular, what are the relations between the colored people of the north and of the south, and, in general, in the whole United States of America?

Answer: The black people who are living in the north are first-generation people, that is to say, it is the first generation of black people that has been born in the north. Most of the people in the north migrated from the south right after World War II. They migrated from the south because racial discrimination was the (?worst) and most brutal in the south and they were told that in the north people did not care about the color of your skin. It did not matter, there were opportunities and a good job if you just worked hard.

And we believed that nonsense and packed our bags and went north. But what we found when we got north was that life was the same. So the [word indistinct] that we found in the north was that there is nowhere in the United States where you can go under the capitalistic system and enjoy a decent way of life. So what you have now are people without faith in any of the legal systems [words indistinct]: So the relationship has become very strong because people from the south no longer look to the north as an escape, and we now see that the only way that we are going to get out of the capitalistic system and gain our liberation is that both of us join hands and see ourselves as one people.

What you have now across the United States is a feeling of solidarity among black people wherever we are, and our saying is that when they touch one, they have to touch all. That saying is more than a slogan because it now has meaning. Every time a racist police dog shoots one of us they have to fight the entire city, and now it is not only one city, they have to fight several cities, so the black feeling of solidarity is very, very near.

Question: Some persons think Negroes in the United States only think of the fight as a racial conflict against the whites instead of interpreting it as a class struggle. What do you have to say on this matter?

Answer: Well, that is very, very important, because in the United States racism is so strong it is almost impossible to get white people to struggle against it, and there are many reasons for that. Most of the poor whites, the white working class in the United States, when they organize, their fight is never a fight for the redistribution of land. Their fight is a fight for more money. All they want is more money. They do not have any concept of the distribution of wealth because they are so capitalistic in their own approach. So what happens is that the ruling class in America then begins to exploit other countries in the third world to make more money. When they get more of those profits, they share those profits with the white working class.

But the ruling class never cuts down on its profits. As a matter of fact, it makes more. Once it begins to share its profits with the working class, the working class becomes part and parcel of the capitalist system and they enjoy blood money. They enjoy so much the money that is exploiting other people that they are then incapable of fighting the system, because they are a part of it from accepting the blood money. So it is hard to develop a white working class revolutionary consciousness. What you have then is white people who are fighting to save their money.

For example, that is why you cannot find white working class people in the United States who oppose the war in Vietnam, because it is from the war in Vietnam that they enjoy the life they are living and the luxuries they have. If they opposed the war in Vietnam, they would be smashing the system. Unfortunately, they do not recognize that if they smashed that system they could build a better system for themselves, but they are so afraid of giving up the dollars that they now have, that they hang on to it and fight to keep the system going. So what you do have at this point, unfortunately, is black people waging the fight and interpreting it as a black-white struggle, which it does, in fact, become because the white working class begins to attack us, because they are afraid that we will destroy their way of life.

We believe that the only way to develop white working class revolutionary consciousness is for the United States to begin losing its profits that it gets from the third world. Once it begins to lose that and its profits are cut down and it must begin to turn inward for the means of livelihood, then and only then will the white working class develop a revolutionary consciousness. What that means is that at this time we will struggle. We would like white working class people to struggle with us. Whether they do or do not does not make any difference; we will struggle. When they finally join the fight, we will welcome them, but until that time we will struggle.

And another reason why it is (so) is because the white ruling class in America recognizes Marx' concept of the inevitable class conflict. In order to avoid an inevitable class conflict in the United States they exploit the third world and bring the money from the third world into the United States and share it with the working class.

So what you now have is just a postponement of inevitable class conflict. What has developed around the world is that the third world has become the proletariat and the white Western society has become the bourgeoisie. So when you have lines drawn along lines of color, it is also class because of the way white Western society has incorporated most of its working class. What is precisely what Europe did when it sat down and divided up Africa and Latin America. It avoided inside its countries the inevitable class conflict. But that cannot be postponed anymore; the confrontation is here.

And finally, I think that people outside the United States recognize, unlike any other people, that we were the only people who were made slaves inside the continent by the people who were exploiting us. Other people were slaves in their own countries, so that when they fought they could develop a nationalistic concept as a point of unity. We were brought to the United States, which is the most vicious thing that the United States could have done. So we cannot develop a nationalistic concept, our concept must be around our color, because it was our color which was the deciding factor in making us slaves. So our color is, in a sense, our nationality, because what the white man has done is to scatter black people from Africa throughout the United States, through the Caribbean into Cuba, into Brazil, and all the way up through South America, and we are just (?planted) all over these countries without any nationality.

Now in Cuba the African has a concept of nationality because they were exploited along with the whites in Cuba. So they called themselves Afro-Cubans and can feel a part of the Cuban system, especially since the revolution. Unfortunately, for us in the United States that cannot be done because for 400 years we have been the victims of brutal fascism and no white man has ever come to our defense, real defense, except John Brown. All of the others talk, they talk, but none of them are actually willing to fight to destroy the system of which they are a part.

Question: What relations exist between the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement? How do you see the interrelation between the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence and the fight of the Negroes in the United States? How do you see the fight of the Negro people of the United States as they help the Puerto Rican, and the unity between the two organizations?

Answer: Now, Brother Malcolm taught us that we must internationalize our struggle. In an effort to follow some of his teachings, we started with Puerto Rico. We started with Puerto Rico for many reasons. Number one, it is very close to the United States in terms of geographic position. Number two, it is a real U.S. colony in every sense. And thirdly, a large number of people who live in the ghettos of the United States with us are Puerto Ricans.

And what we find happening is that we were fighting Puerto Ricans. Instead of joining hands with our Puerto Rican brothers and fighting the system that oppresses both of us, we were made to fight each other while the white policeman sat around and laughed. So we thought one of the ways to start raising the political consciousness of our people to join hands with the Puerto Ricans was to physically go to the island of Puerto Rico and raise questions of independence. That worked very, very well, because prior to this year if the police attacked the Puerto Ricans, blacks would not do anything. As a matter of fact, we were likely to join sides with the police and help beat the Puerto Ricans. And if a policeman attacked a black man, the Puerto Ricans would not do anything, they would probably join hands with the police and beat us.

But this year, because we have been able to raise the question and raise the political consciousness of both groups, when the police attacked Puerto Ricans in New York, blacks and Puerto Ricans took to the streets together to fight the police. The same thing happened in Newark, and the same thing is happening in Chicago. So that trip enabled us to raise political consciousness, and we were able to sit down and bring both groups together and begin to talk about fighting the system that oppresses both of us.

Question: What sort of type of fight will develop in the United States against the imperialist policy? Do you think that the armed way is the only way left for the North American people to obtain the government? What is your opinion on revolutionary violence as compared with reactionary violence?

Answer: When we say that we insist, we say very clearly that the only solution is black revolution and that we are not concerned with peaceful coexistence. Armed struggle, for a number of reasons, is the only way, not only for us but for all oppressed people around the world. People who talk about peaceful coexistence are talking about maintaining the status quo. The only way that you can disrupt an imperialistic system is by force. You do not disrupt it with talk. That has been crystal clear to us. It has been crystal clear to us especially because for 400 years the majority of African-Americans in the United States have been talking, talking, and talking. And the reason is because when you talk you play the imperialist game. They invented the game of talk, and when you talk, you talk in their language.

But now we have a new game. It is called guerrilla warfare. They cannot play our game, and if you want to win a game, you have to make the rules. If somebody else makes the rules, they will always win. The imperialists have made the rules of talk, so when you sit down to talk with them you can not possibly win. They will always find a reason why they cannot do this now, or why they could not do it then, and they will seem very rational and you will sit there and try to reason with them on their grounds, in their terms, but they cannot do that. In the first place, they have no right to oppress people, so there is no need to talk about oppression. They have absolutely no right to oppress and to exploit anybody else, so to begin talks about freeing yourself from exploitation and oppression from the people who oppress you is ridiculous. It is like a slave sitting down with his master and talking to his master about when his master is going to set him free. That is nonsense. The master has no business enslaving him. So all the slave has to do is get up and kill the master if the master refused to stop enslaving him. That is the only solution.

So it is crystal clear, as far as we are concerned: armed struggle, that is all, no time for talk. We have talked and talked and talked and talked for too long. You must disrupt the system by any means necessary.

Now, secondly, reactionary violence can be legitimized by people in power. For example, if I were to shoot a man who had slanted eyes, it depends if I shot him in the United States or if I shot him in Vietnam, there would be two different reactions. If I shot 30 men who had slanted eyes in Vietnam and they happened to be Vietnamese, I would get a medal, because I would be in the army. If I shot 30 people who slanted eyes or one person who had slanted eyes in the United States, in New York, I would get the chair, the electric chair, for murder.

So it is never a question of violence, it is a question of who can legitimize violence, that is all. A policeman can shoot and kill anybody he wants to kill for any reason and go to court and say "I did it in line of duty," And they will let him go. But a man who shoots a policeman is automatically going to jail, so you never discuss violence as far as we are concerned. It is whether or not you can legitimize it.

And the oppressed people of the world must legitimize violence in their own minds as the way to solve their problems. Once they have legitimized violence, then there is no question, there is no answer, it is just a course of taking what belongs to them. The reactionaries only stay in power by violence. That is the only way they stay in power. However, they legitimize their violence, and they tell everybody else that violence is not the way. Take away the guns from the imperialist forces and see how many people would listen to them. Take away the bases in Santo Domingo, take away the bases in Venezuela, take away the bases in Brazil, take away the bases in Chile, take away the bases all over South America, get the guns out of their hands, and you would see, nobody would listen. But it is because of the guns that people are forced to listen, and so the only thing you can do is get yourself guns and the will to fight, and then the answer is clear.

For example, we want you to look at people who are pacifists, and all this nonsense about pacifism. The United States, Britain, France, and Russia developed the atomic and the hydrogen bombs. After they developed the atomic and the hydrogen bomb, then all four of them got together and said "let us stop nuclear tests, there will be no more testing of bombs." And everybody was sitting there and falling for this nonsense because they would say to the people, "We do not want any more bombs and if more people would get bombs it would just mean violence." But what they were doing was that they had the bomb and they were stopping other people from developing the bomb. So they were keeping other people unequal. If everybody is to be equal, everybody must have the bomb. That is the only answer. If some people have the bomb and others do not it is inequality. That is just one example of how the West uses violence as a way to stop other people.

It is crystal clear that the West has developed the best weapons, but weapons can never defeat the will of men to fight, and that is precisely where the world is today. The oppressed people have the will to fight and they are fighting the people who oppress them, and they have weapons. A good example of that would be Vietnam, where the United States, with all of its weapons, cannot defeat a nation so small as Vietnam because they have the will to fight and they are willing to fight to the death rather than let the United States enslave them. That is very important.

And the discussion is never about that, the discussion is of the right of people to defend themselves against aggression. When the United States talked about bombing Cuba and missiles in Cuba, they said that Cuba did not have the right to defend itself. They said that Cuba should not even get antimissiles and the rest of the world was supporting Cuba rather than the United States because the United States had no business (committing) aggression against Cuba, "just as they have no business (committing) aggression against Vietnam, and what happens is that the people of Vietnam are fighting; not only a defensive war but defensive propaganda, if in fact they begin to accept that definition.

The people of Vietnam have every right to send a bomber over the United States and start bombing the United States. That would be real equality in terms of a fight. That would be real equality, but instead they are now forced to fight a defensive war, and that was the position Cuba was in with the missiles, they were also fighting a defensive war. And people have been telling me about Debray's book, which I have not had a chance to read yet, "Revolution Within a Revolution." Debray points out that we must begin to move beyond defensive wars, and I think that is the next step for the peoples of the third world, to move beyond defensive wars.

Question: What do you think of guerrilla warfare in the American continent to obtain its liberation? What do you think of this sort of fight being developed by the colored people in the country and cities of the United States?

Answer: It is crystal clear to us that the way the imperialists take everything is by force. The only way it has conquered all the countries here is by force. They made the Indian population of Cuba, for example, extinct. They took their land by force. The only way you can remedy that is by force. The only way to use force is to start guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare should never be discussed as to whether it is right or wrong. It is the only way. It is the only way to stop exploitation and oppression. To wage a discussion as to whether it is right or wrong is to play the game of the imperialists. When you are waging a war, there is no right, there is no wrong, it is just what you feel is necessary to obtain your goals, and that is what we must understand, those of us who are in the oppressed world.

There is no question, guerrilla warfare is the only way. We will not raise the question of whether it is right or whether it is wrong, we will only raise a tactical question of when do we use it. That is the only question we should be concerned with. Guerrilla warfare is where we are moving to in the United States, we are going to develop an urban guerrilla warfare, and we are going to beat them in urban guerrilla warfare, because there is one thing the imperialists do not have. Their men do not have the will to fight. They do not have the will to fight. What they call guerrilla warfare is in fact hand to hand combat.

See, their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world. It could send a million troops into Vietnam and they could not kill the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people in hand to hand combat would wipe them out. So what they do is say, "In Vietnam they are fighting guerrilla warfare," and you think that guerrilla warfare is dirty, it is not clean, it is not supposed to be done. And they said, "To beat guerrilla warfare we will now send men and planes to drop bombs," and nobody asked, "In it not more disgusting to send a man in a plane who can drop 50 or 60 bombs on defenseless women and children or use napalm and burn them to death than to fight them hand to hand combat? Which is more honorable?" So that is the question, it is just when we use it. Urban guerrilla warfare is the one way we will beat the United States because they cannot use bombs on us, because we are inside their country. They will have to fight us hand to hand combat. We will win, we will win.

The counterpart of that will be in the south in the countryside where we know the land, where we know the terrain, where we have worked it for years, where the white man is in [word indistinct] with sweat from us.

He has enjoyed us walking all over the countryside. Well, we have walked over it so much so that when we take to the hills there, he does not know it. He will be unable to find us. We will (hit him), we will be able to beat him in guerrilla warfare. The only way that you can bring white men to their knees is through guerrilla warfare, because guerrilla warfare is the one warfare they cannot fight with their big guns and their big bombs. And that is the one place you beat them because they do not have any guts.

Question: What do you think of solidarity between all countries that fight for their liberation?

Answer: It is the only answer. I think that what we do not recognize, or we have not recognized in the past, is that capitalism has become international, and that we are fighting international capitalism. In order to fight international capitalism, you must wage an international fight. What has happened in the past, for example, is that if one nation was struggling everybody wished that nation good luck, but nobody (?served) as part of that same fight. Although they could see that the same countries were oppressing their countries, they still did not make the connection in their minds that that was their common enemy.

Today we have made the connection in our minds. We see a common enemy, so it is crystal clear to us that we are fighting an international structure that enslaves us all. The only way we can beat it is to internationalize our struggle. So you have an international power fighting an international power. That is the only way we can win. If we do what Che says we should do, that is, create two, three, many Vietnams, we will have them fighting on all fronts at the same time and they cannot win.

When we isolate the struggle, they can bring all their power to bear on one country. And once they do that, that country is lost. However, they cannot fight us all at the same time. So even if we do not have the same goals, even if we do not have the same ideas, the same political ideology, we have the same common enemy, and that, if nothing else, is what is going to bring us together.

Question: What do you think of the solidarity organization for Asian, African, and Latin American countries? What does an organization such as yours expect from the AALAPSO?

Answer: Well, one thing is that we are now beginning to more firmly establish our relationship with those groups because we have found out that we must establish firm relations and must do so on an international level. So the first thing we want to do is (?to meet) all the fighters that we read about, to sit down and talk with them, and exchange our ideas. Once we have done that, we can begin to move together, to plot together how to fight for our liberation.

For example, when they start bombing a country or when they start assassinating a liberation, let us say they assassinate a leader of the liberation struggle. A few months ago, they assassinated Ben Barka. See, what the rest of us, if we had been together, should have done was to take Johnson, or to take De Gaulle, and put a gun to his head and say "if Ben Barka is not freed in 24 hours, De Gaulle is dead, or Johnson is dead, or Harold Wilson is dead." And not many--any--[interrupts self] But the only way we can do that is to internationalize our struggle, because they have their systems of the CIA and all the other intelligence agencies which are international and work hand in hand with each other, so they can assassinate and carry out coups against governments when they begin to move for their liberation. To protect those governments for inspiration and aid, we must begin to do the same thing to develop them. So I think that is one of the concrete areas in which we can begin to move.

But more important is that once we have seized power, as we will, the question is to begin to develop an international system that will not give vent to capitalism, where we can trade with each other on the basis of our needs, on what we need and on what each country has, rather than fight to control the world market where we would set prices for goods by profits and not by the needs of humanity. And that is the concept that we must begin to talk more and more about, because we will find out that as we seize power, unless we have the spirit, the will, and the intelligence of the leaders in Cuba, most of us will end up the way all other countries that have coups or that seize power end up: they will accept the entire bureaucratic structure that the imperialists have imposed on their countries and will not be able to fight it. So we must begin to do that.

The other thing is that we must begin to do is to exchange fighters so that we can understand different areas where the imperialists live. For example, we should begin to exchange fighters with people of Africa and Latin America who are fighting for their liberation so we can set up an international system of guerrilla warfare, and, for example, when we start fighting the real war in the United States, if there are people from other countries who are willing to come to the United States and help us fight, that is well and good, and we will be willing to reciprocate.

We will be willing to go and fight because that is what the capitalists do. Whenever one of their countries is in trouble they send aid to help that country. That is clearly what happened in Israel. Israel is an imperialist country backed by the imperialist West, and when it was in trouble all of them stood behind it and supported it, including France. Every one of them supported it. What we have to do is recognize that once the fight starts, we must also be willing to back up the liberation forces with our men, because they are willing to back them up with their guns, their money, and their men, and we must begin to do the same.

Question: What do you think of the solidarity organization for Latin America? What does an organization as yours expect from LASO?

Answer: Well, this is the First LASO Conference and we are more than honored, happy, and pleased to be here and to be able to share in LASO and to be part of this for many, many reasons. Number one is that Latin America is very close to us geographically. Latin America is one of the areas that the United States really exploits. Many Latin Americans come into the United States. All of those reasons and the closeness of Latin America makes it a necessity that we begin to move,

More importantly, Cuba is part of Latin America, and the United States really wants to crush Cuba, and Cuba is an inspiration to others, not only to blacks in the United States but also to all Latin American countries to begin to struggle and to begin to fight. So it is fitting and proper that LASO should be held in Cuba and that we should come to show our solidarity, not just by talk but also by our willingness to put our life on the line for the struggle in Latin America.

We want to be able to explain to the Latin American countries what our struggle is about, because their only way of getting an explanation now is from UPI and AP, which is the controlled communications system of the imperialists. Vice versa, we cannot get any news about Latin American countries except from UPI and AP, which is again controlled by the imperialists. So what we get is that there are bandits or there is a group of rebel forces or communists fighting in Venezuela or rebel forces took to the streets in Guatemala, Santo Domingo, or Panama. And only through our political awareness to know those groups who are really fighting for their country are we able to read through the lies and the propaganda that is [word indistinct]. So number one, it is the first time we have had a chance to meet sincere people who are fighting for their liberation struggles and listen to explanations of their ideologies so we can see where the common ground is and understand their struggle and explain to them what our struggle is, without having the propaganda of the imperialist interpreting our struggles to each other. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that, concretely, we must unite our struggles, and that is done just by our mere presence. And thirdly, to begin to counteract the OAS; and the mere fact that we have a conference here is already doing that. It will counteract the OAS and begin to minimize its importance in the minds of our peoples, which is very, very important because the imperialists control the propaganda and can win the minds of our people. And one of the most important fights today is the fight to win the minds of our people, because when we have won the minds of our people there will be no question, they will be ready to fight, and begin setting up systems and ways of helping and aiding each other.

Question: What do you think about the guerrilla leaders like Douglas Bravo from Venezuela, Fabio Vasquez from Colombia, Marulanda from Colombia, Cesar Montes from Guatemala, and the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas?

Answer: We want to say to our brothers, or comrades, that while they may not know it, that there are many of us who are actually morally pulling for them, who listen very closely and very attentively to any news we can get about their struggles. And we know they are waging a victorious, valiant, and good fight, and that while we do not control the communications system so that we would be able to tell them this, we want them to know that they should never despair and never feel that their fight is in vain or that nobody knows about it.

We know about it and we are 150 percent behind them, and the day is not far off when they can come out in the open and together we can join hands and build a world that we are working to build. Our only word to them is to not despair and keep up the fight because there are many of us out here who are depending on them. We look to them for inspiration and hope.

Question: What do you think of the Vietnam aggression?

Answer: I think it is the most disgusting aggression in the world today. I think it is the height of cowardice displayed by the United States. I think that today it is the filthiest war that has ever been, and I think, because of that and along with the will of Vietnamese people, the United States is going to lose the war.

Question: What made you come to Cuba?

Answer: Well, when the Cuban revolution was being waged I was a young boy but we were very interested in it. My interest was heightened by the fact that when the prime minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro, came to the UN he lived in Harlem with black people. He came to the hotel Theresa, and that meant that our connection with Cuba became a real one in the sense that their prime minister, unlike all other prime ministers who come to the country, came to live in a ghetto with us while he stayed in the United States. And we have always felt that we owed something to Cuba, at least that same visit which they bestowed on us by their prime minister.

Secondly, we have always known that the Cuban revolution is a good revolution. And, unlike most of the people in the United States--white United States--who question the Cuban revolution, we never questioned it, we know it is good. We just came to Cuba to learn, and, in the few days that we have been here, what we have gotten out of the Cuban revolution we could never get out of books, movies, or anything else. By just being able to be here, to live among a free people, and to understand and see how they are solving their problems is beyond comprehension. That is what we came to do, we came to learn. We have learned quite a bit.

Question: What do you think of the prime minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro?

Answer: He is the greatest man I have ever met.

Question: What do you think of Che Guevara and what he has said about the revolution in America and Latin American and the whole world?

Answer: We agree 150 percent with Che. He is becoming one of the most widely read men in black United States today. Black people are reading Che wherever you go, and not only that, Che is being read around the world. One of the reasons I think that people appreciate and respect Che because he has not only talked about revolution but has gone and helped make one. Even after winning a revolutionary struggle for power in his country, he did not settle back in his country, but left his wife and went on to other countries to help wage the fight, to sacrifice his very life. You do not find men like that every day.

Question: The fight you are developing in the United States signifies for people, for outsiders, that you have signed your death sentence. What do you think, or have to say, about that?

Answer: Brother Malcolm used to tell us that there were several types of death. I think a dehumanized people who do not fight back are a dead people. That is what the West has been able to do to most of us. They dehumanized us to the point where we would not even fight back. Once you have begun to fight back, you are alive, you are alive, and bullets do not kill you. If you do not fight back, you are dead, you are dead, and all the money in the world cannot bring you alive. So we are alive today, we are alive all over the world. All of our black people are coming alive because they are fighting back. They are fighting for their humanity. They are doing the type of thing that Fidel talks about. When you become alive, you want to live so much that you fight to live. See, when you are dead, when you do not rebel, you are not fighting to live, you are already dead. Well, we are alive and we love life so much that we are willing to die for it. So, we are alive. Death cannot stop us.

CARMICHAEL: BEGIN DESTRUCTION OF U.S. SYSTEM

13 September Press Conference

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 13 Sep 67 L

[Text] American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, who is presently in Algeria, stated before national and international newsmen during a press conference he held at the headquarters of the party executive secretariat that the destruction of the foundations of the U.S. structure must commence.

He then said: No one knows the United States better than we Negroes, we who lived there for four centuries. Thus we realize that the struggle will not be limited to peaceful coexistence because the only result of this policy during the past four centuries has been the repression of the spirit of the people of my own skin, of their sons, their homes, and their temples. Furthermore, this policy of peaceful coexistence [words indistinct], and it is time to follow the path of armed struggle.

He advocated intensification of this struggle inside and outside the country and a doubling of the resistance movement against being drafted into the U.S. Army, as has been previously done by many American Negroes, among them boxing champion Muhammad Ali.

Carmichael also proposed that the third world should benefit from the technical experience of Negro experts who are prepared by the "black power" organization. Concerning the technicians of the official Peace Corps and the Peace Corps volunteers, he said that they are members of the youth branch of the American intelligence agency.

On the [words indistinct] Stokely Carmichael called for armed insurgence inside the towns in order to disrupt the life of the whites. The Negro leader went on to say: This violence will become a natural thing because we live in a society which is a most violent one.

The leader of the colored Americans noted: Our battle is not only a battle against racism, but it is a battle against the structure, systems, and values of the United States. Thus we must march on a number of levels, including the struggle for the restoration of the personality of the American black people, by rejecting the culture imposed by colonialism. In order to restore the dignity of the colored, a true history of the oppressed people must be written.

Carmichael went on to say: The existing contradictions, whether in the cultural, economic, or political fields, cannot be removed except by arms. The colored leader then noted that his movement (will resist) assimilation.

Answering a question, Carmichael said: Lyndon Johnson speaks about law, security, and peace, but he never speaks about justice. Our struggle is the fight against tyranny. With regard to our national allies in our struggle, we must rally together with all of the oppressed people in the world. As for the white man who is ready to bear arms, he can fight with us but on condition that there should be between us absolute equality.

He said that (he would) return to the United States because he wished to, but he refused to refer to the countries he intended to visit after leaving Algeria.

Carmichael referred to the imperialist-Zionist aggression and said: One of the reasons for my visit to Algeria, in addition to its being the largest revolutionary country in Africa, is that I want to show the world that the American blacks stand by the side of the Arabs against the imperialist-Zionist aggression. He said: The Zionists transgress on the Arabs instead of fighting their white brethren who insulted them for 2,000 years. If the Jews want to establish a state, why did not their friends give them a part of Germany at the end of the war?

He concluded his statement by saying: The archenemy of the colored power movement is Lyndon Johnson.

Additional Remarks

Algiers Correspondent's Dispatch in French to NCNA Peking 1450 GMT 13 Sep 67 E
(FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Excerpts] Algiers, 13 September--Black American leader Stokely Carmichael declared in a press conference in Algiers this morning: The only path for the Afro-Americans to follow in liberating themselves is armed struggle. Our struggle is not a racial struggle. We want in this struggle to destroy the very structure of the capitalist regime of the United States of America.

Carmichael said: Mao Tse-tung has said that war is the extension of political contradictions. [Words indistinct] against these contradictions in order to resolve them at many levels. But when they cannot be solved by the usual methods a war must be fought. In our eyes the greatest political contradiction is the capitalist system of the United States; only violence can destroy it.

The black American leader stressed the fact that one must not look for a legal struggle. He said: "In a capitalist society legality means capitalist power, law, and order. We do not want Johnson's legality in the United States; we want legitimacy." Carmichael added, "Mao Tse-tung has said: We must support everything our enemy is fighting and fight everything he supports. When Johnson says: What you are doing is illegal, that is very good."

When asked to comment on the nonviolence that is constantly preached by Reverend King, who has sold himself to the American capitalists, Carmichael said: "We live in the most violent and the most disgusting country in the world. To encourage the Afro-Americans to be nonviolent in the face of the violence of the whites is to drive them to suicide. An individual may commit suicide if he wishes, but is it a crime for him to ask others to commit suicide with him. If someone wishes to sing songs and proclaim 'we can win' in the face of a white threatening him with a machinegun, that is his business. Myself, I want a machinegun too."

Carmichael sharply criticized the counterrevolutionary doctrine of peaceful coexistence advocated by modern revisionists. He said: "We are treated like dogs. Our desire to coexist peacefully has been regarded as a sign of weakness. One cannot coexist with savages. There is no question of peaceful coexistence for us. We are also against those who take the path of peaceful coexistence to the detriment of the other peoples of the third world."

He continued: "To cooperate with a imperialist country is to be a part of that imperialist country directly or indirectly. Those who join themselves to imperialism, those who have ties with imperialism will have their failure within five years. As far as we are concerned our task is to destroy imperialism from the United States to Israel."

Asked whether he intends to visit other African countries, such as Mali and Guinea, Carmichael avoided revealing his travel plans, saying "You will see." To the question of whether his movement expects to accredit representatives to any African countries, he replied: "Yes, certainly."

CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN CAIRO AS AAPSO GUEST

Arrival Remarks

Cairo MENA in Arabic 1940 GMT 16 Sep 67 M

[Text] Cairo--U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael arrived in Cairo from Algiers tonight on a few days visit during which he will call on UAR officials to expound the cause of U.S. Negroes. He was received at Cairo airport by two men from the Cuban Embassy staff in Cairo.

In a statement on his arrival, Carmichael said: If violence is the only method left to achieve the rights of Negroes in the United States, then let it be so. I am primarily a man of peace, but through violence I shall destroy those who deny peace to us.

Carmichael went on: I think some white men may try to assassinate me, but I don't care. Commenting on the imperialist Israeli aggression against the Arab states, Carmichael said: I consider that the state of Israel represents the U.S. presence in the Middle East.

Meets AAPSO Officials

Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 17 Sep 67 M

[Text] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael today met with the members of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) in Cairo. He explained to the Secretariat members the views of U.S. Negroes on racial discrimination, pointing out that the Negroes resorted to violence and armed struggle only when they failed to attain equality and to preserve their rights through peaceful struggles.

Carmichael arrived in Cairo yesterday evening for a visit that will last a few days. He is the guest of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization.

RECORDED STATEMENT BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 15 Sep 67 B

[Text] Announcer: What about you, colored GI's? We have had opportunities to tell you over our radio that your enemy is not here in Vietnam. Yes, how can your enemy be here, 10,000 miles from home when we have not come to your country to do harm to the people?

This time it is not we but one of your fellow-countrymen that is dwelling now on the same subject. Speaking to us when we came here as a guest and a colored brother who is oppressed too, Mr Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the colored people in the United States, said as follows, and here is his voice:

Carmichael [recorded]: Even today many of my own people are on your soil, clothed in an imperialist uniform, murdering your people, raping your homeland for the benefit of an imperialist power, the United States. None of them know why they are here or why they fight. The Vietnamese people are a peace-loving people. You have done nothing to any people. You have not enslaved my people, you do not exploit my people. You do not oppress my people, you do not discriminate against my people, you do not bring hunger on my people, you do not keep my people uneducated, you do not keep my people poor.

All these things are done to my people by the white power structure of the United States. And even (?after)--and even after having done all these things against my people, they want us to fight not against them, who are the real enemy, but against you, a people we do not even know.

Announcer: While you are [words indistinct] everywhere in South Vietnam, Mr Stokely Carmichael was welcomed by the Vietnamese people as a friend and a brother. Why so? Because you have been sent here by the U.S. Government to kill and destroy on our soil, while Carmichael came to us not with a gun but with the hearts of the colored people in America to tell us how they have the same fight in the United States as we have here in Vietnam. Mr Stokely Carmichael said:

Carmichael: The fight of the (?colored) Americans is not in Vietnam. Our fight is in the United States. Our fight is in New York, Detroit, and Chicago, and all over the United States.

Announcer: Mr Stokely Carmichael has spoken out what the colored people in the States are thinking of Vietnam. What about you, colored GI's?

79

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN DAMASCUS

Damascus MENA in Arabic to MENA Cairo 0750 GMT 19 Sep 67 M

[Text] Damascus--Negro leader Stokely Carmichael arrived in Damascus this morning from Cairo at the invitation of the Syrian committee of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO). He was received at Damascus airport by AALAPSO representatives and a representative of the Foreign Ministry. Carmichael will stay in Damascus three days and will contact the Bath party command, Syrian government officials, and members of the Syrian AALAPSO committee of AALAPSO.

Carmichael has already visited Algeria and the UAR.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL CONTINUES DAMASCUS VISIT

Criticism of 'Israeli Aggression'

Beirut RNS in Arabic 1515 GMT 19 Sep 67 M

[Excerpt] Damascus--In a press statement in Damascus today, American black power advocate Stokely Carmichael accused U.S. "senior officials" of cooperating with Zionism. He also denounced the recent "Israeli aggression" against the Arab states.

Afro-Asian Committee Talks

Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1515 GMT 19 Sep 67 M

[Excerpt] American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael began his talks at noon today with the Syrian committee for Afro-Asian solidarity. The talks dealt with cooperation among the liberation forces in the Asian, African, and Latin American states. They also dealt with the question of the black revolution in America and its adoption of armed struggle to achieve the full political and social rights of the Negroes.

CARMICHAEL DESCRIBES U.S. SLUM CONDITIONS

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 18 Sep 67 B

[Text] What are you dying for, colored GI's? We guess that these passages are not alien to you: Mine is a big country, but I live in the poorest part; I know I am on a dead-end street in a city without a heart.

One of your brothers, a leader of the colored people in the states, Mr Stokely Carmichael, has told us in detail about how your homefolks are living while you are dying 10,000 miles from home. This is what he said in his own voice [voice with American accent follows]:

"I cannot begin to describe to you in words the treatment our people receive inside the United States. The United States is the richest country in the world, yet daily there are people dying of hunger. In the southern part of the country, our people are murdered at the hands of white racists. And these murders go unpunished. Our people are forced to work for wages with not enough for them to buy food.

"In the south, we are forced to live in slums while white people live in mansions. We are forced to live 11 people to a room with no running water, no electricity, no heat. All of these conditions we must endure in the richest country in the world. Our children are forced to [words indistinct] where animals would not live. Our mothers are forced to [word indistinct] for white people in order for us to eat carp. In the northern part of the United States, life for us is no better. We are forced to get huddled up like pigs, like animals. We live in houses with rats which bite our children and inflict diseases.

"I could go on and on, comrades, explaining to you in gruesome detail the horrible life we are forced to live under the white masters of the United States. Just imagine, as the punishment which we have been forced to endure by the barbarians for over 20 years if we have to live with for over 400 years." [sentence as heard]

Colored GI's, we know that you, the colored people in America, ask first and [words indistinct] in a very hard way, although you were supposedly freed over one century ago. We just want to ask you: Why then did you come to fight and die here halfway around the world from your homeland? Because we Vietnamese don't want to be slaves, we are fighting to get liberation and freedom for our country. You can get the same [words indistinct] your people have to fight for back home.

Why did you leave them there in want and segregation to come here against us, against our fight for freedom? What can your loved ones get from your being here? Some usury money and that's all, with always the same hell of a life with the same slums, the same death, the same police brutality. And when the war is over, you may always be in the same wretched condition of life you have to return to. This assumes that you can [word indistinct] by communist Vietnam [words indistinct] return home for good [words indistinct] be killed somewhere in this alien land. Then what are you dying for, colored GI's?

CARMICHAEL PRAISES CASSIUS CLAY'S DEFIANCE

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 20 Sep 67 B

[Text] What do the home folks think of Vietnam? While you are fighting and dying here, 10,000 miles from the states, what do the colored people back home think of this war? We have time and again told you that they are opposing Johnson's war in [words indistinct] numbers all over the States.

This time one of your fellow countrymen in his own voice will tell you about the feeling at home about Vietnam. Here is Stokely Carmichael, a young man like you and a leader of the colored people in America. He came to our country some time ago, not with a gun but with the friendship of the oppressed colored people of America. Here is what he told us:

"We are here today in your country, not in the uniform of the imperialists but in the uniform of humanity, to tell you that we are building a strong movement in the United States--a movement where black people, young black people like myself, are refusing to serve the imperialists' armed forces.

"The penalty for refusing to serve in the armed forces of the imperialists is five years in jail. And thousands of young black men are saying to the imperialists: 'We would rather spend five years in jail than wear your [word indistinct] uniform.'

"We know the United States propaganda agencies will not let this news outside their shores, but the movement is (?growing) every day. Our slogan is very, very simple: Hell, no, we will not go.

"This movement includes not only black colored students, black working class youth, but also includes a heavyweight champion of the world, Mr Mohammed Ali, who told them to go to jail rather than wear the uniform of the imperialists [as heard]. The imperialists have responded to Mr Ali by stopping him from fighting in the ring, [words indistinct] means of living [words indistinct] not able to crush his spirit. He is a young black man, age 25; he is not political but is a human being who loves mankind and hates injustice.

"Let me read to you the words of Ali when he refused to put on the uniform of the United States: No, I am not going 10,000 miles from here to help murder and kill and burn another poor people, simply to help continue the domination of white slave masters over the dark people the world over. Mr Mohammed Ali, whose foreign name was Cassius Clay, is a representative of the segment of our struggle, the segment which we call the draft-resistance movement."

CARMICHAEL MEETS WITH ZUAYYIN, BATH OFFICER

Meeting With Zuayyin

Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1115 GMT, 21 Sep. 67 M

[Text] At 1030 Prime Minister Yusuf Zuayyin received American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael this morning. The Prime Minister explained to him the aims of the revolution in the Syrian Arab Republic and exchanged views with him about the common struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

[Damascus MENA in Arabic to MENA Cairo at 1210 GMT 21 September reports that: Stokely Carmichael will hold a press conference in Damascus at 2000 today to speak about the Negro movement in the United States and its relation to the world liberation movement and the struggle against racism.]

Trade Union, Bath Talks

Damascus SYRIAN ARAB NEWS AGENCY in Arabic 1240 GMT 20 Sep 67 M

[Text] Damascus--U.S. Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael has declared that Negroes feel deeply that they are linked with the Arabs both politically and nonpolitically. He added that the Arab homeland stretches to Africa and since U.S. Negroes are Africans, it is their duty to fight the common enemy alongside the Arabs because they are linked together by human bonds and the bonds of the homeland.

Carmichael was addressing the chairman and members of the executive council of the General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions. He declared that U.S. Negroes are determined to fight from New York to California either to achieve victory or to be completely exterminated. He said: We have decided to adhere to justice and right in all the issues we face. Our adherence to justice will not take the form of mere words but of armed struggle. For this reason we cannot stand idle toward the cause for which your people are struggling to deter the Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland.

This morning Carmichael visited the headquarters of the Regional Command of the Socialist Arab Bath Party where he met with member of the Regional Command Comrade Habib Haddad, who explained the aims of the Bath Party and its strategy in the struggle. He also explained the role of Arab struggle and its importance in the liberation struggle throughout the world. Comrade Haddad explained to Carmichael the nature of the false Israeli existence in the Arab homeland and its role in implementing the designs of world imperialism. He then spoke of the recent Zionist-imperialist aggression and explained its aims. He affirmed that the Arab people are determined to continue the struggle against imperialism to remove the effects of aggression so the Arab homeland may become an effective force capable of liberating mankind from all forms of exploitation.

CARMICHAEL SAYS HE IS CHASED BY CIA, ZIONISM

Beirut RNS in Arabic 1945 GMT 21 Sep 67 M (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Damascus--The advocate of black power in the United States, Stokely Carmichael, said here tonight, "the CIA and World Zionism" are chasing him and that he expects the U.S. authorities to arrest him on his eventual return home in two or three months at most. Carmichael did not mention what country he will go to after he leaves Syria. He said his movements are kept secret "lest the CIA take advantage of them."

In a statement read to the press, Carmichael said U.S. Negroes "consider themselves as living in colonies within the United States. He said this means they are suffering the same persecution suffered by the inhabitants of colonies outside the United States." Carmichael declared that the only solution to the problem of the U.S. "Africans" is "armed struggle to demolish the existing regime in the United States by force."

The Negro leader asserted that his organization is now challenging and fighting Zionist propaganda in the United States and the Western world. Carmichael added that Zionism has been aiding Negro organizations to control them, "but these organizations have now severed their relations with Zionism after discovering their true nature as an integral part of U.S. imperialism."

Carmichael said: "Our support for the Arabs and for their legitimate right in Palestine is total and absolute." He accused the United States of having plotted with Israel against the Arabs on 5 June 1967, as well as against the progressive regimes in this area. Carmichael commented on Mao Tse-tung and the CPR cultural revolution, which he said "is a good action from the ideological aspect."

CARMICHAEL RETURNS TO ALGIERS FROM SYRIA

Paris APP in Spanish 0113 GMT 23 Sep 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Algiers--After visiting the UAR and Syria Stokely Carmichael, leader of the black power political movement returned to Algiers. Concerning the Israeli-Arab problem, Carmichael declared that Syria's watchword was liberation and not negotiation. In Damascus Carmichael was received by the leaders of the Bath Party, as well as by Premier Yusuf Zuayyin.

CARMICHAEL CONFERS WITH FLN: LEAVES FOR GUINEA

Talks With FLN Head

Algiers Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 25 Sep 67 L

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, who is now in Algeria at the invitation of the FLN, had a long conversation this evening with Cherif Belkacem at the party headquarters. The FLN coordinator and the black power advocate spoke about the results of Carmichael's sojourn in Algeria and the foundations for a fruitful cooperation. This afternoon the American Negro leader visited the junior FLN national secretariat.

During his talks with its national secretary and other officials, they discussed the problems of youth and international solidarity, as well as more effective cooperation between the forces of the third world.

26 September Departure

Paris AFP in English 1030 GMT 26 Sep 67 E

[Text] Algiers--Stokely Carmichael, U.S. black power leader, left here today for Conakry on another leg of his current tour of third world revolutionary countries. In Guinea, the sixth country on his itinerary so far, he will be the guest of President Sekou Toure and will sit in on the ruling Guinean Democratic Party's congress which started yesterday.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN CONAKRY FOR PDG CONGRESS

26 September Arrival

Paris AFP in French 2315 GMT 26 Sep 67 E

[Text] Dakar--According to the Voice of the Revolution radio monitored in Dakar, Stokely Carmichael, American black extremist leader, arrived Tuesday afternoon in Conakry, where he is to attend the eighth congress of the Guinea Democratic Party (PDG).

Carmichael declared on leaving the plane that he was happy to put his foot on mother Africa's soil for the first time and to make contact with the Guinean realities. He did not say how long he intended to stay in Guinea or where he expected to go afterwards.

Interview Upon Arrival

Conakry Guinea Domestic Service in French 2000 GMT 26 Sep 67 N

[Interview with Stokely Carmichael on his arrival in Conakry on 26 September--recorded]

[Text] Question: Mr. Carmichael, you have just arrived in Conakry. This is certainly your first visit to Conakry?

Answer: Yes, this is my first visit.

Question: (?I am happy) about your visit to Conakry and I believe that you have come to attend the eighth congress of the Guinea Democratic Party.

Answer: Well, yes, that is part of the reason. And (?also) Africa is the motherland of the Afro-Americans, and whenever we have a chance, we should return to the motherland. That is why we have come to Conakry. We have also come at the invitation of the PDG of Guinea because Guinea is one of the revolutionary countries in Africa and is pushing forward the country's revolutionary concept in Africa. [Words indistinct] Therefore we have come to Guinea to try to learn some of the things that the people of Guinea are doing. We have come also to celebrate the national day on 2 October.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ADDRESSES MILITIA GROUP

Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1710 GMT 3 Oct 67 E

[Text] Conakry, Guinea, 2 October--By Teofilo Acosta--U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael and the famous South African singer Miriam Makeba visited today, without prior invitation, the fifth battalion of the People's Militia of Guinea in the second military zone of the capital. On their arrival Carmichael and Miss Makeba were immediately recognized by more than 400 men and women who, during a torrential downpour, were engaged in rifle and grenade practice.

The militiamen gathered on orders from the battalion commander, the young Guinean Konde Holea, whose command was drowned out by cheers for the visitors from the militiamen who waved their rifles. Carmichael engaged in practice with the militia, whose women--all young girls of not more than 20 years of age--were demonstrating their ability in rifle shooting and grenade throwing, hitting surprising targets in both exercises.

Shortly thereafter, under a constant rainfall, Miss Makeba addressed the militiamen, who listened to her with the same attention as when the world famous singer is on the stage. "I feel very proud to be here among my African brothers, seeing them training militarily to help in the liberation of Africa," she said. "Really I know only how to sing," she continued, "but I wish to tell you that I am anxiously awaiting the time when my oppressed country, South Africa, will be able to achieve the freedom which the people of Guinea have achieved under the leadership of Sekou Toure."

The climactic moment of the impromptu meeting occurred when U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael delivered an impressive speech to the armed crowd. "Today the Africans on this continent, we Africans fighting in the United States, and all the oppressed of the world are shedding their blood in order to free themselves from imperialist exploitation," he said. "In this fight," he added, "the blood of the imperialists will also be shed and the victory will be ours." He emphasized: "The correct road is the one you have chosen under the leadership of Sekou Toure: taking up arms and being ready to kill the enemy who has killed so many patriots throughout the world, such as Lumumba and Malcolm X."

The militiamen sang revolutionary songs and the girls embraced Miriam Makeba, for whom this visit, according to her own statements, is her first experience with young Guineans armed with rifles and modern weapons and with an ideological concept which goes against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

Later, Cuban Ambassador Oscar Oramas gave a luncheon at the Cuban Embassy in Conakry, which was attended by high-ranking Guinean officials, as well as Carmichael, Miriam Makeba, and the delegations from the DRV, the NPLSV, the DPRK, and Algeria, who had attended the eighth congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

Cuban Communist Party member Maj Victor Drecke spoke at the reception and emphasized again the support of the Cuban revolution for the Vietnam struggle, for the struggle of the North American Negro, and for the struggle of all revolutionaries fighting throughout the world, "for whom, as our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro said, our people are ready to give even their blood."

The delegation heads also spoke briefly, expressing their support for the Cuban revolution. Miss Makeba sang two of her own songs relating to the troubles of the South African Negroes and telling of their struggle to liquidate the racist minority which, with imperialist support, controls her country.

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SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

*REPORTAGE AND COMMENT ON STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS ABROAD
FROM 6 OCTOBER TO 12 DECEMBER 1967*

*For Official Use Only
15 DECEMBER 1967
FB 07/67*

*For earlier related materials see
FBIS Special Memorandum "Reportage
and Comment on Stokely Carmichael's
Activities and Statements Abroad"*

Dated 9 October 1967

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CONTENTS

Stokely Carmichael claims threats from U.S. Embassy officials demanding his passport in Guinea	1
Hanoi broadcast of Algerian interview quotes Carmichael as saying African Americans will refuse to fight	1
Carmichael says he refused to surrender passport to U.S. Embassy in Conakry	2
Havana radio from Conakry interview has Carmichael saying that Vietnam uses technology to save while North American imperialism uses technology to destroy	2
Conakry interview via Havana radio quotes Carmichael on four impressions of Vietnam and his "burn to the ground" threat for the United States	3
Carmichael in Algiers interview over Paris radio says Christian people are the most violent	4
Paris reports from Stockholm that Carmichael supports Swedish Vietnam protest	4
Comments on bombing of Guinean village	5
Expresses sorrow at death of Che Guevara	5
From Algiers, Paris reports that Carmichael expects death upon return to United States and quotes him: "we shall change America or destroy it"	5
In Cairo, Carmichael advocates Palestinian government; his movement will boycott next U.S. presidential elections	6
Cairo news service says Carmichael expects arrest and attempts on his life upon return to U.S.; that his movement aims to destroy capitalist structure and private ownership	7
Carmichael's recorded broadcast from Hanoi on patriotism claims the black man has no country; that his country is his color	8
Interview with Carmichael upon his second visit to Cairo quotes him as saying that armed struggle is American Africans' only hope	9
Cuban radio correspondent in Guinea says Carmichael declares Guevara's death will not halt revolution in Latin America	12
Recorded statement by Carmichael in Hanoi broadcast reflects on U.S. war history; concludes "let white man fight the war"	12

✓ Task of American Negroes is to create many Vietnams within the United States, says Carmichael according to Havana broadcast	14
Havana says Carmichael will attend Tanzania conference of African nationalists	15
Letter to U.S. Negroes via Cuban radio says Guevara left guidance and inspiration to create Vietnams in the U.S.	16
Havana broadcasts another Conakry interview on death of Che Guevara	17
Prague news service quotes Carmichael departing Tanzania as "going back to hell, the United States"	18
✓ Black Power means weapons, guerrilla war according to Paris broadcast of Carmichael interview in Sweden	18
Carmichael arrives in Copenhagen for Russell tribunal	19
✓ NPLSV and Black Power movement both fight the same enemy, the United States of America, according to Oslo broadcast of Carmichael remarks; already living apartheid; will organize to fight the CIA	19
Carmichael to return to U.S. from Denmark and will try to organize action groups from returning Negro Vietnam veterans; says CIA ready to murder Negroes, Havana domestic broadcast reports	23
National Vietnam Committee in Paris demands release of Carmichael detained at Orly Airport, reports French news service	24
French grant Carmichael three-month entry visa; friends say he will leave for U.S. in less than week	24
Radio Havana interviews Carmichael in Paris; comments on Guevara, Russell tribunal, Negro Olympic boycott	25
TASS report from New York on Carmichael's return to U.S. broadcast from Moscow	26

ADDENDA

[Following are translations issued after 6 October 1967 but originally published in foreign press and periodicals previous to that date.]

Havana weekly VERDE OLIVO interview with Carmichael 13 August 1967	27
Czech gives views on LASO Conference, discusses Carmichael's appearance and views -- Prague REPORTER, 22 September 1967	31
Havana PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, September 1967, interviews Carmichael's colleague George Ware who elaborates on Carmichael's call for guerrilla warfare in U.S.	37 ✓
Life and views of Stokely Carmichael as expressed for Prague STUDENT, No, 39, 27 September 1967	45

CARMICHAEL CHARGES THREATS FROM U.S. EMBASSY

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2203 GMT 6 Oct 67 P

[Text] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael charged today he is the target of pressure and threats from U.S. Embassy officials in Guinea. Carmichael told PRENSA LATINA in Conakry that on 30 September he was stopped by an embassy official at the hotel he is living in. The Yankee diplomat demanded that he turn over his passport to him but the Negro leader declined.

Carmichael charged that this was the second time the Washington government has tried to interfere in his right to travel peacefully. He said that the first time was in Madrid when several officials waited for him at the airport for over 24 hours. When I found out about it, I had to change my route, he said. Concluding, the North American Negro leader reaffirmed that he would travel wherever and whenever he pleased.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED IN ALGIERS

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 9 Oct 67 B

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Students Nonviolent Coordination Committee, recently arrived in Algiers after a visit to the DRV. He was interviewed on 7 September by a reporter for the ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE. Here are portions of the talk:

ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE: What does your trip to Hanoi represent?

Carmichael: It signifies that the African Americans will not only refuse to fight in the war in Vietnam but will move closer and join hands with their Vietnamese brothers. [Words indistinct] (?all are) Americans who are concerned about Vietnam. Our position is that we not only want to see the United States stop bombing and put an end to its aggressive war, we want the Vietnamese to win the war and kick the United States out.

ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE: The (?tempo) and violence of the struggle of the black Americans (?is) indicative of a new phase. Where (?do you find) that struggle today?

Carmichael: The struggle is for the control of the African American communities in the United States by the African Americans. That is the most (?initial) struggle. But as we know, today's struggles are not isolated, but interrelated. Our struggle is to destroy the imperialist structure of the United States which exploits us. We have had to pay for our existence in the United States for over 400 years. The price we have paid for our existence has been lynching, burning, and the (?bombing) of our houses, schools, and churches. As [words indistinct] told us that peaceful coexistence is nothing but (?more abuse) of the status quo. The [words indistinct] and struggle is the only solution.

CARMICHAEL REFUSES TO SURRENDER U.S. PASSPORT

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 9 Oct 67 L

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, leader of the U.S. Negroes, who is presently in Conakry following the work of the eighth conference of the Guinea Democratic Party, made a statement to the APS correspondent. He said that he refused to surrender his passport to the envoy of the U.S. Embassy in Conakry.

Carmichael added that the U.S. State Department is studying a plan to silence him. In conclusion he stressed that the struggle of his Negro brothers in the United States comes under the heading of the general movement led by the revolutionary movements in the third world against imperialism.

CARMICHAEL PRAISES VIETNAMESE TECHNOLOGY

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 11 Oct 67 F

[Report on interview with Stokely Carmichael in Conakry; Carmichael's voice, in English, is heard faintly in the background occasionally-recorded]

[Text] This is Teofilo Acosta, correspondent for the Cuban Institute of Radio Broadcasting, speaking to you from Conakry, the capital of Guinea in western Africa.

Carmichael: "...because they are afraid that tomorrow they might die, but in Vietnam one sees the opposite, one sees life. The country is full of"

Acosta: The voice that you heard is that of Stokely Carmichael when he arrived at this capital and made some exclusive statements for the ICR. Stokely Carmichael declared that the North American Negroes will continue their fight against racial discrimination and the North American imperialist government without truce. Carmichael, who comes here after making a tour which included the DRV, the UAR, Syria, and Algeria, declared that he was greatly impressed by the position of all the countries he visited. He said that the Vietnamese people are accomplishing an extraordinary task in their struggle against the aggressions by North American imperialism. He pointed out that Vietnam is using technology to save humanity while North American imperialism is using its technology to destroy humanity.

As an example of this, he said that Vietnamese doctors are already able to heal anyone injured by napalm bombs in only two and one half months.

Carmichael said that the Vietnamese people, from Ho Chi Minh down to the simple peasants, are indignant because of the North American policy toward the Negro population of the United States.

In conclusion, Carmichael sent the following message to the Cuban people: Keep your eyes open to the maneuvers of the United States and continue being as revolutionary as ever.

CARMICHAEL DISCUSSES IMPRESSIONS OF VIETNAM

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 13 Oct 67 F

[Exclusive interview by Cuban radio special correspondent Telfilo Acosta in Conakry, Guinea, with Stokely Carmichael; passages in quotation marks in Carmichael's voice in English with remainder of remarks rendered from superimposed Spanish]

[Text] Acosta: Could you give us your impressions of your trip?

Carmichael: "Well, we have been very impressed with all the countries we have visited," especially after having been in Cuba, because we have found that many of these countries have noted that we are on the eve of world war III, that in order for humanity to survive "we must begin to come closer, and that most of the countries in the third world are beginning to move closer together."

Acosta: Do you have any special impression of your visit to Vietnam?

Carmichael: "Yes, there were four things that impressed me very much about Vietnam. The first was the attitude of the people of Vietnam." It is not the usual one of a country at war. For example, when a country is at war the people try to enjoy life, to live faster. There is more drinking, more promiscuity, more gambling, "because they are afraid that tomorrow they might die. But in Vietnam one sees the opposite. One sees life. The country is full of life. People just continue doing the same thing they were going to do as if they were not going to die. They plan and build for the future and it is very, very impressive because the Vietnamese people have not allowed war to define their attitude to life, but they define their own attitude to life.

"Secondly, another thing that was very impressive about Vietnam: is that Vietnam, being a small country, has used what technology it has for the benefit of mankind. Ironically, the United States, one of the largest and one of the most technologically advanced countries of the world, has been using "its technology to destroy human beings. For example, after the United States napalms victims in Vietnam, the Vietnamese doctors can cure somebody who has been napalmed in two and one half months without a scar, which is absolutely remarkable given the technological sciences that they have and their techniques and equipment that they have at their disposal.

"Thirdly, the other things that will impress anyone who visited Vietnam" is that the Vietnamese people live very close to the land. I mean that wherever one goes and one sees people with their trousers rolled up working in the mud very close to the land. Their houses in the rural areas are on the land itself.

Finally, I was very impressed by the Vietnamese people because wherever I went, "from President Ho Chi Minh right down to the ordinary peasant, the first thing they would say to me "was that they were indignant" at the treatment of the Afro-American by white America, and they held solidarity meetings with the African-Americans, and I thought: 'here is a little country being bombed by the United States--and I mean their hands were certainly full--but they can take time out to be concerned about other oppressed people.' We are very impressed about that."

Acosta: What do you think about the future of the Negro struggle in the United States?

Carmichael: "We all think in a way that is definite that we are going to continue to struggle." The United States is preparing to use its repressive agencies even more. Last week, in a meeting of chiefs of police, Johnson almost told them that when we caused any problems they should simply pull their nightsticks and revolvers and shoot us down in the streets. He blamed Negro leaders for all the problems presently arising in the United States and said that they are the ones who cause all the problems--instead of blaming the structure of the United States, which is a corrupt structure "and enslaves the African-American and other people around the world. Now that it is clear that the repressive agencies are going to become more and more brutal," it is clear that we must struggle more. We will intensify internal struggle and, in spite of everything, we are going to struggle. We will win our "rights and live like human beings inside the United States or we are going to burn the country down to the ground."

Acosta: Do you have any special message for the Cuban people?

Carmichael: "Yes, I think that you ought to always keep your eyes open, watch out for the Organization of American States, and keep on being revolutionary."

Acosta: Thank you very much, Stokely Carmichael.

[Paris Domestic Service in French at 1500 GMT on 15 October citing an Algiers weekly's interview with Stokely Carmichael published on 15 October, reported Carmichael as saying: In the world, it is the Christian peoples who are the most violent. Cardinal Spellman, who is an American, hurries off to Vietnam to tell the American Army to kill. And in Africa, behind the missionary, there is a mercenary.]

CARMICHAEL SUPPORTS SWEDISH VIETNAM PROTEST

Paris APP in English 2250 GMT 15 Oct 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Stockholm--Swedish opponents of American intervention in Vietnam today began a week of protest with a meeting here that included a message of support from American black nationalist leader Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael's message gave cordial support from U.S. Negroes to the protest. A protest march through Stockholm on 21 October will end the weeklong protest by supporters of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

Carmichael Statement on Raid

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1937 GMT 16 Oct 67 F

[Text] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael charged in Conakry in a statement to PRENSA LATINA that the recent Portuguese bombing of the Guinean village of (Jakondi) might be the beginning of large-scale attacks against Guinea in pursuit of well-defined objectives.

CARMICHAEL CITES GUEVARA'S LEGACY OF IDEAS

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1423 GMT 19 Oct 67 F

[Text] From the blood of Guevara will rise new revolutionaries, and those of us who are already revolutionaries will be stronger, more intransigent, braver, declared North American Negro Stokely Carmichael. After expressing his sorrow at the death of the heroic guerrilla major, the U.S. Negro leader declared that this is not the time for tears but for a battle to the death against the common enemy of all peoples. Carmichael, who is an observer to the eighth congress of the Guinea Democratic Party in Conakry, said that if imperialism believes that by murdering Guevara it can hold back the revolution in Latin America and the rest of the world, it is terribly mistaken.

CARMICHAEL EXPECTS DEATH UPON RETURN TO U.S.

Paris APP in English 1815 GMT 19 Oct 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Club des Pins, Algiers--Stokely Carmichael, American black power advocate, said today that he plans to return to the United States to probable death. Carmichael, who arrived here from Conakry, Guinea, last night, said that he will return to the United States within two months after visiting a number of other African countries. He said that he is certain he will be killed like the late black nationalist leader Malcolm X, who was assassinated in 1965.

But, he added, in an interview with APP, the great black revolts of the past summer might not have occurred if Malcom had not been killed. And if they kill me...he smiled and would not elaborate.

Elaborating on this theme in an interview with the Algerian news agency ALGERIE PRESSE SERVICE (APS), Carmichael, in a commentary on the reported death of Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, said that from the blood of Che Guevara will be (?born) a thousand Che Guevaras. Guevara's death will not put an end to the world liberation movement, he said. On the contrary, his blood will be the nourishment for the full development of the liberation movements. His death will lead us to struggle even harder. I shall do so personally, and I hope that when death comes to me, it will come as it did to Che. Che, in dying, showed us the road that we must follow. We now have the duty to humanity, and to ourselves, to insure that his work is carried through to

completion. In the heart of Afro-Americans the death of Che can only render his presence more alive.

He confirmed that U.S. Embassy officials in Conakry had attempted to invalidate his passport. He said: What the State Department really wants, in attempting to restrict my movements, is to prevent the inevitable link-up between Afro-Americans and the countries of the third world. In his interview with APP, Carmichael said that he had talks in Conakry with Guinean President Sekou Toure and former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah.

He said: Africa is ripe for revolution. The people need grassroots leaders to mobilize them. Carmichael said that Africa must be liberated with guns, particularly South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. He hoped black Americans would help in this liberation.

As for the Negro struggle in the United States, he said: We shall change America or destroy it.

He spoke with passion of the fight of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and North Vietnam against U.S. forces. They fight for all of us--for the Cubans, for the Latin Americans, for the black Americans, for the world.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN CAIRO FROM ALGIERS

Cair MENA in Arabic 2120 GMT 21 Oct 67 M (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Cairo--Stokely Carmichael, a U.S. Negro leader arrived, in Cairo this evening from Algiers for a four-day visit, after which he will go to Tanzania. He stated on arrival that he will meet with UAR officials to explain the U.S. Negro problem.

Statement to MENA

Cairo MENA in Arabic 1525 GMT 24 Oct 67 M (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Cairo--In an exclusive statement to MENA, U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael today declared that it is obvious Israel wants to seize the Suez Canal and that the incident resulting in the sinking of the destroyer Eilat is merely a part of Israel's attempt to gain passage through the canal.

Speaking about the Middle East crisis and the Palestine problem, Carmichael, who is now visiting the UAR, said that in his opinion the only solution is the restoration of Palestine to its owners. The Jews now living in Israel should be allowed to live in Palestine under a Palestinian government. If this solution does not work, the Arabs have no alternative but to bear arms and fight.

Commenting on the death of revolutionary Ernesto Guevara, Carmichael said he died as each of us should--carrying a rifle in his hand. Carmichael added: Guevara died as he had lived. His death will strengthen the liberation movements in Latin American countries.

Carmichael also said that during his present visit to Cairo, he has succeeded in acquainting himself with the UAR Government's view on the Middle East crisis. The Egyptian people's morale was boosted greatly by the sinking of the Israeli destroyer Eilat. The popular masses are prepared to fight.

The "black power" leader also noted that his movement will boycott the next presidential elections in the United States. Some of the organization's immediate aims are to bolster its relations with the third world states and to organize the resistance movement intends to open offices in certain African states.

In conclusion Carmichael said he intends to return to the United States in the very near future, but will go from Cairo to Copenhagen first where he will attend sessions of Russell's international war crimes tribunal.

CARMICHAEL LEAVES UAR, WILL RETURN TO U.S.

Leaves for Tanzania

Cairo MENA in Arabic 1955 GMT 27 Oct 67 M (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Cairo--U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael left Cairo today for Dar es Salaam after a four-day visit to Cairo. During his visit he held talks with the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization's officials about the Negro problem and racial discrimination in the United States.

In Tanzania Carmichael will explain his views on the Negro problem and racial discrimination. Carmichael will then visit Copenhagen for the same purpose.

Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Yusuf as-Sibai was at the airport to bid him farewell.

Statement to AKHBAR AL-YAWM

Cairo MENA in Arabic 0920 GMT 28 Oct 67 M (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Cairo--U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael has stated that he will return to the United States at the end of his current tour of third world countries even though he expects that he will be arrested and that attempts will be made on his life. Carmichael said: "My place is there, even though it may be in prison." His statement appears in today's AKHBAR AL-YAWM. The Negro leader said the black power movement

which he heads will neither permit white U.S. racist organizations nor the imperialists to intimidate the black strugglers. Intimidation, he said, is a form of imperialist deceit. Imperialists intimidate the people so as to render them passive.

Carmichael explained that the first urgent mission of the black power movement is to liberate "the internal and racial colonies" in the United States from white domination. He added: We in the Harlem Quarter of New York, the black quarter, must liberate the political, cultural, economic, and military organizations from white domination.

Carmichael added that the second mission of the movement is to destroy the capitalist structure of the United States and to eliminate private ownership. Carmichael said that white people who suffer from capitalist exploitation can join the movement in carrying out this second mission. He said the movement aims at destroying the U.S. imperialist structure, "a structure which hinders the development of the third world. This second mission includes a number of details, such as destruction of the military-industrial network of the United States."

Carmichael said the black governments of black communities in the United States will form a government to replace the U.S. Government. He said the peoples of the third world will cut the claws of imperialism, claws that extend to many places of the world, "while our mission will be to cut off imperialism's head to keep new claws from growing."

The Negro leader said it is necessary to wage a continuous struggle with all means and resources. A person who stops fighting, he said, cannot be considered a living person.

CARMICHAEL ADDRESSES U.S. NEGRO SERVICEMEN

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 29 Oct 67 B

[Text] Have colored GI's the right to say no to this war? Well-known leader of colored Americans Stokely Carmichael himself has this to say to the colored GI's who are fighting in South Vietnam. Here is Mr. Carmichael's voice. [recorded]

The white man and Uncle Toms say that we are unpatriotic when we refuse to fight in the United States [word indistinct]. To be patriotic means that you are willing to fight for (?your) country. But maybe the black men ain't got no country, ain't got no kind of country. When the United States was patriotic and writing all its beautiful words about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they were making us slaves. The very Constitution of the United States today says that we are [words indistinct].

Where is our country? To be patriotic means you have something to fight for. What country do we have? Where is our country? Voting--we couldn't vote until 1965 by paper (as heard). In Louisiana, Mississippi, (?Texas), South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, and we can't even vote in Washington D. C. today because we outnumber them. What is a country when a man can't vote? And we have to pay to vote.

Can you vote in Mississippi? Can you vote in Alabama? Can you vote in Louisiana? Georgia? Texas? North Carolina? South Carolina? Virginia? Tennessee? No! Kentucky? No! You can't vote. If you can't vote, what are you fighting for? How can you be patriotic when you have nothing to be patriotic to?

But the white man says we are unpatriotic because we don't want to fight in his wars. When you fight in a war, to the victors belong the spoils. The United States has won every war it has fought in. What have the black people benefited from its wars? Nothing. The United States is the richest country in the world. We are probably the poorest people in the world. What are we fighting for? Where is our country? The white man calls us nigger whenever he feels like it, spits in our face, shoots us down in the street and goes all unpunished. In the South, Sheriff Rainey can shoot us [words indistinct]; Jim Clark can beat us up; Wallace, Lurleen and George, can take their [words indistinct]. They don't even come to trial.

The white man in the south shoots a nigger, he don't even come to trial. In the north it's a little bit better. The white man puts on a badge and if he shoots us down he goes to court, and they call it justifiable homicide. Now, who they kidding? What is the country fighting for? Where is the property we own in the United States? We are a property-less people, and yet the white man says we are unpatriotic. [Passage indistinct]. He says things are getting better in the United States every day. It's a lie! It's a lie! And nothing is getting better.

White men take a black man from the United States (10,000) miles to Vietnam, put him in uniform up front, fighting, gets killed (as heard). Let's say he is fighting next to a white boy. Let's say both of them may get out of the war alive. What do they do back home? Can a black man live next to a white man? Hell no! Hell no! We fought in Congress three weeks ago [words indistinct]. Some bill claiming that black people can't live where you want to live. What kind of country do you have?

We ain't got no country. Our country is our color! Our country is our color! We must defend our people wherever we are. Our enemy is not the Vietnamese. They have done absolutely nothing to us. No Vietnamese ever called me nigger. No Vietnamese ever lynched my people. No Vietnamese ever exploited my people. No Vietnamese ever discriminated against me, made me sit in the back of a bus. No Vietnamese made my mother or my sister a prostitute. What the hell is a nigger doing in Vietnam?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL DISCUSSES USE OF FORCE

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF 30 Oct 67

[Text] Last week, Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader and field secretary of the Black Power movement in the United States, visited Cairo for the second time.

ROSE AL-YUSUF interviewed him and asked him many questions:

Q. What reasons are behind your visits to Cairo and Algiers?

A. First: I wanted to visit Africa, a continent to which I belong. It was the continent from which the American slave traders kidnapped us. I intended to find out for myself the real meaning of Africa. I know now this meaning.

Second: The most important reason for my visit is to establish close and strong relations with the African liberation movements. This reason gives my visit its political significance.

Third: I visited Algeria, the United Arab Republic, and other states to demonstrate our practical support of the Arab peoples in regard to the Middle East crisis.

Q. Concerning the crisis, what are your impressions?

A. My visits to Cairo, Algiers, and Damascus confirmed our own views about the Israeli aggression and showed that our analysis of the situation was correct. We believe that Israel represents a continuous aggression that started with the Balfour Declaration.

Q. Turning to the United States, can you tell us why the American Africans have started an armed revolt in some large cities in the United States and why at this particular time?

A. It is very easy to answer this question. This armed revolt has been caused by the white people in the United States. They created the problem. The white people in American believe that they should be the masters of the whole world and that all the peoples of the world should be subjected to the American white man supremacy.

We American Africans, because we are black, feel that the world is the world of all the peoples and that it should not belong only to a group of masters!

Our movement began four hundred years ago when the white man came to the African continent to make us part of his properties.

Q. What do you think of using force for solving the political or social problems?

A. As far as the various movements and governments are concerned, there are two kinds of forces: the revolutionary force and the counter-revolutionary force.

The revolutionary force is used by the liberation movements to free the people from enslavement. The counter-revolutionary force is used to keep the people under a system of enslavement.

The United States is an expert in using the counter-revolutionary force. On the other hand, we hope to become experts in the use of the revolutionary force.

The only hope of the enslaved people lies in the resort to armed struggle. Much talk about the legitimate right of the enslaved people to get rid of the yoke of enslavement represents an obstacle delaying the inevitable stand of an armed confrontation against the reactionaries. All that we need to begin an armed struggle is courage.

We American Africans believe now that armed struggle is our only hope. For four hundred years we have been trying to live in peace with the white man. The result was that we have been lynched and hanged on the trees, our houses and children have been burnt, and our churches devastated. Because we attempted to coexist peacefully with the white people, the white people thought we were weak.

Q. Now that you have visited Democratic Vietnam, can you tell us your impressions from this visit and about the American war raging against the Vietnamese people?

A. Four things impressed me during my visit to North Vietnam. That was in addition to the usual thing, namely, the determination of the people of Vietnam to continue their struggle until victory.

The first thing that impressed me was that the Vietnamese people were carrying on their ordinary life, undaunted by that death thrown at them every minute by American planes.

The people in Vietnam build for the future and for tomorrow, ignoring death. The people of the world should learn this lesson from the Vietnamese people. They refuse to be affected directly by the war. What you see in Vietnam is life and not death.

The second thing that impressed me was that the Vietnamese people were using their limited experiences and potentialities for the interest of humanity. On the other hand, American was using its unlimited experiences, potentialities and knowledge for obliterating humanity.

For example, they [the Vietnamese] developed a drug for healing burns from napalm bombs. The new drug heals the burns completely, within two or three months.

The third thing that impressed me was that the Vietnamese people live very near to the land, or even on the land. Wherever you look, you see the Vietnamese working hard on the farm land.

At that time, I recalled the wise saying of Mao Tse-tung "The poor man cannot be trodden upon because he lives near the land."

The fourth thing I admired in the Vietnamese people was that all of them, from President Ho Chi Minh to the farmer in the field, have expressed dissatisfaction with the bad treatment extended to the black American in America.

CARMICHAEL VIEWS DEATH OF CHE WITH SORROW

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2315 GMT 3 Nov 67 F

[Window on the world feature]

[Excerpt] I am Cuban Radiobroadcasting Institute correspondent Teofilo Acosta, speaking to you from Conakry, capital of the republic of Guinea, in West Africa. North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael will speak to the people of Cuba and to the peoples of Latin America in general to give his opinion and his sentiments regarding the death of Maj Ernesto Che Guevara. Stokely Carmichael (gave) his statement to this correspondent in the Spanish language. [At this point a different voice speaking in halting, English-accented Spanish is heard; presumably it is Stokely Carmichael]: "With deep sorrow I have learned of the confirmation of the death of Comrade Ernesto Che Guevara. What I can say is that his death further commits all the revolutionary peoples of the world to respond to his decision to continue the fight until the final defeat of imperialism.

"This is no time for tears, it is rather a time for combat. It is not the time for long speeches dedicated to the memory of Che; rather, it is a time for practical and brave action on all the anti-imperialist fronts.

"If imperialism thinks that by killing Che Guevara it was going to stop the revolution in Latin America and in the rest of the world, it is terribly wrong. Other revolutionaries will spring from Guevara's blood, and those of us who are already revolutionaries will become stronger, more intransigent, and braver.

"Che Guevara left us his example, he left us his (life) [words indistinct] of the Tricontinental organization [words indistinct] for North American Negroes, for the fighters in Bolivia, and in short, for revolutionaries of the whole world.

"With the death of Che Guevara, the revolution loses one of its best sons, the peoples lose one of their best defenders. Imperialism should know, (however), that his death will be [words indistinct]. We shall win!"

CARMICHAEL: LET THE WHITE MAN FIGHT THE WAR

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 1300 GMT 5 Nov 67 B

[Statement by Stokely Carmichael--recorded]

[Text] The very first man to die in the American revolution was a black man by the name of (Victor Adams). He was one of the three who died in the Boston tea party. He was black. And although the history books have never told us, the death is one more fact that the white man has hidden from us.

(Victor Adams) was a fool. He died for the United States of America while thousands of his black brothers were enslaved both in the south and the north. (Throughout) the history of our people, we have always fought, we have always given our blood for the white man, we have always been killing the people they told us to kill rather than shed our blood for our own people. Wouldn't it be better if (Victor Adams), instead of shedding his blood for the white man, would have shed his blood for his people and destroyed the white man who has enslaved us?

Let us move on in history and see the struggles of our black people in the wars: in the civil war black people could not even fight. Abraham Lincoln would not let us fight. They tell us that they fought the war to free the slaves. It's a lie, brothers, it's a lie! The honkies fought the war for themselves--nobody else, nobody else! They started the war in 1861. Abraham Lincoln did not sign the Emancipation Proclamation until 1863. And that's because the honkies and the north were losing the war and they needed [word indistinct] while the southern whites had the slave labor from the south.

The honkies in the north figured if they freed the slaves the honkies in the south wouldn't have this slave labor and they couldn't win the war, and that's the only reason they were freed; That's the only reason you were freed!

After we were freed we wanted to fight. We begged for uniforms. And what did Abraham Lincoln, the great white father say? He said that we were not (fit) to fight! We were not civilized! We couldn't fight with the white man [words indistinct]. Our great black leader [name indistinct] had to go Lincoln and beg him to let us fight. Only when the north was still losing did Lincoln say we could fight.

And let me remind you, brothers, we couldn't fight with the white man, we had to fight in back of the white man. The only time we were put up front was when the fighting was heavy and the white man was losing. Doesn't that sound sort of familiar to you? Isn't that what they do today? When they are losing they bring up the black troops, put us on the front lines. The only time we are ahead of the white man is on the battlefield.

Let us move on brothers. So we went together and we gave our lives in the Civil War. We died, and what did we achieve when we were finished? We were returned to slavery. They said we were free, but free to do what? For the Ku Klux Klan to lynch us? Free to do what? Free to live on the same white man's land (we lived on before)? We couldn't get any money. What were we free to do?

Then along came World War I. The white man wouldn't let us fight. He said we weren't fit, but like fools we wanted to fight. Oh, cried the NAACP that had just begun, please let us fight! We are equal with you! Let us fight!

The white man said he was fighting to make the world safe for democracy. And here we were standing up to fight and we couldn't even spell the word democracy. But like fools, we put on the uniform of the white man. We went all over the world and shed our blood for the white man, and when we got back to the United States, in our uniforms, about eight months after World War I an entire regiment of black soldiers were hung in Texas. That's what we gave our blood for.

What did we know about democracy? I ask you, brothers, what do we know about it today? And yet we spill our blood 10,000 miles from our homes on a foreign land that we don't even know about. Oh, we were going to be great for America! We were going to prove to them how good we were.

So along came World War II, and that time we were going to stop the Nazis. So we put on the uniforms once more (of the dirty) white people and we went off to [words indistinct] the fight. [words indistinct] once again we were going to give our blood. And we fought again in World War II, and brothers, let me tell you something. Do you know that a regiment of black soldiers had captured white Germans who were traitors of the United States, who were the enemy of the United States? And we followed them back to the United States and we were transporting them to Texas. There in Texas they had a prisoner--a war prisoners' camp. Do you know that when you go to Washington D.C. the Negro, who was fighting for the United States, had to sit in the baggage car and the white man who was from Germany, who was fighting against the country, could sit up front?