

What the hell were we fighting for, brothers? I ask you! And what did we come back to after World War II? What did we come back to? The same filth and squalor. The white man spit in our faces and we fought segregation and we couldn't even fight next to the white man in World War II.

The Korean war came up and they called up again. Then here we go again--we gonna prove to the white man how good we are, we put on the uniform and we went. We fought all over Korea. Our brothers and our cousins came back with their legs shot off and their arms shot off. And everytime they tried to get in the door some white man could spit at them and call them a nigger and kick them out. What were we fighting for? What were we fighting for?

So here we are today in something they call the "Vietnam war" and they call us to fight their war. What are we fighting for, brothers? My uncle died in Poland. My uncle died in service fighting to stop Hitler from overrunning the Polish people. And last year when black people tried to move into Cicero, which is the Polish community in Illinois next to Chicago, the honkies threw rocks and said "nigger get out." The honkies that my uncle died saving their lives, and they told us to get out of the community. What are we dying for? What are you dying for brother?

What are you dying for? You in Vietnam! What are you fighting for? You come home and the white man will shoot you down in the streets. What are we working for? We work in Mississippi from sunup to sundown. You know what the old folks call it: from can't to can't--you can't see in the morning, you can't see at night, (16) hours a day. Living in shacks, or we are living in Harlem with rats and roaches.

What are we fighting for? What are we shedding our blood for? To hell with the white man. It's his war; let him fight it. The Vietnam war is for the birds--Lady Bird, Lyndon bird, and all the other birds. Let them fight it; the Vietnamese will take care of them. We have our own people to worry about. We must no longer shed our blood for the white man. Our blood must be shed only for our people.

CARMICHAEL EXHORTS U.S. NEGROES TO FOLLOW CHE

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1326 GMT 14 Nov 67 P

[Text] In view of the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, the task of North American Negroes is to create many Vietnams within the United States, declared Stokely Carmichael in a message to the Afro-North American people. Carmichael, who asked PRENSA LATINA and Radio Havana to broadcast his message from Conakry, Guinea, said that Guevara died in the manner in which all anti-imperialist should die, fighting with weapons in hand against imperialism. The message from Carmichael says:

With the announcement of the death of my brother Guevara, the imperialists have thought that the struggle, not only in the United States but around the world, especially in Latin America, has been liquidated. The imperialists have begun to laugh and celebrate. They think now, as they thought when they killed Malcolm X, that our movement in the United States will stop. How mistaken they are!

Stokely Carmichael adds that, inspired by the blood of Malcolm X, there arose thousands of Afro-North American youths willing to die for the liberation of the black population of the United States, as well as new leaders of the movement. He then says: Likewise inspired by the death of Che Guevara, thousands of Latin Americans will arise ready to fight and fulfill their revolutionary mission.

Carmichael emphasizes that the death of Che commits all the revolutionaries of the world to strengthening their determination to struggle until the final defeat of imperialism, because this is not the time for tears, but for battle. It is not the time to make speeches dedicated to the memory of Che, but for practical and brave action on all anti-imperialist fronts. If imperialism believes that by killing Che Guevara it can halt the revolution in Latin America and in the rest of the world, imperialism is terribly mistaken says Carmichael.

In his message addressed to the North American black people, Stokely Carmichael declares that Ernesto Che Guevara left us his example contained in his historic letter to the Tricontinental Conference, which is a guide for the Afro-Americans and for all the revolutionaries of the world. We will carry out Che's slogan to "create one, two, three, many Vietnams," in the streets of Detroit, New York, Washington, Chicago, or Pennsylvania, within the territory where we are exploited, says Carmichael.

For me, says Carmichael, it is difficult to speak of the death of Guevara or Malcolm X because I believe that they are always present in the struggle of the North American black people, since the causes for which they fought and died are the same ones that lead us to battle. That is why, in essence, Che Guevara is not dead, emphasizes Carmichael, and I do not want to speak about Che as if he were dead because that would not make sense. His ideas are with us.

CARMICHAEL TO ATTEND AFRICAN NATIONALIST TALKS

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2003 GMT 16 Nov 67 P

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, leader of the North American Negro movement, will be an observer during the two-day seminar of all the African nationalist organizations headquartered in Tanzania. The seminar has been organized by the liberation committee of the University of Dar Es Salaam.

TEXT OF CARMICHAEL'S LETTER TO U.S. NEGROES

Havana Friendly Voice of Cuba in English 1200 GMT 17 Nov 67 F

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Negro people, has sent a letter to the United States on the meaning of the work and struggle by Ernesto Che Guevara. Since the broadcasting networks in the United States have thus far not made any mention of the letter, we are presenting it to our English-speaking listeners in translation from the Spanish version which has been published in the Cuban press. Now we quote from Stokely Carmichael's letter:

"Brothers and sisters, with the announcement of the death of my brother Che Guevara the imperialists have been thinking that our struggle, not only inside the United States but also around the world, especially in Latin America, is finished. They, the imperialists, have started to laugh and celebrate. They think now, as they thought in the past, that killing our brother Malcolm X was going to paralyze our movement in the United States. How mistaken they are! Inspired by the blood of Malcolm X, millions of young Afro-Americans surged forward ready to die for our liberation. New leaders such as Rap Brown and others came forward. The death of Che Guevara caused all revolutionaries of the world to pledge themselves to strengthen their resolve to struggle until the final overthrow of imperialism. Now is not the moment for tears, but for struggle. Now is not the time to make long speeches dedicated to the memory of Che Guevara, but of practical and valiant action on all anti-imperialist fronts."

Stokely Carmichael continues: "If imperialism thinks that killing Che Guevara can stop the revolution in Latin America and in the rest of the world, imperialism is terribly mistaken. From the blood of Guevara new revolutionaries will spring and those that we already have will become stronger, more firm, more brave. Che Guevara died in the manner that all of us must die, struggling with arms in his hand against imperialism. His example, like that of Malcolm X and Patrice Lumumba, encourages us in the fight and gives us strength to continue the struggle until we win. Che Guevara left us his example, left us his ideas, and showed the way to go in his historic letter to the Tricontinental Conference which is a guide for North American Negroes, for the fighters in Bolivia, and really for all the revolutionaries of the world.

"The letter of Che is very important for us. The slogan that he launched of creating one, two, many Vietnams is the best way for helping our brothers in Vietnam who are struggling for all of us."

Stokely Carmichael then continues: "From this letter many of us inside the United States are inspired to create Vietnams. We are confident that our struggle will be brought into the streets of Detroit, New York, Chicago, and Washington, and that our struggle extends into the interior of the United States where we are exploited and oppressed. In memory of Ernesto Che Guevara our revolutionary task is to create Vietnams inside the United States. Che explained clearly that there is no need for talking any more, that the contradictions in the world are clear and that now is the time for each one of us to start struggling. This is the same thing that Malcolm X told us. The time for words has passed. Now we must go into combat. They died fighting. We, from now on, will also be prepared to die fighting.

"For me it is difficult to speak of the death of Che or of Malcolm X since it seems to me that they are with us, since the causes for which they struggle and died are the same that we are fighting for. Therefore, in essence, Che Guevara really is not dead. I do not like to speak of Che as if he were dead. It does not sound right. His ideas are with us. I never met Che Guevara in person but I do know him. I still know him now. The important thing is to know that his ideas are with us and that we, therefore, decide to keep on fighting. Imperialism must know that his physical death will be avenged.

"To my brothers in the United States I say: Black power for us from South Africa to Nova Scotia! When we millions of Africans in the world stand up and take our place in the third world we will crush imperialism and we will win!"

Thus concludes the messages from Stokely Carmichael to the Negro people of the United States. Of course, the white people who are understanding in greater and greater numbers that imperialism is their enemy too, will listen well to the words of Stokely Carmichael to learn how to close the gap that has been created between the races by those who practice the "divide and rule" tactics, by those who are afraid of the strength that resides in an alliance of Negro and white, the strength in the words of Stokely Carmichael that assures that "we will crush imperialism and we will win!"

Radio Havana Interview

Havana in English to South America 2050 GMT 18 Nov 67 E

[Recorded interview with Stokely Carmichael, in Conakry, Guinea]

[Text] Announcer: As we announced yesterday, Radio Havana Cuba now presents a taped statement by black power leader Stokely Carmichael.

In Conakry, the capital city of the Republic of Guinea, in West Africa, the correspondent of PRENSA LATINA-Radio Havana, Teofilo Acosta, will again meet today with Stokely Carmichael, the leader of the black power movement in the United States. Carmichael will talk to us about the death of Comrade Ernesto Che Guevara.

Carmichael: Comrades, it is with a deep sense of shock and sorrow that we speak to you of our fallen Comrade Che Guevara, but in the real sense that only heightens our determination. We are now more dedicated to fight the struggle for which he gave his life. If the imperialists think for one minute that by killing Comrade Guevara they can stop the revolution, they are terribly mistaken. This revolution has already started, and from the blood of Che Guevara will only spring more revolutionaries and more martyrs to the cause. If the imperialists are (rejoicing) over the death of Comrade Che Guevara, we hope that they enjoy their party, for it will not be long before their dancing comes to an end. We have the ideas of our brother Che Guevara in our hearts, and he did have ideas--these revolutionary ideas which we must now carry on. We are fortunate to have his writings. They are the guidelines for our work, as well as for the tricontinental's. These are revolutionary (assets) which today are serving as the guidelines for revolutionary movements around the world.

Did the imperialists think that by killing Che Guevara they could kill the ideas for which he fought? Did they think that by killing Che Guevara they would stop us from the work that he started? Did they think that by killing Che Guevara they could continue to oppress people, and that none of us would open our eyes? They do not know that he has opened the eyes of many of us already and that he inspired most of us to carry on the fight. Did the imperialists think that by killing Che Guevara they could turn back the clock of history? Are they that stupid? Are they that insane? No one can stop history. No one can stop the march and no one can stop the ideas from growing, the ideas that Che Guevara died for. No one can do that. From his blood, from his blood [words indistinct] we will grow stronger, we will grow in numbers to fight, to combat imperialism once and for all. [end of recorded interview]

Announcer: You have just heard the voice of American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael in a statement regarding the death of Maj Ernesto Che Guevara. Next Monday, on this English language program, Radio Havana will again bring you the voice of Stokely Carmichael telling his impressions of his visits to Cuba, Vietnam, and Africa, and the struggle of American Negroes.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL LEAVES TANZANIA FOR U.S.

Prague OTK International Service in English 1151 GMT 27 Nov 67 L

[Text] Dar es Salaam, Tanzania--Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Afro-American black power movement, left here for the United States via Europe last night.

"I am going back to hell, the United States, via Europe," he told journalists. "Before I leave Tanzania, I wish to (give a) special message to the people of this country, particularly the youth, and that is that the revolution must continue," Carmichael said.

Carmichael arrived in Tanzania one month ago. During his stay there he spoke at public meetings and meetings of the army and national service and called for popular participation in fighting, under the motto "Africa for the Africans." He was also received by President Julius Nyerere. Numerous national liberation movements in Tanzania condemned Carmichael because of his "unrealistic approach and racist view that no whites are ready to help liberate Africa."

CONTINUING REPORTS FROM RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

Carmichael In Sweden

Paris AFP in English 2238 GMT 28 Nov 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Uppsala, Sweden--American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael said today he would go to Norway for lectures Thursday and Friday and then to Denmark to attend the Russell Tribunal.

Then, he said, he will return to the United States: I know that I shall fly right into hell. But I am prepared. One can fight even as a prisoner and as a dead man as well. I am prepared for any punishment from prison to death.

Carmichael also said: We must fight against [word indistinct] and against the exploitation of U.S. and other colonies which are constituting the third world by the white United States. Black power is a political struggle. In its highest potency, black power means weapons, guerrilla war, he added.

Carmichael said in conclusion: Lyndon Johnson is a buffoon who is cheating the who nation by saying that everything is all right while all is wrong. Besides, he is a murderer.

Carmichael Arrives At Tribunal

Paris AFP in French 1241 GMT 29 Nov 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Copenhagen--The American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael arrived this morning at Roskilde, headquarters of the Russell tribunal on war crimes in Vietnam. He attracted much attention as he entered surrounded by five bodyguards. Stokely Carmichael, who has been one of the tribunal's 18 members since its formation--others being Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Vladimir Dedijer, the American writer Dave Dellinger, and the Italian Jurist Lelio Basso--did not, however, attend the first session in Stockholm in May, nor the beginning of the present session in Roskilde, near Copenhagen.

At the beginning of this morning's meeting, executive president Jean-Paul Sartre welcomed Stokely Carmichael, and then noted that since Carmichael had not participated in the tribunal's work till now, he could not vote on the verdict Friday. He could, however, associate himself with the tribunal's decision by making a personal statement.

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED IN NORWAY, DENMARK

Oslo Interview

Oslo Domestic Service in Norwegian 2110 GMT 29 Nov 67 L

[Text] U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, the most prominent representative of the black power movement in the United States, arrived in Oslo this afternoon from Sweden. This evening he gave a lecture at a meeting at the university center at Blindern. The meeting was arranged by the three socialist student associations in Oslo, and about 2,000 people attended. Carmichael has just attended the Russell tribunal concerning the war in Vietnam, and we asked him whether there was any close similarity between the aims of his movement and those of the NFLSV.

[Editor's note: The questions and answers are in English, except for announcer-read portions in Norwegian as indicated; Carmichael's answers in each case are followed by a Norwegian translation]

Question: Mr Carmichael, you are just back from a session of the Russell Tribunal, would you say that there is a close similarity between the aims of your black power movement in the United States and the aims of the NFLSV?

Answer: I am not sure that I could say that the aims are the same. I think that in a general sense the aims are the same because we are both fighting for our liberation, and it's even more common because we are both fighting against the same enemy, the United States of America.

Question: You are known as an ardent advocate of violence as a political means. Do you think that the U.S. Negroes have to use violence in order to obtain their constitutional rights?

Answer: Well, I think that the question is worded ambiguously when you say that I advocate violence for political means. I think that violence is nothing but an extension of politics. (If) you have a political conflict (and) you cannot resolve it through constitutional means, then you go to war; so to achieve a political aim doesn't depend upon whether you use violence or not, it's if you're willing to go to that extent for your political rights. It is clear that black people in the U.S.A. must move to defend themselves to achieve their constitutional rights.

Question: You have maintained that the U.S. Negroes should follow Che Guevara's policy of guerrilla warfare. This [words indistinct] popular in rural regions like Indochina and Cuba, but would a guerrilla war be possible in an organized society like that of the United States?

Answer: I am not sure that I advocate that. I said that there is developing in the U.S.A. urban guerrilla warfare, and I think that a guerrilla warfare in a highly industrialized country must (?be) in the cities.

Announcer: Asked what he meant by the concept of the third world, Carmichael said that it was the colored people of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. He further said that his was a coordination of the struggle of this third world because the common enemy is the United States

Question: Tonight you give a lecture to students of a NATO country. Is Norway, in your eyes, an enemy of your movement?

Answer: Well, it could be an abject [as heard] enemy. I think that anybody who is an ally of NATO serves the purposes of the imperialist United States, for example. [End of English portion of answer; remainder in Norwegian by the announcer]. Yes, and in a kind of servile way, he thought, inasmuch as Norway, through arms deliveries to Portugal, takes part in the struggle in colonies such as Angola and Mozambique.

Question: Senator Goldwater has said that if you ever return to the United States you will be tried for high treason. Will you return?

Answer: Absolutely. I will return in two weeks. He'll have his chance.

Copenhagen Interview

Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 30 Nov 67 L

[Exclusive interview with Stokely Carmichael in Copenhagen by ORTF correspondent Jean-Pierre Elkabach--recorded]

[Excerpt] Interpreter: Our chief effort will probably be to boycott the Presidential elections of 1968.

Elkabach: Some people wonder whether you, Stokely Carmichael, and your friends might possibly collaborate with men like Bob Kennedy, who is said to be more liberal.

Carmichael [in French]: No, I shall never collaborate with Bobby Kennedy, never, never, never. [in English] Bobby Kennedy is a politician, [Carmichael's voice faded out, interpreter takes over] only concerned with Bobby Kennedy. We can collaborate with no one upholding the U.S. structure. It is our revolutionary duty to defend the Vietnamese people by all possible means, to give them all the help we can, including our blood, because the Vietnamese are fighting World War III for the whole world.

Elkabach: What connection do you see, Stokely Carmichael, between your organization, your objectives, and the Hanoi-Havana axis?

Interpreter: First, Hanoi and Havana are part [words indistinct] of the third world [passage indistinct due to the superimposed voices] and Africans living in the United States are also part of the third world. We are all oppressed (by the same structure), Western imperialism backed by the United States. No one is that we want to control [words indistinct] politically, economically, socially those areas we live in, the areas in which we are confined. At the moment these areas are controlled from outside the community by whites. So, our first aim is to try and get control of these communities. We want to act with any [word indistinct] group we can find in the United States to change the structure of the American system. And now the time has come for us to begin to change this structure in the United States itself. We see the black power movement as the spearhead of the revolutionary movements of the United States.

Elkabach: Are you American or black?

Carmichael: I'm black.

Elkabach: Can a community or a nation be built on Negroism?

Interpreter: Yes, this is possible because we're Africans. A black man comes from Africa. The black man has been scattered throughout the Western Hemisphere by the white man to make a slave of him, to exploit him; because of the color of our skin, which shows that we are in fact Africans, it is quite reasonable and valid (to uphold) this black nationalism.

Elkabach: Then, is this not to found a nation on racism?

Carmichael [in English]: No that is not true. White people scattered me because of the color of my skin. [Repeated in French by interpreter who continues] I didn't ask to come to the United States. I was stolen and sent there and all of my brothers have been exploited because of the color of their skin. I do not now (wish) to exclude the whites, and my people are not getting together to oppress whites. We are getting together to fight racism. And the color of their skin is a matter of indifference, for black people everywhere in the world have shown their desire and (aptitude) to live with people of other colors. It is the white people who have been incapable of and unwilling to live with people of other colors.

Elkabach: Then it is not a case of creating a state with those 20 million Negroes outside the United States?

Interpreter: No, I do not think that impossible, and we have not given up the idea of returning to Africa. If we have to return to Africa, what we will do is first to burn the United States down to the roots.

Elkabach: You rule out the possibility of economic and social integration for the Negroes in the American nation?

Carmichael [in English]: Yes. [interpreter takes over] It is quite impossible to speak of integration in the United States in the system as it is today.

Elkabach: Therefore, do you want to create a state within the United States?

Interpreter: We are already living in apartheid in the United States. Black people have to live in areas prescribed by the whites. We do not complain about this. We feel that if white people do not want to live near us, they are the losers.

[Excerpt] Elkabach: Do you want to add another star to the American flag, or create a completely independent state distinct from the United States?

Carmichael [in English]: Hell no, hell no, [interpreter takes over] the United States has always been a violent country and we are not going to sit down peacefully and let them [words indistinct], because now we live in the heart of cities and the United States is a highly industrialized country. And in a highly industrialized country, the heart of [business] is in cities. From the strategic angle we are in the best possible position. Because they cannot use technological warfare against us. They will have to use guerrilla warfare against us. And they have proved themselves quite incapable of fighting guerrilla wars. So if we stay where we are they can't bomb us because if they bomb us they will destroy their cities.

Elkabach: You didn't say there were lists ready with [the names of] Johnson and McNamara?

Interpreter: The CIA has an organization enabling them to murder members of liberation movements.

[Speaker unidentifiable]: Will they organize a movement to fight the CIA?

[?Elkabach]: That is what I said.

Interpreter: It doesn't have to be a black CIA. It can be a third world CIA. That is how one begins, with two, three, or four. The Cuban revolution began with 13 people. When Mao Tse-tung broke with the Kuomintang he was tremendously outnumbered by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. We don't have to go and train in any particular country, the United States has given us all the training we need.

[?Elkabach]: The situation is very tense throughout the United States.

Interpreter: It is the point of no return: either liberation or death. Libertad o la muerte, that is Castro's inspiration, venceremos siempre. (laughter)

Carmichael [in English]: Oh yes, we will win always.

[Interpreter repeats in French, and continues] I have not returned to the United States since my trip to Cuba, but I intend to go back in two weeks' time. I mean to continue organizing and getting Afro-Americans together. I expect anything from the U.S. authorities--from taking my passport to murdering me.

Carmichael [in French]: that's life.

[?Elkabach]: Have you accepted this risk? Are you not afraid of death?

Carmichael [in English]: Yes, but I'm curious to find out what it'd be like.
[interpreter repeats in French].

CARMICHAEL EXPRESSES INTENT TO RETURN TO U.S.

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1710 GMT 30 Nov 67 F

[Text] Stokely Carmichael, who is sitting as a judge in the Russell international war crimes tribunal in Denmark, said he intended to return to the United States within two weeks to work in the organization of the Afro-Americans. I am expecting anything; they can withdraw my passport; they can murder me, he said.

Stokely, who granted an interview to a reporter of the French radio, also revealed that he will attempt to organize action groups with the Negroes returning from the Vietnam war. The Cuban revolution began with 13 persons; we are already trained, thanks to the United States, he said.

Elsewhere in the interview, the North American Negro leader said that they, the Afro-North Americans, live in the heart of the big industrial cities which make up the nucleus of the population and consequently, he said, from the strategic viewpoint, our situation is excellent.

Carmichael added that the whited can neither use their arms nor their war technology against the Afro-North Americans. If they want to bomb us, he said, they will destroy themselves. They will be forced to fight in a guerrilla war for which they have shown themselves to be inept. Concluding, Stokely Carmichael reiterated that the Central Intelligence Agency is ready to murder members of the Negro liberation movements. When it begins, Stokely said, we will apply reprisals of the same kind.

CARMICHAEL KEPT UNDER SURVEILLANCE AT ORLY

Paris AFP in French 2209 GMT 5 Dec 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Excerpt] Paris--Black American leader Stokely Carmichael, who is being detained in the transit area at Paris Orly Airport, was warned by the Swedish police before he left Stockholm that his presence in French territory would be considered undesirable. Having no money, Carmichael received financial assistance from friends who came to greet him at Orly Airport.

Group Demands Release

Paris AFP in French 2317 GMT 5 Dec 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Excerpt] Paris--A communique published by the National Vietnam Committee in Paris on Tuesday evening demands the immediate release of Stokely Carmichael, who has been detained at Paris Orly Airport, and his freedom to circulate in France.

After noting that it had invited the black American leader to the meeting organized in Paris on Wednesday in protest against American imperialism, the Committee denounces Carmichael's being kept under surveillance at the premises of the Orly judiciary police as a measure going beyond international laws and usages. Specifying that the French police are putting pressure on the black leader to take the first plane for the United States, the committee adds: To compel Carmichael to return to the United States is to deliver him into the hands of those who ask nothing better than to be his assassins.

3-MONTH VISA GRANTED TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Paris AFP in English 1130 GMT 6 Dec 67 E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

[Text] Paris--French officials today authorized American black power advocate Stokely Carmichael to enter France for a private visit. Carmichael, who arrived here from Stockholm last night, had been detained at Orly Airport and told he could not enter France. He had been scheduled to address a meeting in Paris tonight against U.S. policy in Vietnam.

French officials said that Carmichael, 25, had been granted a three-month entry visa which can be renewed at the end of that period if he so desires. Carmichael is in possession of his passport, but the U.S. Government has announced its intention to revoke the passport because he violated U.S. travel restrictions by going to Cuba and North Vietnam.

[Paris AFP in English at 1654 GMT on 6 December reports that Carmichael, when asked if the police had made him promise not to make speeches or statements during his stay here, replied: No. When police handed him his visaed passport this afternoon, Carmichael thanked them for the comfortable hospitality shown him since his arrival. Officials said the when the three-month visa runs out, it could be renewed if Carmichael so desires. But friends of Carmichael said that he will be leaving Paris in less than a week to return to the United States. No official reason was given for the sudden turnabout of the French officials who had at first considered Carmichael to be undesirable. U.S. Embassy sources said that the embassy had nothing to do with Carmichael's detention at Orly Airport. They also said they planned no action against him while he is here.]

RADIO HAVANA INTERVIEWS CARMICHAEL IN PARIS

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 0000 GMT 12 Dec 67 E

[Text] Afro-American leader Stokely Carmichael has declared in Paris that the ideas of Major Ernesto Che Guevara can never be eliminated and that, inspired by his example, thousands of combatants will take up rifles and join the struggle to the death against imperialism. Carmichael made those statements during a telephone interview granted to Radio Havana. The young revolutionary fighter declared that most of the people of the world who knew Major Guevara learned to respect him and love him for his ideas. He added that his death cannot break the ideological contact Che established with the third world.

Speaking of his participation in the sessions of the international court which took place recently in Denmark, Carmichael declared that the court clearly proved the culpability of the crimes perpetrated by the United States in Vietnam. After noting that Vietnamese and North Americans presented evidence of the murders committed in Vietnam, Carmichael said that the sessions of the Russell court have served to demonstrate the genocidal policy of the United States in Vietnam and its plans to attack China.

Similarly, Carmichael commented on the refusal of some U.S. Negro athletes to participate in the coming world Olympic Games in Mexico. He pointed out that it demonstrates that individualism is a luxury U.S. Negroes, who are understanding better every day the need to struggle in unity on all fronts, cannot permit themselves.

During his interview with Radio Havana, Stokely Carmichael said that his trip through Asia and Africa has contributed to the broadening of his concept of the development of the liberation struggles of the peoples and has given him a clearer picture of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

TASS Report From New York

Moscow TASS International Service in English 0732 GMT 12 Dec 67 L

[Text] New York--TASS correspondent O. Anichkin dispatch--Stokely Carmichael, one of the Negro civil rights champions, returned to the United States yesterday after a long trip to Cuba, the DRV, and other countries. In his speeches abroad he denounced racial violence in the United States and U.S. armed aggression against Vietnam.

The speeches of the popular Negro leader infuriated American reactionaries, who have demanded that his passport be revoked and that he be prosecuted for his visits to Cuba and the DRV, countries which U.S citizens are not allowed to visit. Former Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater has demanded that Carmichael be tried for high treason.

Yesterday U.S authorities took the first step in this direction: They took away Carmichael's passport at the airport.

ADDENDA

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

INTERVIEW WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[Following is a translation of an article by Manuel Ferrer in the Spanish-language periodical, VERDE OLIVO (Olive Green), Havana, 13 August 1967, pp 3-4.]

The inaugural session of LASO [Latin American Solidarity Organization] in which the President of the Republic, Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, made the opening speech, has ended.

Many delegates and guests are already beginning to leave the Ambassadors' Hall of the "Free Havana" [hotel.]

At one end of the room the young American leader, Stokely Carmichael, surrounded by a numerous public, is answering questions concerning different aspects of life in the United States.

We approach the famous young leader and express our interest in having a brief interview for the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] agency. Carmichael agrees and suggests that we go up to his room. During the walk down the corridor Stokely is besieged by newspapermen; he stops, answers questions, and continues. They approach him again and he again answers the reporters' questions until we finally manage to get into the elevator.

After we reach Stokely's room, we ask him the first question:

"What importance have the latest events that occurred in Detroit had, and what about the spread of such incidents to other U.S. cities?"

"The struggle of the negroes in the United States," Carmichael points out, "is aimed at making it possible for our people to have land, housing, business establishments in the cities, and control of political institutions, which is merely marginal at present.

"For 400 years we have been engaged in the search for these gains by means of conversations, but we have found that this is impossible through petitions, words, etc."

Armed Battle: The Only Solution

Stokely, whose distinguishing characteristic is his calmness and firmness and who gives evidence of an impressive certainty in the triumph of justice, adds:

"The only solution is armed battle. What is happening now in the United States is that the negroes are convinced that only by armed struggle will they be able to put an end to the horrible conditions in which they live.

"They also know that if one community starts a rebellion, the whole weight of Yankee military might will descend upon them and crush them, but if every community throws itself into the struggle simultaneously, it will be impossible for the United States Government to put down the rebellion.

Carmichael adds: "That is exactly what Che [Ernesto "Che" Guevara] says: 'Create one, two, three, or many Vietnams,' and that is why the negroes have understood the strategy of the struggle and are now creating many Vietnams.

"While we are mobilizing and working internally to create many Vietnams, we are supporting the struggle of the countries of the third world who are fighting with the same countersign, and we shall all succeed in crushing imperialism, which is, in short, the fundamental objective of the revolution."

"What can you tell us with respect to the action of the Yankee government to cancel your passport, as stated recently by McCloskey, spokesman for the U.S. Department of State?"

A smile flickered over Carmichael's face, and he calmly answered:

"McCloskey is neither my mother nor my father. When I want to go anywhere, I ask my mama and my papa.

"I can go where I want; no one can prevent me from doing so. McCloskey can go to hell!"

We are Fighting Against the Same Enemy

"What can you tell us about your designation by the LASO (Latin American Solidarity Organization) conference as an honorary delegate?"

"I feel very honored, and I accept that distinction on behalf of the struggles for liberation that the negroes of my country have been making, since we are with our Latin American brothers because we are fighting against the same enemy, and wherever there are oppressed people, there is where we must be."

The subject of the Cuban FAR is one which is discussed by Stokely with the deepest feeling of admiration.

"It is the first time in my life that I have been surrounded by soldiers without a feeling of fear; I would be proud to be a member of the Cuban Armed Forces.

"Your country has the most wonderful army in the world and also the most beautiful women.

"I like very much the idea of the people being armed, but it is only possible in a free country which has attained its complete liberation, and the quality of the men who bear arms makes it impossible to feel any fear for the lives of the revolutionaries.

"If the people in the United States had been armed, they would have given a good account of Johnson."

The Police Pull Back

Now it is Julius Lester, a fighter for civil rights of the negro people and a member of the SNCC, who speaks to us about the incidents that occurred in New Jersey.

"The violence in New Jersey," Carmichael's companion points out, "was started by the arrest of the taxi drivers who were taken to the police station, which was immediately surrounded by a large number of negroes.

"It was a hot night; the negro people saw the arrests take place and they quickly went to the police station.

"The arrests caused the people to become excited and they started to throw stones and bottles at the police.

"The violence started to get worse; the police rushed at the negroes, but they were helpless to control the situation.

"A group was set up to keep watch on the activities of the police.

"Shops and business establishments were occupied. Negro women snatched many items in the shops such as dresses, shoes, etc.

"The police again tried to control the situation, but they were shot at from windows and roofs of the buildings and finally received the order to withdraw.

"Then the United States Government mobilized the National Guard, which was also unable to drive back the negroes.

"As the fighting became hotter, the business establishments of the white people, except those who had indicated their support of the negroes' struggle, were destroyed, but the National Guard smashed up all those shops, and this caused the hatred against the public authorities to flare up again.

"This was the first time that the negro people did not back down; the public authorities had to retreat."

Toward Guerrilla War

Later on the young leader of the negroes in the United States gave a press conference. In explaining the tactics that his compatriots were using in the struggle, he gave the following detailed account:

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States in which we have no other choice than to use offensive violence in order to obtain ownership of land, homes, and stores."

He added that "the philosophy of black power consisted in attaining the monolithic union of the negro people in order to fight for their liberation by any necessary means, the union with oppressed people, aside from the United States negro population, and by fighting to destroy the imperialist capitalist structure of the United States which oppresses us inside, and others outside the United States."

When he was asked a question about the coordination of the fight by the negro masses in the United States with that carried on by exploited peoples in other parts of the world, Carmichael pointed out that his presence in Cuba "indicated that we are coordinating that fight."

Referring to Yankee government pressure to enlist the negro people in the Vietnam war, he indicated that young American negroes have become aware that it is preferable to spend five years in jail than to serve an imperialist army and to act as cannon fodder for the interests of such a capitalist nation.

"We shall not take up arms to fire against the people of Vietnam; they have done nothing to us; they have never discriminated against us; they do not compel us to live in ghettos; they do not make us work for low wages; they do not kill us in the streets," he added.

"The people of Vietnam are our brothers in arms because they are fighting against the same structure that oppresses us."

Carmichael pointed out that the only white people who might be accepted in the fight of the negro movement are those who "are prepared to take up arms with us and to destroy the capitalist structure of the United States. All the rest is empty talk, and we have had that empty talk for 400 years."

He added that "there are around 67 million negroes in the United States, and as they wish to preserve their millions, they too will have to be destroyed."

In another parts of his press conference Stokely Carmichael stated that "for a long time Fidel Castro has been a great source of inspiration to me and to many negroes in the United States because behind his anger there is an attitude of discovery."

CZECH GIVES VIEWS ON LASO CONFERENCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Karel Jezdinsky entitled "Fifty More Vietnams?" in the Czech-language periodical, Reporter, No 19, Prague, 22 September 1967, pp 24-25.]

A new abbreviation has been introduced in the international press, namely, LASO [Latin American Solidarity Organization]. The idea of creating such an organization originated a year ago at the three-continental conference in Havana. Its purpose was clear: to coordinate the struggle of the progressive forces of Latin America. And so LASO had its first conference when delegates from South American countries deliberated for nine days in the capital of Cuba. In addition, the conference was open to observers from socialist countries with the exception of Yugoslavia. The organizational committee declared that Yugoslavia was following a "revisionist" policy.

There is no need to analyze the speculations of the Western press which concentrated primarily on differences of the so-called "Fidelistas" and other communists. Suffice it to say that the entire course of the conference reflected the objective realities and difficulties which the communist movement encounters in South America as a whole. The question is precisely whether the movement can act as a whole in daily practical politics, whether the required solidarity must also include the central management and the central instructions, whether there exists one single patent for 20 South-American revolutions. In that case we would have to answer first of all the question whether South American (and also Central America) is a political and economic unit to such an extent that the differences and specific characteristics of the individual states are negligible. However, it seems that with regard to South America the same thing applies which applies to Europe or to any other continent, namely that the different development in individual countries requires different strategy and tactics and that the experience gained from one revolution (up to this time actually only the Cuban revolution) cannot be transferred automatically and without any residue.

The Advice is Good, but...

On the day prior to the opening of the Havana conference the Pravda published in Moscow the article by Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. The author recalls that "brotherly advices are useful but cannot be applied in every case". He calls for unity of action within each individual communist party, unity which should count also on other pro-revolutionary forces. "It is impossible to create a revolutionary vanguard arbitrarily and artificially around a leader or people who hold the most radical views and intend to undertake such and such revolutionary drives.

The Cuban revolution shows clearly that it is not possible to generalize these or those specific characteristics of this or that experience. It would be certainly erroneous to deny that the specific characteristics of the Cuban revolution can also appear elsewhere, but this would happen in different forms..."

The communist parties of Latin America were born in different periods, they operate in different conditions, in different social and political circumstances..."

This view aroused the greatest polemic at the Havana conference. It is true that Latin-American communists never tried to utilize the antagonisms which were introduced in the international communist movement by the policy of the Peking leaders (and Cuba made it clear on several occasions that she considers the antagonisms secondary within the framework of the struggle against American hegemony), but on our part it would be an error to underestimate the influence of the Chinese theories.

It was undoubtedly the Chinese theory (concerning the "struggle of the village versus the city" and the emphasis on the colored part of the earth as being the most progressive one) which found certain sympathies of the Tricontinental - the revolutionary organization of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We cannot fail to see that the oppressive social conditions in those countries and the efforts to eliminate them as fast as possible create suitable ground for leftist radicalism which here and there is able to lend willing ears to the thesis of "Marxists who grew rich in the northern part of the hemisphere".

Thus it was noted again at the Havana conference that the only form of the struggle for liberation is revolutionary struggle with arms, and some people actually voiced the view that any other form of struggle is revisionism. It should be noted in this respect that the international communist movement never denied the form of armed struggle. The problem is rather whether it is actually the only possible form of revolutionary struggle under any circumstances and whether the conditions are ripe everywhere for such struggle.

The questions of partisan warfare and armed struggle in the countries of Latin America was the main problem discussed at the Havana conference. After long debates during the plenary session, in the committees and in the lobbies, the view finally prevailed which was expressed in the resolution and in the closing address by Fidel Castro, namely that it is true that other forms of struggle next to the armed struggle are also possible, but that with regard to the majority of Latin-American countries it is valid to say that "these forms of struggle must not constitute an obstacle to the armed struggle which continues to be the basic one".

Of course, it is a fact that the communist parties of the largest Latin-American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, etc.) reject such a formula. There also appears another conflict in the evaluation of the situation in the world. The deliberations at the conference reached a conclusion that it may be true that the basic antagonism between imperialism and the world of socialism has not disappeared but that it is becoming secondary, while the antagonism between imperialism and the exploited countries of the "third world" is becoming the principal antagonism.

Fifty "Vietnams"

There also appeared a slogan at the Havana conference which proclaimed two, three, and even fifty "Vietnams". This slogan was promoted by Ernesto Che Guevara who is now fighting "somewhere in South America". According to this doctrine the uprisings and revolts at various points forces the American imperialism to disperse its forces and lead to its final defeat. On the other hand, the opponents of this view point

out that [the uprisings and revolts] also lead to a joint and more determined advance of the reactionary forces and that when the conditions are inappropriate they cause heavy losses to the progressive movement.

These views have been discussed for some time in the Latin-American revolutionary movement and the LASO conference could not with the best will possible clarify the matter. It could not do so for one thing, namely that struggle and thus made it impossible for the communist parties to participate [in the movement] because the central committees of these parties have reservations with regard to that view because of the specific situations which exist in their countries.

Thus there were no delegations of the communist parties of Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela in Havana. Therefore the representatives of the revolutionary movement of the two largest South American countries were not represented at the LASO conference. As to Venezuela, the conference was attended by representatives of the National Liberation Front, which supports fully and actually practices the methods of partisan warfare. Of course, they were in a hurry to level the charge of treason against the communist party of Venezuela which was absent. Some other countries were also represented in Havana not by delegates of the central committees of the communist parties but by various dissenting groups.

The Experience of Venezuela

The conference could have evaluated precisely on the example of Venezuela how tragic it is when there is intolerance within the revolutionary movement and when disunion is actually condoned. Countries which are on the eve of presidential elections, where the opposition is strong and the mood of the masses is such that they call for radical changes have three communist parties which are mutually fragmenting their forces, forces that are so needed for united action.

Among these the original communist party continues to be the one which is most highly consolidated. It cooperates with the majority of the international communist movement and bases its action on the theoretical principles of the latest congresses of the Soviet communists. However, there also exists a pro-Chinese dissident fraction and other fractions which want to apply the experience of the Cuban revolution to the full. It is amazing how these fractions consider even terrorist individual actions as a form of "open armed struggle" or "another Vietnam" at complete variance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The danger lies in the fact that these actions which frequently endanger the property and the lives of ordinary people are easily exploited by the enemy to win sympathy and to engage in reprisals against the entire communist movement in the name of which the authors of attempts at assassination are acting. In addition, bands of gangsters are running wild in Venezuela. They have nothing in common with the revolutionary movement, but frequently they conceal their deeds behind the heading of organizations which they know exist in fact. The population which is at the receiving end is unable to distinguish between the two. It seems that the radicals who refer to Lenin through all their talks have forgotten completely Lenin's statement: "We shall not follow that road..."

Situation in Latin America

It is true that Venezuela is to a certain extent an exception, but the communist parties are divided in a similar way as they are divided in a whole series of other countries of Latin America - even though the dissident groups have different ratios of power and show a lesser degree of activity:

1. Communist parties which strive in individual countries to create a united front of all the progressive forces, which try to work out tactics and strategies based on the particular characteristics of each individual country and on the experience gained by the world communist movement as a whole, parties which strive to utilize all media and all forms of struggle and which contribute most effectively to the social progress and to the weakening of the reaction.
2. Pro-Chinese fractions which accept fully the theses of the Chinese leaders and accuse the other communists of treason. They are attacking sharply the policy of the Soviet Union and its concept of peaceful coexistence, concept which also applies to the foreign and commercial policy of the Soviet Union with regard to the independent countries of Latin America.
3. Groups which try to apply automatically the experience of the Cuban revolution and ask for Cuba's help in their struggle. They accept the theory of open armed struggle as the only correct theory, but they do not defend unequivocally the Chinese viewpoint in their programs and do not condemn unequivocally the Soviet viewpoint.

We said before that the LASO conference reflected these realities of Latin America, or better to say this division of the forces. Under the circumstances it is not without significance that in spite of the wishes of the Chinese leaders the LASO did not allow itself to be induced to engage in "antirevisionist" manifestations.

With regard to the foreign observers, the address of the delegates of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and of the South-Vietnamese Front of National Liberation aroused the greatest attention. The chairman of the trade unions of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic stated that he supported the partisans of Venezuela and the delegate of the South-Vietnamese Front repeated Guevara's slogan "two, three, and more Vietnams in the world".

Shall We Stop Doing Business With Them?

The LASO conference also dealt with the question of commercial contacts between the socialist countries and the Latin-American states. A very small majority condemned these contacts. They did so because commercial contacts are in the nature of financial and economic assistance to regimes which suppress by force the revolutionary movements in their countries. This view was not included in the official documents of the conference so that the conflicts in the international labor and communist movement would not be strengthened. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these disagreements exist with regard to this question.

It is true that those who hold such views condemn vehemently the dependence of the bourgeois regimes of Latin America on the monopolies of the United States, and they consider precisely the armed partisan warfare to be the principal instrument in the struggle against the hegemony of the imperialism of the United States. However, they do not want to see that the economic contacts of the Latin-American countries with the world of socialism weaken the dependence on Washington and strengthen especially those circles of the national bourgeoisie of Latin America which want to liberate themselves from their dependence on the United States. True, they do so because of their own class interests, but it is precisely in this way that they can become an ally of the popular resistance against imperialism. They do not want to see that on the other hand it is precisely partisan warfare in those countries where all the conditions have not become ripe for them which throws these circles and together with them the broad masses of the small bourgeoisie in the arms of Washington and its allies, "gorillas" and large estate holders in Latin America.

Is Violence The Only Way?

A sensational event was the appearance of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the negroes in the United States from a group which in contradiction to its present theory and practice continues to call itself nonviolent. In his address he proclaimed an uprising of the black population of the United States: "We decided to switch to an offensive. We do not intend to let ourselves be killed one after the other. We will kill first and we shall strike the head. We cannot wait. The CIA is organized on a world scale, we organize ourselves in the same way so that we can give an answer. When the CIA murdered Malcolm X, our great leader, it succeeded temporarily to deceive the negro public opinion and to create the belief that the murder was a settlement of accounts between negroes... We had to avenge him on the leaders of the United States. We do not know whether our people are entirely ready, but the lists are ready: MacNamara, Dean Rusk, Johnson..."

Carmichael declared that violence is the only method of struggle, he rejected the views of M. Luther King about whom he said that he is "against negroes", and he said that it is necessary to "create fifty Vietnams" in the United States "in the same way as outside of the United States". Then he paid a tribute to Mao Tse-tung "who had the courage to say - go to hell - to the West, to the Western influence, to the Western corrupted culture. You will find Mao's booklet everywhere among the negro youth of the United States. It inspires us..., it helps us to join the great struggle of the nations of the third world..."

Carmichael condemned the Communist Party of the United States entirely within the meaning of Mao's views because its members make money within the framework of the American society. Then in conflict with any logic he exclaimed: "If Lenin and Marx saw the American Communist Party, they would become capitalists!" Finally the 26-year old American negro, who has an athletic stature and a charming smile, came to the subject of racism: "White man exploits colored people. He must be slaughtered."

I am discussing Carmichael's appearance in spite of the fact that it was not typical of the entire atmosphere of the LASO conference. Nevertheless, it contained to that exaggerated extent elements which are typical of radicalism of that kind. Sometimes it reached primitive passion and enthusiasm, pathos, lack of ability to understand the realities of our world, underestimation of strategy, tactics, and experience of the international communist movement. And finally it represents a program which is limited only to destruction, because even Carmichael could not answer the question "how do you see it afterwards?"

Some of the addresses made at the LASO conference will be certainly misused by the United States which will again charge Cuba that she organizes "subversive activities in Latin America", especially since certain governments in Latin America call for help of the United States in the same sense.

In spite of that, the LASO conference in Havana was very significant in the sense that it showed clearly how complex and explosive the situation is on a continent which the American imperialism consists as its hinderland where it can engage ruthlessly in its "export of counter-revolution" and which it drives by its exploitation into violent political and social conflicts. That is why the revolutionary solidarity which was proclaimed in Havana is very significant. However, we must also see realistically that some views were expressed at the conference which in various ways differ from the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. It is to the credit of the Cuban comrades that the conference did not sail into the turbid Chinese waters and that in spite of such different viewpoints it refused to engage in public polemics which would weaken the international unity.

BLACK NATIONALIST DISCUSSES AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an unsigned interview with George Ware entitled "Black Power and Revolution" in the Spanish-language monthly Cuban theoretical journal Pensamiento Critico (Critical Thought), Havana, No 8, September 1967, pages 3-13]

The Negro movement does not represent a homogeneous whole but, contrarywise, is made up of different ideological groups whose range varies from [those who advocate] passive resistance to the realistic attitude of those who claim their rights by means of armed action. In the Negro movement there has always existed a separation between autemists and integrationists; but this used to boil down to a theoretical plane without their tactics being different -- but for individual exceptions -- in practice.

Nevertheless, from 1965 on there began the process of ideological radicalization of two organizations of the Negro movement: CORE [Congress of Racial Equality] and SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee].

Up to that year the activity of CORE, founded in 1942 by dissident elements of the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People], had grown within a framework of non-violence. This had prevented its members from exercising self-defense when they were attacked. At the congress of CORE in 1965, the need to use force as a means to respond to racist violence was recognized; but it was not passed as a result of pressure from the then president of CORE, James Farmer. The election of [Floyd] McKissick to the leadership of CORE gave the organization a more militant and fighting character. From that time on CORE has maintained a firm position against the United States involvement in Vietnam and against the draft, is trying to politicize the Negro masses, and to confront them with the real significance of integration.

Simultaneously SNCC, formed in 1960, underwent a rapid transformation in its program. Influenced in decisive manner by the ideology of Malcolm X, SNCC propounded the struggle for political power through the formation of parties led entirely by Negroes. The [Black] Muslim leader had revitalized the tradition of the violent struggle of the Negroes which dated back to the 17th Century. SNCC hoisted this banner once more but had to revise it in order to make it adequate for the struggle in the ghettos whose sporadic outbursts of violence affected the patient and entreating struggle for civil rights. In January 1966 SNCC, in a formal declaration, condemned the foreign policy of the US, especially the war in Vietnam, US intervention in the Dominican Republic, etc.; the religious problem and the "black nationalism" of Malcolm X remained in the background. SNCC had raised its opposition against a power that wished to oppress the world and conceived the oppression of Negroes as a partial aspect of general oppression. In May 1966 the rotating presidency of SNCC went to Stokely Carmichael, and with his election the organization became even more radical.

SNCC declared that it conceives of its struggle as part of the ever-all struggle of the Third [underdeveloped, nonaligned] World; that the causes of racial violence in American cities are the same as those of the war in Vietnam and of the guerrilla movements in Latin America.

As much for CORE as for SNCC the strategic objective has changed; they do not struggle for integration into the white community, into a world ruled by the standards of the white men who hold power but for the redemption of their autonomy, for the exercise of the rights that are inherent to them as human beings, without the demand for fictitious assimilation with their oppressors.

In June 1966, during the march of [James] Meredith, the integrationists led by Martin Luther King and their reformist slogans were challenged in final manner by the autonomists led by Stokely Carmichael who brandished the slogan of "black power."

CORE, at its congress of July of the same year [1966], supported the thesis of "black power" as a symbol of the self-determination, self-rule and self-defense of the black masses. The idea of "black power" germinated in CORE and SNCC, which became stronger, and their influence expanded among the young members of conservative organizations such as the NAACP-- in whose midst there took shape contradictions in the form of struggle -- and in religious sects such as the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad which participated in demonstrations side by side with SNCC and fought at close quarters in the ghettos, and in armed groups such as the Deacons for Liberty and Justice, prepared to repel racist aggressions.

The rearguard of the Negro movement is constituted by the organizations that are struggling for civil rights, its ideological base. Its platform does not go beyond the abstract pronouncements of general brotherhood and gradual integration, product of the assimilation of Negro and white man, and its tactics is non-violent action. Its ideological line ranges from the right center where the SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] headed by Martin Luther King may be placed -- a group of religious Baptists whose basic objective has been to confirm, by means of complementary laws, the rights granted by the Constitution. Then there is the National Urban League which works for the individual solution of problems of employment and training of Negroes; and then the oldest, created at the beginning of the 20th Century, and most conservative group, the NAACP, whose leaders represent the most radical opposition to the slogan of "black power" but whose present position does not conceal their positive accomplishments such as the reiterated defense of Negroes in the courts and their ideological preparation so that they may become aware of their condition as human beings.

The Negro movement has entered a new phase. The statements of SNCC and CORE are the result of a new situation. Ideologically the Negro masses are prepared to respond to aggression with violence and to organize their own protection against an oppressive and racist society. Evidence of this is the failure of integration, the loss of prestige by Martin Luther King and his followers -- who are accused of being satisfied with words alone -- and the spontaneous uprising in Watts in 1965 where youth groups showed themselves willing to back radical struggles, the violence in Omaha, Nebraska, and other places in July 1966, and the recent revolts in 56 American cities.

The "black power" concept has met bitter opposition in integrationist thought which condemns its lack of precise definition; this fact represents its major value inasmuch as its flexibility allows it to represent the entire radical struggle against the oppression of the holders of power. The various motives attributed to "black power" by such leaders as Carmichael, McKissick, Rap Brown, George Ware (our interviewee) enrich its significance and make it an adequate slogan for the Negro masses at this stage of the definition of objectives and tactics.

[Editor's note]

Ware [Answer]: I shall start by speaking about SNCC. In 1960 it was made up of a group of young students disillusioned with the form in which the civil rights struggle was being waged in the United States. The struggle had been qualified as non-violent by the liberal white community and by Dr Martin Luther King. Despite the existence among us of very diverse opinions concerning this form of struggle, a decision had to be made to take part in a non-violent struggle, or simply not to fight. Our organization decided to foment a slogan of militant non-violent struggle. From that point on the non-violent content of our program moved away from the Christian ethic and adopted a broader perspective, broader and audacious without reaching the point of being aggressive. We wished to assume a posture of challenge. Accordingly, we began to change the orientation of the struggle of the Negro people. This was not an aggressive position but neither was it an obsequious one. Nevertheless, many students joined our organization; they came from the Negro middle class and many of them grasped confusedly the form in which the program had to be carried out. Some considered that they had to wear "kid gloves" when they went out to demonstrate; others wanted to use words that had to shine with "cleanliness and with decorum" in public in order to create an impression of formality for the organization and to attract the sympathy of the whites. This is explained by the fact that it was considered that the success of the non-violent struggle depended on the benevolence of the white population.

One question became evident: from the point of view of the white liberal group* in the United States, our movement was becoming alienated. The ideological development of our group was being controlled by individuals who were not directly involved in our struggle -- they sent us the money to get released from jail and their sons joined us in demonstrations. But we started to change many of these things. In the first place we started to talk with activists who wished to organize the people, trying to make them see that they would have to live with the poor folk, share their food, dress as they do. We never gave them any more money than they would need for their subsistence. Some of us began to understand basic problems; we could not aspire to a revolutionary movement if the latter was being backed by these against whom we were rebelling. This was a contradiction. We then considered the following: Even when we received help from white people we had to develop the skill to act independently. We thus felt that if they assisted us that would be fine, but if they did not do so we could carry on by ourselves. These are the bases of "black power." We wished that the slogan of "black power" should mean the union of the black people in order to struggle for their liberation, using whatever necessary means, which represented in the last analysis the ideology and organization against which we were rebelling. The last portion of this statement displeased the majority of the population in the United States. They say that this opened the door to violence, that it facilitated it; that if we used it we would then be as perverse as the white people.

* "White liberal": a reformer belonging to the middle class with faith in the democratic process through law and order in the US. Politically the white liberal fluctuates between the center and the left. (Editor's note)

We have left this concept behind and we had to work to improve it. For that reason we used the position of Fanon, rooted in existentialism, who said that a person can consider himself the equal of a man who has the power and right to kill him only when the person is capable of killing the man too. He also referred to the redeeming effects of violence from the psychological point of view. Previously, the black people felt that to kill a white man practically represented suicide. For that reason we are of the opinion that there are many valiant arguments in the writings of Frantz Fanon.

Question: I would like to know your opinion about integration.

Answer: We assert that integration implies an individualist solution of the problem and that it can occur only when the individuals are equal. The integrationist struggle in the United States has a racist nature. We used to be told: You people have to move; we shall get you out of your communities in order to transfer you to the white community. We have never heard talk of a cultural interchange with the colored people. We were always told simply that we had to integrate and that when we finally did so we would become whites. You people must become more acceptable to us.

But we started saying: Our black skin is pleasing to us. We believe that our curly hair is attractive and that our thick lips and our enlarged nostrils -- all our typical traits -- are as handsome as those of the whites, and what we wish is that you people should take our black skin into account as such and that the latter should not interfere at the time when you think of us as human beings. I shall not become a carbon copy of you in order to be accepted by you people because I would also have to take into account whether I am disposed to accept you as you are; and yet, this point has never been discussed.

Integration confused many people. We believe that if a person wishes to live in a black community, then his right to do so should be considered. The only inconvenience would be if that individual should create a setup of such a nature that whites would not be allowed to live in it; or that that person should decide to move to a white community and its members, through force, should prevent him from doing so. Nevertheless, instead of struggling on behalf of integration, we prefer to struggle to eliminate discrimination.

Question: What political significance do you attach to the mention of Martin Luther King as a candidate for the presidency of the United States and of Benjamin Speck as Vice President? How does SNCC weigh the possibility of participating in the next elections?

Answer: When we speak of proposing a Negro for the presidency of the United States and should the whites, in turn, nominate George Wallace, we would do it with the purpose of ridiculing the entire electoral process and would then be involved in a game in which the imperialists have all the possibilities of winning and in which they have great experience. Even when somebody suggested Martin Luther King as a presidential candidate I do not think that he considered the matter. It is possible that this suggestion stemmed from the thought of nominating for the presidency individuals who would urge peace in Vietnam.

Nevertheless, there is something in this matter of elections for 1968 that we wish to point out. Lyndon Johnson gave his backing at one point to the civil rights movement. "We shall overcome,"* he said, and called a conference to discuss the rights of the Negro population in the United States. He invited us to that conference. He sent us an invitation with gilded letters and we, at the margin of this invitation, answered him: "Lyndon Johnson, to the gallows!"

We showed that we would not negotiate with the Number One oppressor of the Western world concerning the start of liberation from oppression of a segment of the American population. And this is another of the many contradictions that are surging in American society: How is it possible that the man who is the prime individual responsible for the oppression of the peoples should speak to those who are suffering from oppression? Once more the whites and the reformist blacks will wonder in the United States: How is it possible that there should be individuals who would not unite with the President? However, we have left these childish reactions behind.

Johnson wanted to include the "black power" slogan as part of his political platform. It is clear that for that purpose it was necessary to alter the slogan. It would have been necessary to mention the positive aspects of "black power" and thus bring out its non-violent aspect. And this we would indeed not accept. I believe that the people who live in "ghettos" will make it impossible that he should try to incorporate the "black power" movement in his political platform. But in the United States there are many who try to join the movement or to draw close to it, for in this manner they weaken or avoid the confrontation.

Question: Comrade Carmichael, at a news conference held yesterday, referred to the need to organize guerrillas in the United States. Could you elaborate on this matter?

Answer: As far as I am concerned it is a sure fact that the white population of the United States, especially those who hold the control in their hands, will never give up power. They will never say: "Now then, it is true that you people are right; we are therefore handing over to you the control of your communities."

This would mean transferring power to the black people and with that millions and millions of dollars.

We shall control this property, but we shall only be able to own it if we fight for it. The only way of struggle that we consider suitable to choose is guerrilla warfare. We cannot line up on one side of the street and allow the United States Army to line up on the other side in order to begin fighting thereafter. We have to organize urban guerrillas for this confrontation in areas where the Negro population is in the majority. For example, 42% of the total population of the state of Mississippi is colored. At one point in our history the question of redistributing the lands of Mississippi among the dispossessed came up. The latter was never done, however. We nevertheless consider that something has to be done in connection with this, that the land must be redistributed among the inhabitants of the area. There are still

* "We shall overcome" is the hymn of the civil rights movement. Since Johnson used it in his speech, the popularity of the song has declined notably. (Editor's note)

enormous plantations in Mississippi where the Negroes work for just three dollars a day. They are burdened with debts of thousands and thousands of dollars which they owe to the plantation owners. This represents a slave system even though it is not qualified as such.

Question: Do you consider that the recent violent struggles are self-defense movements?

Answer: The most recent struggles represent a form of self-defense against police violence. Nearly every action began as a reaction against the brutality of white policemen. In this respect they are self-defense actions, but at the same time they represent an offensive by the Negroes who refuse to accept the economic and ideological exploitation to which they are subjected.

Question: Does the slogan "black power" as it is expounded by SNCC imply simply a racial or class confrontation?

Answer: We are being oppressed not because we are poor but because we are Negroes. We must unite around this fact and fight against oppression. The poor white population of the United States is the most racist element of the community. This may easily be understood inasmuch as these whites were educated in the conviction that even though they do not yet possess material means, they are nevertheless superior by virtue of their race. It is difficult to attract to our movement those who hate the very sight of us. On innumerable occasions we have reiterated that we are ready to fight for them when they are ready for the fight. But it is important that they should resolve their own racist conceptions.

If those of us who are Negroes unite it is because we have no alternatives. They say that we hate the whites, and that is true. Nevertheless, I challenge anyone to demonstrate to me that this is racism, because if they were all black but different from us we would continue hating them because they would be our oppressors. And it is extremely difficult to like the one who oppresses you.

Another argument which they use to qualify us as racists is that we do not allow whites into our organization. But the whites who belonged to our organization, those who participated in our struggle, those who were killed understand why we do this. We consider that it is only to them that we owe an explanation. The white communities of the United States and the radical Negroes undertake their agitation and organizational work exclusively in the Negro communities. We have always opined that the Negroes must begin their activities in the Negro communities whereas the whites should work in their own communities. You people understand what is meant by inferiority complex and how it can take root in the psychology of the colored population. If a white man is sent to a Negro community to help the Negroes, then this inferiority complex is enhanced. The Negroes have to see other Negroes as their leaders. They have to feel proud of themselves. They have to develop a feeling of self-confidence.

And that is the reason why we consider that we must not have whites as members of our organization, officially, and they agreed with us. Many whites tried to interfere with our organization; they used to tell us what to do. We are tired of repeating to the whites that it is not they who are in charge of delineating our movement nor of controlling it.

If they consider that it must be directed in another form, then they should do it by themselves. And if they are not capable of doing it, let them shut up; because those who criticize generally do nothing.

Because we have come to Cuba people will say that we are Communists. We are not going to discuss that matter. When we desired integration they answered us: No! When we said that we did not wish integration then the whites qualified us as racists. This explained many things to us.

Question: Do you believe that the same thing will happen to Stokely Carmichael that happened to Malcolm X; that is, that an organization is created around a leader, and that if the latter is eliminated the organization disappears?

Answer: That is a possibility that could be considered but the circumstances are not the same since it is not a single leader that is involved but a group of them. The fact that there are many leaders shows the strength that the Negro movement has acquired. In order to document this with facts, I shall explain the organization of SNCC.

The leadership of our organization is made up of Central Committee which elects the Secretary General, the Organizational Secretary, and the Platform Secretary. SNCC elects a new Secretary General every year. Each one is as dynamic as the one before or more so.

In addition, we know and thus have inculcated in the masses the fact that behind the assassination of any revolutionary leader there looms the hand of the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency]. If an attempt is made against our leaders, we shall know how to respond to the imperialists by means of a major offensive. The assassination of Stokely, no matter how it might be disguised, would provoke a reaction among the Negro people that it is impossible to predict.

Question: We would like you to tell us a little more about your opinion of the personality of Abraham Lincoln as and how it was exposed by Carmichael.

Answer: The attitude of Lincoln expresses an under-estimate of the black man. On coming out for the end of slavery he expounded the impossibility of economic and social equality between blacks and whites. The emancipation of the slaves met the economic needs of the development of capitalism and the consequent political struggle between the North and the South.

Negro Uprisings in 56 Cities of the United States

City	Period	Killed	Injured	Arrested	Damage
	[1967]				
56 cities	4 months	84	3,828	9,551	\$ 523 million
Omaha, Neb	Apr 1-2	0	2	21	Not reported (NR)
Nashville, Tenn	Apr 8-10	0	19	80	NR
Cleveland, O	Apr 16-20	0	4	10	NR
Massillon, O	Apr 17	0	1	6	NR
Baton Rouge, La	Apr 30	0	NR	7	NR
Recheater, NY	May 2-Jul 24	1	2	7	NR
Jackson, Miss	May 10-11	1	2	NR	NR
Heusten, Tex	May 16-17	1	23	489	NR
Chicago, Ill	May 21, 30 & Jul 7, 30	0	10	135	NR
Vallejo, Cal	May 22	0	2	0	NR

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City	Period	Killed	Injured	Arrested	Damage
Beston, Mass	Jul 2-5	0	100	159	\$1,000,000
Prattville, Ala	Jun 11-12	0	4	10	NR
Philadelphia, Pa	Jun 11 & Jul 26-27	0	NR	43	NR
Tampa, Fla	Jun 11-13	2	18	80	\$2,000,000
Cincinnati, O	Jun 12-16 & Jul 3-5	1	20	384	\$3,000,000
Dayton, O	Jun 14-16	0	3	10	\$ 1,000
Lansing, Mich	Jun 15	0	3	2	NR
Atlanta, Ga	Jun 19-20 & Jul 3	1	12	10	NR
Cambridge, Md	Jun 26-28 & Jul 27	0	1	2	NR
Buffale, NY	Jun 27-29	0	100	240	\$ 250,000
Lake Geneva, Wis	Jul 1-3	0	10	109	NR
Des Moines, Iowa	Jul 2, 16	0	2	23	NR
Kansas City, Mo	Jul 9	0	1	11	NR
Waterloo, Iowa	Jul 10	0	5	5	NR
Erie, Pa	Jul 12-13, 19	0	2	17	\$ 150,000
Hartford, Conn	Jul 12-13	0	11	20	NR
Newark, NJ	Jul 12-18	26	1,200	1,600	\$15,000,000
Plainfield, NJ	Jul 14-16	1	50	75	NR
Cairo, Ill	Jul 16-18	1	NR	NR	\$ 100,000
Fresno, Cal	Jul 17	0	1	NR	NR
Greensboro, NC	Jul 18	0	1	10	NR
Ryack, NY	Jul 19	0	NR	18	NR
Minneapolis, Minn	Jul 20-22	0	10	43	\$1,000,000
Youngstown, O	Jul 20-22	1	3	7	NR
Englewood, NJ	Jul 21-22	0	11	13	NR
East Harlem, NYC	Jul 21-24	3	14	NR	NR
Birmingham, Ala	Jul 23	0	12	70	NR
Detroit, Mich	Jul 23-30	41	2,000	5,000	\$500,000,000*
Toledo, O	Jul 23-25	0	1	32	NR
Tucson, Ariz	Jul 24	0	4	NR	NR
Grand Rapids, Mich	Jul 24-26	0	57	100	NR
Pontiac, Mich	Jul 24	2	1	87	NR
Flint, Mich	Jul 25	0	NR	100	NR
Saginaw, Mich	Jul 25	0	8	NR	NR
Albany, NY	Jul 27	0	NR	54	NR
New York, NY	Jul 27	0	0	23	NR
Phoenix, Ariz	Jul 27	0	0	48	\$ 34,000
Poughkeepsie, NY	Jul 27	0	0	12	NR
South Bend, Ind	Jul 27	0	7	NR	NR
Waterbury, Conn	Jul 27	0	2	6	NR
Brooklyn, NY	Jul 28	0	1	15	NR
Rockford, Ill	Jul 29	0	0	44	NR
Milwaukee, Wis	Jul 30-31	2	85	180	NR
Portland, Ore	Jul 30	0	1	19	\$ 27,000
Riviera Beach, Fla	Jul 30	0	NR	46	\$ 850,000
Wichita, Kan	Jul 30	0	2	19	NR
San Bernardino, Cal	Jul 31	0	0	2	NR
Washington, DC	Aug 1	0	3	50	NR

*The total amount of losses has been estimated at \$1 billion.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPEAKS

Prague STUDENT No 39 27 Sep 67 p 4

[Article by J. Gut]

[Text] In the United States Stokely Carmichael has become today a concept. He is also called Black Power. His color is his power base. He openly battles with the society in which he lives.

In his 26th year he was an adversary of black militant revenge, living on violence and unrest. Today he is a man who is perhaps afraid, but hates in equal measure. The youthful American militant and constantly strengthening nationalist movement of Negroes considers him a man worthy of emulation. He is over six feet tall, he like to laugh and one cannot deny a personal and physical charm. He can discuss Sartre and Camus, but he is equally master of the vigorous speech of the men of the ghetto, the speech of workers on the plantations, and the oratorical mannerisms of university intellectuals. He embodies all three forms. He blends with every event as an unobserved outsider who never belonged anywhere. When he was 20 years old, he was one of five black students in a select secondary school in New York. At the same time, however, he was "military adviser" of a white gang planning thefts.

At each mass meeting he reveals a new aspect of his personality. In seven years, Carmichael has changed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, known also as SNICK, from a pacifist, obedient movement to an organization on a full militant footing.

Like other American black militants, Carmichael was also born in the British colony of West Indies. He admits that today he is most ashamed of the fact that he wanted at one time to be a white man. In Trinidad, the young people play the following game: they take a mango peel and throw it in the air. If it falls so that the brown side remains on top, it means that the young man will marry a colored girl. "In those days I endlessly tossed a mango peel in the air," Carmichael admits today, "and I hoped that it will fall with the white side up, so that I would marry a white woman."

Have you ever had any relationship with a white woman?

"Only once when I was a student in the secondary school in New York. However, it was more platonic than sexual. However, for me it was a very important relationship. At that time I wanted to ask the girl for her hand, but I was afraid, I was terribly afraid that it would disgust her so that she would insult me in some nasty manner and I would not know what to do. Well, I tried to imagine what I would say and what we would talk about. We went together on the subway and then when the moment actually arrived, everyone was looking at us. I think that she was fully aware of this, but she acted as if nothing were happening. I faltered at the time from shame. Then we went to a dancing school. I remember even now the look on the dancing teachers. I had violated and touched on a genuine American taboo, the white woman."

Carmichael grew up with two sisters, three aunts and a grandmother at the top of a 42-step stair in the finest house on Oxford Street in Port of Spain in Trinidad. The house had been built by his father, a carpenter, who then left to find work in the United States. Carmichael did not see his parents after his second year. He came to them to New York in his 12th year.

He admits that even now it angers him how England and English upbringing have shaped his personality and even today dominate his thinking.

As a 10 year old, he wore serge trousers, a starched white shirt and the long stockings of the boys school Tranquility. Once he stood for four hours watching a royal parade and waving the Union Jack. He admits that even today he has not forgiven himself. "I reproach myself that even at that time I allowed myself to be so influenced by white rule and did not at all rebel. Even today I feel rage when I remember that the people whom I admired so much in the West Indies did not rebel either. On the contrary, they held me by the neck each time.

"In school we had to learn by heart Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden." We were told that we had not existed until we had been discovered by a man with the name of Sir Walter Raleigh. As young people we went to the movies and we were fans of Tarzan, who fought his way through the hell of Africa."

Only recently Carmichael has recalled bitter memories of his childhood in the West Indies at mass meetings in Hackney, Notting Hill, Brixton and London. "If you should ask any black schoolboy anywhere in the West Indies about the Nile Valley or about Hannibal, he would know nothing about it at all. However, he can name all the English kings, he knows when the English queens ruled and what kind of a king was...[ellipsis as printed].

"My father was humble, quiet and obedient. Thus, he was everything that I am not. He believed that only the white man was right: if you blacks will work hard, you will be successful. However, he died just the way he was born: poor and black. Such a conception of life is not for me. If today I were not working in the movement, I would probably become a gangster. My father during his life followed three occupations. He was a carpenter, then he performed occasional work and finally he was a nighttime taxicab driver. We used to see him only on Sunday. He was very religious. Therefore, I also attended Sunday sermons and church. Until my 15th year. Then it appeared to me to be a loss of time."

Carmichael also recalls how his father was without work for three weeks. "However, he was too proud to bribe a trade union representative who could have found him employment. In contrast, my mother went and borrowed 50 dollars, invited the trade union representative to our house and gave him not only those 50 dollars but even some kind of expensive perfume. Father obtained employment and then insisted that if anyone sincerely prayed to God, his prayers must be answered. Mother was a real fighter. If she wanted something she always obtained it."

Carmichael recalls his teen years on the streets of Harlem and the Bronx as follows: "We stole automobiles, batteries, automobile tires, and then we lumped it together, sold it and went to buy ourselves some candy. I planned all the activities. I began to find my way through life when I was 16. Alas, they did not allow you to sell cocaine, unless you were at least 21 years old."

Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, murdered three years ago in Harlem, exerted an extraordinary influence on Carmichael. Many of Carmichael's present speeches are influenced by the thinking of Malcolm X. Of the need for pride in one's black coloring, he says: "We must consider ourselves to be magnificent people. So far it has been instilled in us that the only thing which is beautiful is a white chick with long blonde hair. We were always pointed out as having thick lips, a flat nose and black curly hair. However, we must never again imitate white men."

Carmichael calls Malcolm X his holy protector. In the office of SNICK in Atlanta he has Malcolm's photograph hanging above his desk near the slogan: "Be constantly on the move, otherwise the whites will destroy you!" In Malcolm he always admired his intelligence, his analytical sense, his readiness and his unbreakable will to bring his black people together. However, what intrigued young people most in Malcolm was the fact that he stopped addressing white people. He spoke only to his own black people.

Carmichael has many white friends. Alas, even most of his friends comprehend the political ideology of the Negroes entirely differently. "The trouble with white liberals, whenever you are sitting with them, is that they want to talk about racism. That, however, is not the spirit of friends who would suit me. I should like to sit with them and to talk possibly about the monk Thelonus or about Bach or Joyce."

What would you do if you were walking with a white woman and a white man called her a prostitute?

"I would probably continue on. It is useless to debate or to fight. It is a shame to degrade oneself especially with such a person.

"I cannot fight with individuals. I am fighting against institutionalized racism. My task is not to permit white men to determine my attitudes."

He only shrugs his shoulders in a debate on the use of force. "The white man talks about force. Did he also talk about force when he seized and plundered Africa? They say that Black Power means force. The white man has exerted force on us a full 400 years. If today we use force against him, he deserves every blow.

"In any case, it is irrelevant to talk about force in a world such as ours. Daily people are dying of hunger even though there is enough food in the world. That is force. The Indian government forces people to allow themselves to be sterilized. That is worse than to shoot a man. On the contrary, the British government fully approves this.

"They say of me that I foment disturbances and incite people, because if I speak to black listeners, I do not speak mildly or as an intellectual. Also, it is not necessary. The listeners understand me instinctively and emotionally. For example, they very well know what police brutality is. To whites, it would be necessary to mention several specific news reports."

"What is there to say on the recent disturbances in Newark, New Jersey, Detroit and elsewhere where people were also killed?"

"I do not call them disturbances. They are rebellions. I took part in eight of them. We called the killing a political death. It was to be not only repayment so that white people would become aware that it is not possible to shoot at people on the streets, but also a political act, that the battle is continuing. The white people want to frighten us with this game of death. They say: look, you have lost more than 30 people, and we only two. It would be better if you stop. So! SNICK enjoys respect! If we say "burn, baby, burn!" we are the first who have struck a match. Restriction in Watts and Newark is really a fact which 100 years of history will not influence. I assume that I can shoot a white policeman in a black quarter, since I am of the opinion that he has no business there. If someone is standing on your foot and you first of all politely ask, plead, complain and do everything possible but he continues to be unwilling to move, you must finally push him off.

"Peace could reign in the United States for 400 years; if the white man wanted anything, he commanded: 'Negro, do it!' and the Negro did it. It was that kind of peace. Oh, oh!"

How does Carmichael view the future? Is he perhaps counting on counterdisturbances by white people?

"The United States cannot use the hydrogen bomb against Negroes on American territory, if they will surround our ghettos, we will blow up everything they build. We will raze to the ground our entire country, if white people will restore order in their way."

Carmichael has been imprisoned 35 times. He was imprisoned eight times for fomenting disturbances. He was the target of shooting eight times. However, he was not hit once. However, one of his close friends was shot three years ago, right at the wheel of his automobile. Carmichael has never driven in that vehicle. He was beaten up several times, and today he cannot even count the number. At mass meetings he has shown fresh summer wounds from police billyclubs and butts.

At the beginning of this year Carmichael foretold that he would not live through this summer. What is his comment to his being killed just like Malcolm X?

"That is a dilemma which faces the American people now. They made a mistake in the case of Malcolm and they finally made a martyr of him. White people must reach a decision. Either they will imprison me or kill me. That is also one of the reasons why they have not drafted me."

Now, he never moves about without a personal guard. In Mississippi or in Watts, the guards can carry weapons under the nationalist uniform. In London, his protection was inconspicuous. One of his guards admitted that he was unwilling for anyone to know his name. If Carmichael dies, the guard will die with him. Either both will live or both will die.

Carmichael believes that he can continue to exploit his popularity, since people are more likely to attach themselves to a person rather than to an entire movement. However he is convinced that what he is doing in the nationalist movement could be done by anyone else. The concept of a Stokely Carmichael phenomenon is in his opinion an invention of the white press. However, he never intends to live according to rules which have been specified unilaterally by white men. His growing personal popularity has also compelled him to resign as president of SNICK

"My task now is to transfer to our people the admiration and love which all Negroes show to me. It is necessary to unite Negroes in their battle for liberation and to use for this purpose all available means. As brother Malcolm X said of this: we want to control all the institutions where we live, we want to control our land and to stop the exploitation of nonwhites in the entire world. Negroes should rule in the cities where they have a majority of the population. This includes without exception Washington itself. Surely there is nothing bad in living in a black ghetto, if you have been freed of oppression. It does not mean a black apartheid, since we will never say that white men may not enter."

Thus, Stokely Carmichael is an heir of Malcolm's throne. However, he still needs to mature in his role, just as Malcolm X matured. However, Carmichael's tragedy is that, just as the tragedy of his people, the world will neither provide him the necessary time nor will understand him as he needs to be understood.

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SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

*REPORTAGE AND COMMENT ON STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS ABROAD*

For Official Use Only
9 AUGUST 1967
FB 05/67

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S U M M A R Y

The bulk of the reportage on Stokely Carmichael's activities and statements abroad, particularly after his arrival in Havana from London on 25 July, is provided by Cuban media: Radio Havana broadcasts for the domestic audience, the domestic television service, international service broadcasts in Spanish and English, the news agency PRENSA LATINA, and the Cuban press. The media publicize Carmichael's presence at the 26 July anniversary celebrations in Santiago de Cuba, when Prime Minister Castro referred to Carmichael as "one of the most prestigious leaders for civil rights in the United States"; his speech to the First Latin American Solidarity Organization (IASO) Conference in his capacity as honorary delegate, as well as a later statement to one of the conference committees; his lengthy press conference at the Habana Libre Hotel on 1 August; and numerous interviews granted the Cuban radio, television, and press.

No complete account of Carmichael's press conference is available from a single source, but the event was heavily publicized by Havana media and reported extensively by the Paris LE MONDE and in a dispatch by the Havana correspondent of the ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE. The longest available account appeared in the Havana daily GRANMA on 3 August.

Cuban accounts of the conference do not mention Carmichael's reported statement threatening the assassination of US Government leaders in retaliation for the killing of American Negro leaders "by the CIA." Reporting Carmichael's charge that the CIA assassinated Ben Barka and Turcios Lima and poisoned Richard Wright in Paris, Havana's EL MUNDO stops short of citing Carmichael's threat when it quotes him as saying: "If I am assassinated, everyone will know that it was the CIA If I am assassinated, the struggle will not be stopped either."

Brief recorded and filmed portions of Carmichael's press conference were carried by the Havana television service on 2 August. In these excerpts of his statements Carmichael relates the American Negro's fight to that "against imperialism, oppression, and racism" outside the United States. "We have no alternative but to pick up arms, to wage a struggle for liberation," Carmichael said.

In his address to the IASO Conference, Carmichael said that Negroes were ready to destroy US imperialism from inside the country, that guerrilla warfare must begin in the United States, and that the next "Vietnam" would occur in Latin America. He averred that US Negroes and Latin Americans share an inseparable destiny, cited Che Guevara on revolutionary warfare, and stated that the American Negroes are not striving to build a capitalist society, but one in which all goods would be available to everybody.

GRANMA and EL MUNDO on 2 August published facsimiles of a handwritten Carmichael message to Che Guevara, and GRANMA on the same day printed the facsimile of a message of greetings to "our comrades in the armed struggle against imperialism and racism." Radio Havana indicated that it had broadcast both messages in Carmichael's own voice, but no such broadcasts were heard by FBIS monitors.

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vi.

In his numerous interviews with Cuban media, Carmichael stressed the need for US Negroes to resort to urban guerrilla warfare, effusively praised Castro and the Cuban revolution, and exalted Che Guevara.

No mention of Carmichael's presence in Havana has appeared in brief, very limited news coverage of the LASO Conference by Radio Moscow. Peking media, which have not mentioned the LASO Conference at all, carried one reference to Carmichael's press interview of 1 August, quoting him as stating that many US Negroes have been inspired by Mao's teachings, but did not mention that the statement was made in Havana.

Limited British and French press comment is critical of Carmichael's appeals to race hatred and violence.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO ATTEND LASO CONFERENCE

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1121 GMT 25 July 1967--P

(Text) The North American Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael, confirmed to PRENSA LATINA that he will attend as an observer-delegate the First Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference, which will begin 31 July in Havana. The young North American Negro leader also sent a message of greeting to the LASO delegates in which he said: We are going to meet with you because we feel that your victory is a victory for us and your unlimited courage inspires us. Carmichael added that he will go to Havana because the message from Che Guevara to the Tricontinental Conference has a great meaning for Afro-Americans, who make up part of the third world.

The U.S. Negro leader replied to questions asked by PRENSA LATINA and reiterated his conviction that there can be no solution for the Afro-Americans if the problems of the third world are not resolved.

He also pointed out that he is convinced that the Afro-Asian-Latin America Peoples Solidarity Organization is one of the most important elements contributing to the just struggle of the U.S. Negro. He added that North American Negro youth reads the writings of Che Guevara with great interest because they feel as close to him as they do to the Cuban revolution. Referring to the message from Che, the Negro leader declared that Guevara has demonstrated in theory and practice that co-existence between the oppressors and the oppressed in Latin America has become impossible.

Carmichael said: For 400 years U.S. Negroes have suffered beatings and lynchings. It is enough to have postponed the solution to that problem for 400 years. Our generation is tired of it.

Carmichael also declared that his first contact with the Cuban revolution took place in Harlem in 1960 during the historic appearance by Fidel before the United Nations. That visit, he emphasized, marked a historic moment in the struggle of the North American Negro, who can never forget the presence of Fidel Castro in Harlem or turn against the Cuban revolution.

Carmichael declared that the North American Negro has awakened to internationalism because of the struggle in Vietnam, Cuba, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, and other countries. Referring to the Negro's struggle in New Jersey and Minnesota, the young leader called them "true revolutions," and he said that in Newark guerrilla tactics were used and he emphasized that Afro-Americans are prepared to pay the price for their liberation.

(Editor's note: Havana Domestic Service in Spanish at 1100 GMT 25 July reports that Carmichael's statement was made in London.)

CARMICHAEL ARRIVES IN HAVANA FOR LASO MEETING

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2245 GMT 25 July 1967--F

(Excerpts) Stokely Carmichael, leader of the national Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, arrived in Havana from London at noon today. Carmichael is in Cuba as an observer-delegate to the First Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference, which opens 31 July. The U.S. Negro leader was met at the airport by Capt. Osmani Cienfuegos, executive secretary of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, and by LASO officials.

Upon his arrival in Cuba today Carmichael extended the following cordial greeting to the Cuban people: (recorded statement in English, which is then translated into Spanish by the announcer) "My brothers and sisters in the struggle, while we are sorry that at this time we are not speaking to you in Spanish, from this moment on in all our talks and conversations we will take time out to translate in Spanish, because we respect your language and because we do not want to strip you of your culture. We would only like to say at this point that it is indeed an honor for us to be here, and that we see your struggle as a very important part of our struggle in the fight for humanity around the world. Thank you."

FIDEL CASTRO SPEECH ON 26 JULY ANNIVERSARY

Havana Domestic Radio and Television Services in Spanish 2135 GMT 26 July 1967--F/E

(Speech by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro at ceremony in Santiago de Cuba's Jose Marti Square marking the 14th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks--live)

(Excerpt) Likewise present for the first time in this ceremony, or in a ceremony of this type, is one of the most prestigious leaders for civil rights in the United States, Stokely Carmichael! (prolonged applause) For our country and for our city of Santiago, Cuba, and for our 26 July date, it is a signal honor that those who represent the highest revolutionary values, the highest intellectual values, the ones who in all parts of the world defend the most just things, are present here this afternoon.

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED BY PRENSA LATINA

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1130 GMT 26 July 1967--E

(Feature: "Our America")

(Text) In an exclusive interview for PRENSA LATINA in London, noted U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael has confirmed that he will attend the First Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference, scheduled to open in Havana on 31 July, as a delegate-observer. Stokely Carmichael arrived in Havana on Tuesday. The U.S. Negro leader and former president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spoke of matters of real interest for the Latin American peoples. Carmichael said that he is going to Havana because Che Guevara's message to the Tricontinental (AALAPS) has great significance for us, because we Afro-Americans in the United States are part of the third world." The U.S. Negro leader replied to PRENSA

LATINA questions and, in one of his replies, he reiterated his conviction that there cannot be a solution for the problems of the U.S. Negro population without resolving the problems of the struggle in the third world. That is why we feel, he added, that the AALAPSO is one of the most important elements for the development of the Negroes in the United States.

Carmichael said that, in order to put into practice the internationalist concepts of the struggle maintained by the Afro-Americans, contacts have been initiated with the national liberation movements of Latin America, and an agreement was recently signed with the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). On that occasion, Stokely Carmichael declared: "Puerto Rico is a colony outside the United States, and we are a colony within the United States."

There is another matter of extraordinary interest to the men and women of the Americas who are fighting for freedom and justice: Stokely Carmichael said that in the United States, the Negro youth read Che Guevara with much interest, because, in a revolutionary sense, "Guevara is closer to us than anyone else, because the Cuban revolution is closer to us than anything else, and it inspires us. Guevara has shown that he is not just a theoretician, but a man who risks his life everyday for his ideas, a man who has made it clear to us that (in) Latin America, the line of coexistence between oppressors and oppressed cannot bring any results. For 400 years," the former SNCC president noted, "we have coexisted within the United States, and the results have been beatings and lynchings. It is enough to bear a situation for four centuries, and our generation is tired."

That last statement by Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, which was made some days ago to the PRENSA LATINA correspondent, comes to us now, when the blood of more than a dozen Negroes killed in Detroit is still fresh, and more than 1,000 are injured and in many hospitals. Stokely Carmichael's statement that there cannot be any coexistence in Latin America between exploiters and oppressed reaches us at the moment the reports of the massacre of Negroes in Detroit note that 1800 parachutists, veterans of the Santo Domingo invasion forces, have entered that city in combat readiness.

The presence of Negro leader Stokely Carmichael at the LASO conference in Havana is of profound significance. His presence is an encouragement for the Negroes fighting in the United States and for all who are fighting in this continent for their true liberation. Carmichael has said there can be no solution for the problems of the struggle in the third world. He is right, because the origins of the exploitation of the Negroes in the United States are the ones that are the origins of the exploitation of all the poor in our America. That is the result of the division of society into two classes: oppressors and oppressed. Only when the system of capitalist exploitation is liquidated will discrimination and outrage, misery and hatred be ended.

US Observer Stokely Carmichael

Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0135 GMT 28 July 1967--E (200) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

(Text) Havana, 27 July--"We should internationalize our struggle, and if we are to make Che Guevara's words of creating two, three, or more Vietnams a reality, it should be known that Detroit and New York also are Vietnams," said U.S. Negro leader Stokely Carmichael. In an interview granted to JUVENTUD REBELDE, Carmichael stressed the importance the LASO conference has for the U.S. Negro masses and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

"The LASO Conference," he stressed, "is the most important meeting being held in the world right now." As for the meaning of the meeting for the struggle of the U.S. Negro people, Carmichael stressed that "for us LASO is very important because it will enable us to exchange points of view about the Latin American struggle against imperialism." The former SNCC chairman said that the U.S. Government has used several maneuvers to check the Negro movement and maintain the division in the Negro movement in order to prevent the materialization of "a great struggle." Carmichael pointed to the need of the Negro population of his country to undertake a common struggle and to "join in all the other struggles so that through them we may become brothers."

Carmichael said that he had been greatly impressed by certain things that occurred with the triumph of the Cuban revolution, especially the expropriation of the land owned by the North Americans, who were exploiting the island, and later the posture of Cuban leader Fidel Castro, who stopped in a Harlem hotel when he visited the United Nations. "This incident caused a great impact among the Negro masses," said Carmichael, "because no other diplomatic figure had done anything like it."

The young Negro leader also said that because of the characteristics of the Cubans emigrating to the United States, most of them white, "we supposed then that Fidel was doing something good in Cuba." Finally, Carmichael said that his greatest impression of Cuba has been "the courage shown by Fidel and the Cuban people in opposing the United States: something really admirable." When asked about the speech that Prime Minister Fidel Castro made in Santiago yesterday, Carmichael said: "I do not judge speeches on the basis of whether they are good or bad but on whether or not they are revolutionary, and that speech was entirely revolutionary."

CARMICHAEL PRAISES CASTRO'S 26 JULY SPEECH

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1444 GMT 28 July 1967--P

(Text) Prominent integrationist fighter Stokely Carmichael, to whom Fidel Castro referred in his 26 July speech, said that one of the things that impressed him the most was the clear manner in which the problems of the country were explained. Carmichael added that the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba demonstrated once more that he knows the problems of the international situation very well and he appraises them correctly.

Referring to the statements by Fidel on the integration struggles of U.S. Negro citizens, Carmichael declared that the analysis of the North American Negro problem by the Cuban Prime Minister was very correct. Carmichael said: It is also very correct that the struggle of the U.S. Negro is understood by Fidel as a revolutionary struggle, which is part of the liberation struggle of the people of the world.

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED ON NEGRO 'REVOLUTION'

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2215 GMT 31 July 1967--F

(Recorded interview with Stokely Carmichael--superimposed translation)

(Text) On the occasion of his visit to Gran Tierra, Baracoa, the US Negro leader Stokely Carmichael was interviewed by radio reporter (Resiges--phonetic) and PRENSA LATINA correspondent Reinaldo Penalver on his impressions of his visit to Cuba, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's speech, and the development of the struggle of Negro citizens in his country.

Regarding his visit to Cuba, Carmichael said: "Well, I think that unlike most Americans we did not come to Cuba to look at it. We came to Cuba to learn. I think we need to (explain) what we came to see in Cuba. Cuba has permitted us to observe many kinds of tactics employed in its struggles which we can adapt to ours.

"We have our struggles and we came to observe the physical and psychological effects of your struggles so that we can take a step forward and speak of them. Our presence here has aroused many questions in the United States about Africa and America, and the Americans have begun to realize that the Cubans are their friends. When the United States decides to attack you, we will not be in the attack. Hopefully, we can build a struggle of revolutionary consciousness that will permit us to attack (them)."

In connection with the topics mentioned by the Premier in his speech, Stokely Carmichael said: "I think, first of all, that the number of people was certainly impressive. They said that a million were there. There were so many that you could not count them--numberless, numberless people. But the enthusiasm and the fact that the people stayed throughout the entire speech impressed me most. We were greatly impressed by several things," he said.

"1--He took the time to explain to the people and inform them of revolutionary concepts and things in the country. But what impressed me most was his desire to insure that the people understand the revolutionary significance of power. He impressed upon them and showed them the extraordinary importance of a true revolutionary consciousness so as to implement humanistic methods to replace the old methods employed by those in power who were replaced by the Revolutionary Government. That is what impressed me most in the Prime Minister's speech.

"The facts prove that nations and the people are responding to these teachings. We are pursuing this policy even before we grasp power. After we grasp power it will make our job much easier."

Asked about the present situation in the United States, leader Carmichael said: "We see the only solution as a black revolution. I mean, our slogan is: The only solution is black revolution inside the United States; not the Russian revolution, not the Cuban revolution, but our own revolution like the Cuban revolution, with armed men. Once men are armed they themselves will insure that governments are good. A man with a weapon can shoot at a man who seeks to exploit him. Thus, of course, the reply will be revolution inside the United States. That will be much more difficult than in Cuba, because the United States is very powerful.

"2--I like the Cubans because they fought for their country, for the right to a land, a right we have never had in the United States. We must fight for the land and seize the land in (?Washington). We must seize the land in Cleveland. We must seize the land in Chicago. We are not going to seize the land and kick out the Americans. We can just kick them out of the areas where we take the land. A revolution is certainly the only way to stop man's exploitation of man."

Asked if US youths, particularly the Negro youth, consider the US attacks just, the Negro leader replied: "Well, I do not think the black youth consider them to be just. As a matter of fact, we are against the draft. We are against the draft because we feel that black people in the United States are drafted (?so that they can fight). The black youths do not want to fight in the US imperialist wars against other peoples either, particularly against the Negroes fighting for their freedom. We do not benefit from this at all. We are oppressed by these wars that oppress other nations of the world. So we are completely against them.

"The white youths are in a different position: The United States' economy is based on war. Seventy percent of its budget is designed for the manufacture of war material. So in order to exist economically the United States must be at war and obtain profits which are shared by the white youths who, generally speaking, do not have the same revolutionary sense of things, as we have seen since 1776. The only way they can acquire a revolutionary consciousness is to have a lower living standard. They would then understand the needs we have had. We have had our revolutionary movements from which leaders capable of leading the masses have emerged. We have already built a resistance movement. Our hero and our leader of our movement is world heavyweight champion Mohammed Ali." (Passage within single quotation marks in Carmichael's own voice.

Finally, the US leader was asked: Does the word "nonviolence" which appears in the official name of your organization mean that you are not ready to participate in the armed struggle?

"Absolutely not. As a matter of fact we are considering changing the name of the movement to the 'black liberation movement,' (?which means) the liberation movement of the Negroes and of all peoples of the world today--the liberation movement in Africa, the liberation movement in Latin America, and the liberation movement in Asia. We are definitely against the movement for peaceful coexistence, because we believe that the only solution is the armed movement of our people. So the world 'nonviolence' means absolutely nothing to our movement, as has been seen during the past two years by the rebellions throughout the United States. This name appeared in 1960 under Rev. Martin Luther King's influence on our people. We were not able to oppose it. However, we have not accepted it at all, and we have always organized our people to arm themselves so that they can protect and defend themselves. We dropped that about two years ago. We just never changed the name, but we will probably change the name at our next semiannual meeting, which will be held later this year."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 1 August 1967--F

(Text) While the inaugural plenary session was taking place in Ambassador Hall, in the Sierra Maestra hall on the 25th floor of the Habana Libre at approximately 1100 this morning, North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael began a press conference in which representatives of the national and foreign press accredited to this conference are participating. He began by thanking the delegates for his appointment as honorary delegate to the conference, and he apologized for having left Ambassador Hall where the inaugural plenary session of the conference was taking place at the time the Vietnamese representative was speaking.

He then said that the struggle of the Negro people of the United States is the same struggle that is taking place in other parts of the world against oppression, racism, and imperialism. He said: We are holding this press conference so that you will learn our realities directly without having to rely on the UPI or AP news agencies. Answering a question from the special correspondent of the Mexican magazine SIEMPRE, Carmichael pointed out that the so-called black power movement is the union of the North American Negro population with the oppressed people of other countries to fight for their liberation, using any means necessary against the capitalist structure. Our battles, he said, are taking place from New York to California and from Canada to Mexico. Carmichael said that as of 18 August 1965, approximately when the rebellion of the Negro population of Watts took place, the question of nonviolent forms of struggle in the US Negro liberation movement was discarded and that armed struggle is today the only means of struggle by the North American Negro. Our movement, Carmichael emphasized, is progressing toward an urban guerrilla war within the United States itself.

Another correspondent asked about the proposal by Senator Robert Kennedy on the registration of weapons in the hands of the North American civilian population and the possible consequences for the struggle being carried out by the US Negro movement. Carmichael answered vigorously that, in spite of everything, the US Negroes will obtain weapons by any means to continue their struggle for liberation. With respect to the solidarity of US Negroes with Vietnamese fighters, Carmichael said that this solidarity is manifested by the Negroes' refusal to enlist as soliders in the US Armed Forces to attack the Vietnamese people.

As we are giving you this summary of the important news conference by Stokely Carmichael, it is continuing in the Habana Libre Hotel. As we obtain new material, we will carry it on our news broadcasts.

Further Reportage

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2215 GMT 1 August 1967--F

(Text) We have no alternative but to fight with weapons, to wage a battle for our liberation, declared the greatest North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, in a press conference held in the Habana Libre Hotel within the framework of the

First LASO Conference. The press conference, which could be classified as "historic" because of the important statements made there, mainly covered the determination of the Negro people of the United States to reply with violence to the imperialist policy of the US Government.

Carmichael and his comrades, George Ware and (?Julius Lester), both North American Negro leaders, answered the many questions asked by national and foreign newsmen. Answering a question by the Cuban correspondent of the Italian newspaper, L'UNITA, about the beginning of the North American Negroes' armed struggle, Carmichael said that 18 August 1965, the date of the Negro rebellion in the Watts district of Los Angeles, California, could be said to be the approximate date of its beginning. He added that when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which had as its most prominent figure the Reverend Martin Luther King (as heard), was created, to speak of violence was something like speaking of treason. At that time, added Stokely Carmichael, for reasons of tactics we had to give it that name.

We, continued the North American Negro leader, who did not believe in that nonviolence, organized for struggle. After the Watts rebellion the question of nonviolence was discarded. It was clear to everyone that the path is the path of arms.

Another question asked in the press conference referred to the role of the North American Negro movement with respect to the war in Vietnam. Carmichael answered as follows: We North American Negroes will not take up arms to fire on the Vietnamese people. They have done nothing against us. They are our brothers in struggle because they are fighting against the same imperialist structure we are fighting. Our reply to the armed forces of the United States is: We will not go to fight in Vietnam.

In the press conference the Negro leader was also asked about the significance he attached to the message from Che Guevara and particularly to the slogan of creating one, two, three, and more Vietnams. Carmichael answered: One of the reasons we attach importance to the message from Che Guevara is that Che is not a man who merely talks. He is an active militant. After the struggle ended in Cuba he went to fight in another part of the world. In contrast to what we call "armchair revolutionaries," continued Carmichael, Che is always willing to risk his life. In addition, we believe that he is an extraordinary tactician, and a good example is his document to the Tricontinental Conference which materialized into the recent chain reactions by North American Negroes in the United States. This and other reasons indicate precisely why Che Guevara is so important to us.

(Editor's note: The same radio in a 2104 GMT report on 1 August added: "Carmichael confirmed that he would not allow himself to be drafted to fight with the US Army in Vietnam. The Vietnamese, he added, do not exploit us or discriminate against us. Where we have to fight is in the United States to change the structure of that imperialist society. He recalled that North American Negro soldiers participated in the occupation of the Dominican Republic and that 40 percent of the troops are Negroes. They have taught us to kill, he declared, and the fight is now in the streets of the United States."

Television Coverage

Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 2 August 1967--F

(Excerpts of press conference statement by Stokely Carmichael at the Habana Libre Hotel; soundtrack in Carmichael's own voice--recorded and filmed)

(Text) The fight that is going on in the United States today is the same fight that is going outside the United States. It is a fight against imperialism, oppression, and racism. It is a fight being waged by black people in the United States who for 400 years have tried--who for 400 years have lived under fascism, the most brutal that the world has ever seen. For 400 years black people of the United States have tried to peacefully coexist 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. It is the coming together of black people in the United States and joining hands with oppressed people outside the United States and fighting to smash the imperialist capitalistic structure of the United States, which oppresses us in the inside and oppresses you on the outside.

ALGERIAN REPORTER CITES CARMICHAEL INTERVIEW

Havana Correspondent's Dispatch in French to ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE Algiers 0455 GMT 2 August 1967--E (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

(By special correspondent E. K.)

(Text) Havana, 1 August--"Our heroes are colored men: Malcolm X, W. E. B. DuBois, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, and Mao Tse-tung." This was the phrase with which Stokely Carmichael declared to the world today that the place of the American Negro movement is henceforth within the revolutionary struggle of the third world against imperialism and capitalism.

The promoter of the "black power" concept was addressing the international press--the US press was (?absent)--at the Habana Libre Hotel in connection with the First LASO Conference, of which he is the guest of honor. This press conference, the most complete press conference ever given by the US Negro leader, moving because of the quality and force of the commitments made to the American Negro people and the peoples struggling throughout the world, marks a milestone in the history of the battle waged by the black people of the United States, who have been living for the past 400 years under the most brutal (?fascism) the world has ever known.

Following the pell-mell are some of the most important statements made by Stokely Carmichael in the course of three hours of a rambling discussing with reporters.

Middle East: "Israel represents an enclave of imperialism in the Middle East and North Africa. Suppose I own a house and someone takes possession of one of its rooms, and then 20 years later comes to discuss the matter. I tell him: First I shall take back my room. We'll discuss it later.

"It is true that the Jewish people lost 6 million dead in World War II, but the Africans have been abused everywhere throughout the world. They lost their lands and 100 million persons in the time of slavery, but we do not weep over it. We shall take the land back from the hands of those who (?stole) it. The Zionists must get out of Israel.

"The truth is that the Arabs were building themselves up and (words indistinct). This is why the West found it necessary to (words indistinct). The problem cannot be solved so long as (words indistinct) riches of the Middle East."

Vietnam: "Black youth, (word indistinct) our hero Mohammed Ali, refuses to serve in the American imperialist army and kill the people of Vietnam. This people does not force us (words indistinct) or kill in the streets. Our enemy is white America. The Vietnamese people are our brothers in combat, for they are fighting the same oppressive structure as ourselves."

Black Power: "This means the rallying of all the blacks in the United States to fight by every means for their liberation by the side of the oppressed people outside the United States, to destroy imperialism and the North American capitalist structure which oppresses us inside and you outside."

The European left: "I do not see any really revolutionary movements in West Europe. There exists there, in the subconscious, all the racism of the West. The class struggle in Europe has been diverted toward the exploitation of the third world. The European working class has shared the profits of this exploitation and, therefore, can no longer protest against exploitation. Instead of demanding a fresh distribution of wealth in the world, it calls for wage hikes."

Armed struggle: "Only the gun can liberate us. Until last year we were organized only to (?defend) ourselves (?because) the whites had convinced us that violence was bad for our cause, although they made abundant use of it outside the United States. Now our people use passive violence, but the line between defensive and offensive violence is a thin one. Once a man has shot a gun to defend himself he is capable of using it to attack. We (words indistinct) guerrillas violence in the urban centers of America."

White liberals: "They are the enemies of the blacks because, on the one hand, they are rich and they profit from the American system, and, on the other, (words indistinct). The whites who interest us are those who are ready to take up arms to destroy the structures of American capitalism."

Abraham Lincoln: "Nothing more than a white Southerner, a kind of modern Kennedy. (as received) The Civil War was (words indistinct) of economic interest; it was not fought to free the slaves."

Malcom X: "Our patron saint. He was killed by Cuban exiles, but his real murderer was the CIA."

Che Guevara: "Che's theses are very important for us because, on the one hand, he recognizes that in order to fight against racism and exploitation it is necessary to (?internationalize) our battle, and that it is necessary to cultivate hatred in order to live. On the other hand, the chain reaction in the United States is the direct result of the fighting in Latin America. With 50 Vietnams inside the United States and 50 outside, we shall kill imperialism."

The CIA: "The CIA is (words indistinct). It has a mandate to kill. It killed Ben Barka in Paris and Turcios in Guatemala. It poisoned Richard Wright in France. It overthrew Nkrumah. It directs the counter guerrillas in Latin America. Everyone must know that it is the CIA which is responsible for all this and that (words indistinct) against the leaders of the West. Johnson, (?McNamara), Rusk must pay! Violence takes different forms." (passage indistinct)

The white man: "He is only my friend if (words indistinct) as such."

For the first time a representative black leader, supported by both the Negroes of the north and south of the United States, has (?declared) war against the fortress of the arrogant white imperialists, which they had wanted to believe impregnable from within.

Stokely and his brothers in arms--two other leaders of SNCC who are with him in Havana--(words indistinct) the principal targets of the American white supremacy machine. Congress is at this moment preparing a law to prevent them from traveling inside the United States, and the State Department (words indistinct) of withdrawing their passports.

But they have (word indistinct) their engagement, and as the new American (word indistinct) said: "We will go where we wish, (words indistinct) we wish, and to hell with the State Department."

CARMICHAEL ON ASSASSINATION OF WESTERN LEADERS

Paris AFP in English 0432 GMT 2 August 1967--E

(Text) Havana--Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael said Tuesday Western leaders run the risk of being assassinated because of racist oppression in the United States.

During a three-hour press conference, the young American Negro said he too faced assassination, claiming the Central Intelligence Agency would be responsible.

But we shall not wait to be killed. We have to move first. Retaliation will be against Western leaders, he said.

Carmichael, who is attending the Latin American Solidarity Conference, said the current Negro riots were a form of guerrilla warfare inspired by the Guevara policy of creating other Vietnams to bring down capitalism and imperialism. He refused to specify, however, whether the racial unrest in the United States was a coordinated movement.

Carmichael's visit to Cuba as the special guest of Premier Fidel Castro has led to US Government orders that his passport be withdrawn if he returns to the United States. Americans are forbidden to travel to Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, and China without special permission.

Additional Carmichael Comments

Paris AFP in English 0221 GMT 2 August 1967--E

(Text) Havana--(first portion of item missing) Carmichael said he intends to reenter the United States soon despite the warning from State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey.

"McCloskey is not my mother or father. Since the age of 15, I stopped asking permission. We will go where we want, visit whom we want. To hell with McCloskey. The CIA has a license to kill and some of us will be killed," he told newsmen. The line between offensive violence and defensive violence is very thin, he said. We are moving into urban guerrilla warfare.

Carmichael unhesitatingly rejected any alliance with white liberals or communists: "When I see a white policeman shooting my Negro brother, (I) want to shoot him. We accept with us only whites willing to pick up arms and destroy the capitalistic system. The rest is talk."

Dealing with the ideology of his movement, the former president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said the Russians as well as the Czechs and the Chinese claim to be communist, but no one has defined communism. But the system that we think suits us, he said, is that of Cuba.

He castigated American communists: They do not talk to the working class. Their meetings never have more than 50 people, and like Western communist parties they represent the bourgeoisie. If Marx and Lenin could have (I) seen them, they would have become capitalists. We want (word indistinct) and not charity, he said, citing Mao Tse-tung's definition that power is what men behind guns have, but with ideology.

The Negro leader rejected the idea of a separate black state: the only possible way would be if we possessed the H-bomb and missiles like the United States, but that would be dangerous.

LASO CONFERENCE PLENARY SESSIONS BEGIN

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 1 August 1967--F

(Text) After the brilliant official inauguration of the First LASO Conference last night in which President of the Republic Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, made the opening speech, the most important event of today is the inaugural plenary session. Early this morning there was much activity in the area of the conference. Delegates, observers, and guests came and went, waiting for the moment when the plenary session would begin. Similar activity was noted among the national and foreign newsmen covering the event and among the officials and other workers who are giving their services to the LASO Conference.

After 1000 the assembly began at Ambassador Hall in the Habana Libre Hotel. Almost all the delegations accredited to the conference were there. Comrade Haydee Santamaria spoke at the initiation of the plenary session, and she informed those in attendance that the bylaws had been approved with modifications in articles 11, 15, and 21 which refer to various organizational aspects of the event. She also announced that the agenda of the conference had been approved and she officially announced the election of the conference's presidium and the four work committees. The first committee will be headed by Mexico, the second by Chile, the third by Peru, and the fourth by Guyana. Paraguay, Argentina, Nicaragua; and Ecuador were appointed as secretaries of the four committees and Honduras, Salvador, Haiti, and Panama as committee reporters.

As you already know, Maj. Ernesto Che Guevara was appointed honorary chairman of the conference. Stokely Carmichael was elected honorary delegate by acclamation. Comrade Haydee Santamaria then made an exception in the order of speakers (alphabetical order by countries--ed.) and announced that the presidium of the conference granted the floor to the observer from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and then to the representatives of the NPLSV.

The first speaker was Huong Quoc Viet, chairman of the DRV Trade Union Federation and member of the Vietnam Workers Party Central Committee. He greeted the conference, the Cuban people, and the comrades in arms who fight for the liberation of their countries in Latin America. Although we are many miles away, our objectives are the same, he said. Further on he made a historical review of the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Latin America, and other parts of the world.

Stokely Carmichael Address

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1742 GMT 2 August 1967--F

(Text) Addressing the LASO conference in his capacity of honorary delegate, the US Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael said: We are prepared to destroy imperialism from inside the country. Speaking of his sojourn in Cuba, Carmichael said that he and those accompanying him have spent a week among a free people and have breathed the air of freedom. He went on to say that he greeted the delegates as comrades who share a common struggle because they have a common enemy.

They have kept us divided to better exploit us, the Negro leader said, and he added that the world of the US Negroes is similar to that of the third world, and that the destiny of Negroes cannot be separated from that of the Latin American peoples. Saying that the North American Negroes are preparing themselves for the complete transformation of their country's structure, he pointed out that they are also committed to free Puerto Rico from the imperialist yoke.

Stokely Carmichael told the LASO conference that Cuba constitutes an example and a hope for our continent and that the struggle will be waged from the Malvinas Islands to Alaska. Speaking of the imperialist rapacity in Latin America, he said that the Latin American people are exploited by the United States, and the US Negroes are exploited inside the monster. Referring to the various forms of struggle employed by the North American people, Carmichael said that it is obvious that guerrilla warfare must begin. We must open a frontal attack and keep our eyes wide open.

Enumerating the struggles that have been waged, the Negro leader said that the next Vietnam will take place on the Latin American continent. On several occasions he cited Maj. Che Guevara on the people's revolutionary warfare.

In his statement before the LASO conference Carmichael said that the US Negroes are advancing with all men who are combating imperialism. We have already picked up our weapons, the Negro leader added in reference to the latest racial conflicts in the United States. He said that the Latin American residents of the United States are already fighting in the streets alongside the Negroes.

Carmichael said that the society which the Negro movement seeks to build in the United States is not a capitalist society, but one in which all the goods will be available to all men.

Stokely Carmichael's brilliant speech was warmly applauded by the delegates.

HAVANA RADIO BROADCASTS CARMICHAEL MESSAGES

Message to Che Guevara

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 2 August 1967--F

(Text) In a message to Che which was read over Radio Havana Cuba in his own voice, US Negro leader Stokely Carmichael says: The Afro-Americans inside the United States greatly admire you. We anxiously awaits your writings to read and digest them, and to base our tactics on them. Carmichael's message to Che went on to say:

Wherever you may be, we want you to know that you are an inspiration not only to the Negroes inside the United States, but also to the liberation struggles throughout the world.

The message ends with the following appeal: Do not be discouraged, comrade, because we are inspired by your struggle.

The words "We shall win" appear above Carmichael's signature.

Message to Liberation Movements

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1200 GMT 2 August 1967--E

(Text) In a live message over Radio Havana Cuba, Negro leader Stokely Carmichael sent a greeting to all the liberation movements of the world. We, the members of the US Negroes' liberation movement, says Carmichael in his message, want you to know, wherever you may be, that we are your comrades. We will never permit, continues the message, our enemies to force us to fight against you as they have in the past. We will not fight in Vietnam, nor in Santo Domingo, nor anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the United States.

Carmichael emphasizes: While we fight to destroy imperialism from within, we know that you, too, will be fighting from without. Carmichael ends his message by saying: We await the day, which will come very soon, when we will overthrow the decadent governments and begin the true revolution, destined to construct a society based on humaneness rather than on exploitation.

FLIGHT OF US NEGROES, SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE CITED

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1334 GMT 3 August 1967--E

(Feature: "Our America")

(Text) The US Negro population daily becomes more aware that its cause must triumph, united with the cause of the peoples of the so-called third world, together with the struggle for liberation undertaken by the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. How would it be possible--if the tentacles of capitalist and imperialist exploitation were not wrenched off--to eliminate the exploitative regime whose victims are, in the same degree, US Negroes and workers and peasants of these three continents?

As long as imperialism maintains its great power, the US Negro will continue to be the first to be laid off in factories, to draw the lowest salaries. In the same way, the Canal nationals and the Central American banana workers suffer the lash of exploitation because Yankee companies pay them starvation wages and there are terrible living and working conditions.

US Negro leader Stokely Carmichael, honorary delegate to the first peoples solidarity conference in Havana, has particularly acknowledged this fact. A few days ago he said in London: "There can be no solution to the US Negro's problems without a solution to the problems of the struggle in the third world. That is why," emphasized Carmichael, "we think that the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) is one of the most important elements for the development of the Negro struggle in the United States."

The outstanding Negro leader's visit to Cuba is dictated, as he himself told the correspondent of the Uruguayan weekly MARCHA during a press conference, by the need to coordinate the Negro's struggle in his country with that of the Latin American peoples, bound together in a struggle for liberation from the monopolies and oligarchies. During the course of his conversation with more than 100 Cuban and foreign reporters and correspondents held at the Habana Libre Hotel, Stokely Carmichael said: "US Negroes have been subjected to a fascist regime of repression for more than 400 years, and after many attempts to obtain their human rights we have found that there is only one way to liberation--armed struggle which is already being fought in many of our cities."

The most humble men and women of our America--the plateau Indians, the Central American and Caribbean day-laborers, and the peons of the Southern Hemisphere-- have suffered the same fate as the US Negro. Not long ago, in a speech in the Senate, Robert Kennedy admitted that in many parts of the great Latin American territory men and women live as they did 400 years ago, at the time of the discovery of America. Those who work the land live with their families in shacks or huts of wood, metal, and straw--exiled, removed from the civilization the exploiters enjoy, victims of contagious diseases, without medical or social aid, without schools, without hospitals. It is a long story in which the victims have been, equal, the US Negro and the humble people scattered about the vast territory that begins at the Rio Grande and ends in Tierra del Fuego.

This is the logical consequence of man's exploitation of man. These 400 years of exploitation and misery have taught a lesson which the peoples of America are today assimilating. This experience indicates that in order to end those conditions of misery and oppression, it is necessary to take up arms, to embark upon an armed insurrecional movement. The US Negro and the workers, peasants, and students of our America are becoming more and more aware of this.

Carmichael Statement

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1923 GMT 5 August 1967--P

(Excerpts) During his statement in the LASO conference's committee No. 3 last evening, Stokely Carmichael said that he accepted the honor bestowed upon him by the committee not in his own name, but in the name of those who died during the Negro struggle and of the thousands who are waging the struggle in the United States.

He went on to say that one of the reasons for his presence in the conference is that the struggle cannot be waged alone, and that the forces must unite. He added that it is necessary to maintain a battle trench inside the United States so that other nations can continue their struggle. We have come to realize, he said, that victory comes to those who fight together.

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWS TELEVISED, BROADCAST

Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 6 August 1967--F

(Filmed interview with Stokely Carmichael--in English with consecutive Spanish translation)

(Text) We believe that the First LASO Conference is very, very significant, because it brings together people of all Latin America who are ready to struggle for their liberation, for the people who are not fighting alone. There are others who are fighting with them. When you know that you are not fighting alone, that there are others fighting with you, you have more courage and more spirit.

The black people of the United States feel that it is very important to have solidarity with the peoples of Cuba. Because, number one, a great deal of your population is from Africa, and we are also from Africa. That means that we are from the same ancestors.

Secondly, we feel that Cuba is one of the free countries in the world, and that it is important for people, wherever they are, to maintain their liberation. The same type of people that seek to oppress Cuba once again are the same people who are now oppressing us in the United States. And because Cuba has been willing to share her revolutionary spirit with anyone who would listen, we have been more than happy to listen and to come and join with the people.

For us, for the African-American in the United States, our cry is "black power." The reason is because we have to all come together as one unit, as one people, and to fight for our liberation by any means necessary. We realize that it is because we are powerless that we are oppressed, and only with power will we begin to change the situation in which we now find ourselves. So that we must seek to overthrow those who take power from us, and take it back because it belongs to us.

We want our friends in Cuba to know that we will struggle by any means necessary for our liberation, that we recognize that the people in Cuba are friends, and we look forward for this to be the beginning of a long and continued friendship. Thank you very much.

Message to the United States

Havana in English to Europe 2045 GMT 6 August 1967--E

(Stokely Carmichael interview--live or recorded)

(Text) Question: (intercepted in progress) . . . seen here the way--your impressions on the way black citizens live in this country?

Carmichael: (?Right), undoubtedly the revolution has certainly aided Afro-Cubans more than their plight was before the revolution, and their ability to move around seems clear there is no overt racism. (as heard) We've seen many--the Afro-Cubans that we talked to all are for the revolution, all respect and admire the Cuban revolution, and all have a great deal of love for Fidel Castro.

Question: Mr. Carmichael, can you tell us when was the first time you read material written by Che Guevara, what impression it made on you?

Carmichael: Yes. While I do not think that we started reading Che until 1965, we had heard of Che since 1959, when the revolution started, and we followed every account we could get on where he was, what he was doing, and what he was saying.

We could read accounts in certain newspapers in the United States or certain Cuban periodicals that were translated, but we did not start reading his very writings-- what he had to say--probably, until about 1965. It is hard to pinpoint the date, because today everybody is reading Che inside the United States, especially in the black communities; so it is very hard to say, when it seems as if he has always been with us.

Question: Would you like to send to the people of the United States, especially, a message from you?

Carmichael: The brothers and the sisters know that the work we have to do is going to be long, is going to be hard. Just like Che says, our fight is not going to be a mere street fight. It is going to be a long and hard struggle. We are preparing ourselves for that resistance now. In the beginning, many of us will die. We should not be disparied. (as heard). We have to continue to fight no matter what the price is.

Those of us now who are on the outside are tightening the lines with our comrades outside the United States. Our fight is going to be worldwide. We are inside the United States. Our struggle will be the hardest and the fiercest one that we must wage. We must prepare ourselves for that struggle. We are going to take care of business, baby.

DELEGATES TO LASO CONFERENCE INTERVIEWED

Trinidad and Tobago Delegate

Havana in English to South America 2050 GMT 4 August 1967--E

(Interview by Mike Laguardia of Clive Phill, chairman of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation to the First LASO Conference--live or recorded)

(Excerpts) Stokely Carmichael, the US Negro leader, is attending this conference as an observer, and he has been appointed as delegate of honor. Have you had the opportunity to talk with Mr. Carmichael, and could you tell us your opinion on the situation now prevailing in the United States on account of their racial disturbances that are taking place simultaneously in many US cities?

Phill: We of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation (words indistinct) can make the boast that Comrade Carmichael is a fellow Trinidadian (word indistinct) fellow Trinidadian to go to the United States and lead the Negro (word indistinct) rightful place in society. We hope to give all assistance possible in this trouble. We intend when we get back to Trinidad and Tobago (words indistinct) opportunity and see what is really taking place in Negro America.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED BY RADIO HAVANA

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2215 GMT 4 August 1967--F

(Text) I think that the mayor of Detroit is an idiot if he believes that the problems of the Negro population of the United States can be resolved within a capitalist society, declared North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael in an interview granted to Radio Havana. Carmichael, who is attending the First LASO Conference as an honorary delegate, added that the only solution is the destruction of the capitalist system, the destruction of North American imperialism, which takes racial discrimination and exploitation everywhere.

He then said that only then can the solution of the problems of the US Negro be discussed in a realistic manner, and he declared that until then anything said is like putting a Band-Aid on a cancer. Asked about the decision of the North American Negroes to face the police and the Yankee reactionaries and racists, Carmichael said: What we have decided to do as the only way to face oppression is clear: to take up arms. For 400 years, he continued, we have tried to live in the United States under a form of peaceful coexistence, and the result has been that we have had to live under the most fascist regime of the world.

With respect to so-called Black Power, Carmichael declared that it is the coming together of all the black population of the United States as a single people to fight for their liberation. This means that the North American Negroes must begin to view the liberation movements of the entire world as their own cause. We must join hands with our comrades in the whole world, he emphasized, to fight against imperialism and destroy it at once so that we can build together a society based on human principles and not on exploitation.

Referring to his recent statement on the organization of Cuban (?type) guerrillas as a new method of struggle by US Negroes, Carmichael emphasized: We said that we have been forced to use guerrilla warfare in the cities to achieve our liberation. We have no other alternative.

CARMICHAEL ON URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE

Paris APP in French 2159 GMT 5 August 1967--E

(Interview with Stokely Carmichael)

(Text) Havana--Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael declared in an interview on Havana radio on Saturday: The only solution for black Americans is urban guerrilla warfare and hand-to-hand fighting. It is quite clear, he said, that the only means to choose in confronting oppression is to (farm ourselves). We must join all those in the world who believe that armed struggle is the only way to solve our problems.

For 400 years, Carmichael continued, we have tried to live in the United States on the principle of coexistence. The only result has been that we have been compelled to live under the most fascist regime in the world. We have no other means of obtaining our liberation than guerrilla warfare in the towns. In its own territory the United States will not be able to use powerful arms, hydrogen bombs, or napalm. Neither can it resort to chemical warfare. When the American forces face us, the guerrilla warfare will be transformed into hand-to-hand fighting.

Commenting on his stay in Havana, Carmichael said: The fact that Cuba is against the United States is sufficient to convince us that this country is acting correctly. We did not come to judge Cuba but to learn things that may be useful to the blacks. Carmichael concluded: We must prepare for a long, fierce struggle, in the course of which many of us will die.

Comment on 'CIA Agents'

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2033 GMT 7 August 1967--F

(Excerpt) Several delegates to the First LASO Conference were questioned by a Radio Reloj Nacional reporter about their impressions of the presentation of CIA agents to a special session of the event. Stokely Carmichael, honorary delegate to the LASO conference, replied that it seemed very interesting to him since once again it showed the interventionist and criminal tactics used by North American imperialism.

MFI DELEGATE CITES PUERTO RICAN-US NEGRO UNITY

Havana in English to South America 2050 GMT 8 August 1967--E

(Speech by the delegation of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico to the First LASO Conference--read by announcer)

(Excerpts) Our presence at this conference on behalf of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) of Puerto Rico, after a long and troubled journey that lasted eight days and covered almost 20,000 kilometers, confirms the firm determination of the Puerto Rican people to incorporate their fortunes in the battle till death already engaged in Latin America against US imperialism.

That is why we feel ourselves akin to the bold struggle that the Negro people of the United States, under the slogan of "black power," wage on behalf of their liberation. To that struggle we are united not only (words indistinct) of those who have a common cause, but also because the million Puerto Ricans who live in the United States are suffering, along with the Negro people of the United States, barbaric exploitation, discrimination, and brutality from the white power structure of that country.

That is why we have heartily welcomed Comrade Stokeley Carmichael in Puerto Rico and, as (we stated), we signed a pact of mutual solidarity. As we just stated on this platform this morning, the solidarity between Negro people and Puerto Ricans has already resulted in common action in the streets of Harlem last week.

We will continue our increasing struggle in accordance with the particular conditions of our country, but, at the same time, integrate it into the general perspective of all our America, involving the Puerto Rican people in a militant action for the demand for immediate independence, striking imperialism hard as possible in its Achilles' heel, in its own stronghold. We know that the fight in front of us is long and arduous, but there is no other possible solution. We have the complete conviction that Puerto Rico will be free as the result of the efforts of its people and of the solidarity of the peoples of our America and the world.

Carmichael Still in Havana

London REUTERS in English 0033 GMT 9 August 1967--X

(Text) Havana--American black power advocate Stokely Carmichael was discussing the "revolutionary situation" in the hemisphere with Latin American revolutionaries, sources close to him said tonight. Carmichael, who arrived in Cuba two weeks ago, was expected to leave Havana last Saturday but changed his plans at the last minute.

It was not known when he planned to leave now. One of his spokesmen told reporters: "You are not going to know, either. We are not going to help the State Department keep track of his movements." He was expected to leave Havana via a flight linking Cuba with Prague or Moscow. The sources said he might spend a little time in Europe before returning to the US.

Carmichael, who was elected an honorary delegate to the Latin American Solidarity Conference of revolutionary forces meeting here, completely upstaged the event in its early stages with his fiery comments at press conferences.

Yesterday he told a Havana radio interviewer that the presentation by the Cubans on Sunday of a group of alleged Central Intelligence Agency agents was proof of the "interventionist policy of US imperialism."

Dressed in a sports shirt and usually smiling, the young Negro became a familiar sight at the conference site in the Havana Libre Hotel as Latin American delegates came up to speak to him. He refused to talk with U S. and British journalists. He boycotted the Britons because Britain banned his entry into the country, he said last week.

Carmichael Interview with VERDE OLIVO

London REUTERS in English 0246 GMT 9 August 1967--X

(Text) Havana--American black power advocate Stokely Carmichael was quoted in an interview published here tonight as saying he would be proud to be a Cuban soldier.

Carmichael reportedly told the Cuban Army weekly VERDE OLIVO: "I would feel proud to be a member of the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba. Your country has the most marvelous army in the world, and also the most beautiful women."

He said US Negroes would create "many Vietnams" in American cities, VERDE OLIVO reported.

"While we are mobilizing and working internally to create many Vietnams, we are strengthening the struggle of the countries of the third world," the magazine quoted him as saying.

"The only solution is armed struggle," he reportedly said.

He was also said to have declared State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey could "go to hell" for statements he made about withdrawing Carmichael's passport.

PRESS APPROVES BAN ON CARMICHAEL

London World Service in English 0150 GMT 28 July 1967--E

(From the press review)

(Excerpts) Two papers discuss the British Government's decision to strengthen the law against racial discrimination and to ban from this country Stokely Carmichael, a leading advocate in the United States of the so-called black power policy. The GUARDIAN says the search for the causes of the race riots in the United States is as confused as ever. The climate of despair and second class citizenship is clear; the spark that sets off a riot in this city rather than that is not. The tragedy is that no so-called leader, whether Carmichael or anyone else, is responsible for the current violence. Like other leaders before him he has become the led. Nonetheless, the GUARDIAN adds, his kind of provocation helps to keep passion inflamed, and the British government's decision to ban him from this country is useful and sensible.

The GUARDIAN writes: For although his speeches are unlikely to make much impact on his Negro audiences in the present racial context in Britain their backlash effect on the white community is another matter. At the moment it is a handful of white people who are producing most of the racist literature and doing most of the stonethrowing and victimization here. If the community is to deter these few misguided nationalists, racial incitement in reverse by people like Carmichael must also not go unpunished. Protecting the colored minority is one thing; condoning black racialism another.

The SCOTSMAN says it is foolish to pretend that violence can never happen in this country and prudent to take all possible steps to avoid it. The Home Secretary Jenkins, the paper says, has the right ideas, but it remains to be seen how he will work them out in detail. The saddest commentary on the effectiveness of law alone is to be seen this week in Detroit and other places. The SCOTSMAN writes: Outright conflict can end only one way: in the suppression of lawlessness by the organized power of government. And since this would also mean in America and suppression of black power by white superpower it would make the day of national reconciliation more remote than ever.

PRESS DEPLORES SALE OF CARMICHAEL RECORDS

London World Service in English 0150 GMT 5 August 1967--E

(From the Press Review)

(Text) Two papers deplore the move to put on sale in London recordings of speeches made last month by the American black power leader Mr. Stokely Carmichael. The TIMES said it will be up to the government once again to show that it is prepared to use its powers to prevent black as well as white incitement to racial hatred. The paper contends that if the public thought the race relations act was applied against only one side, there would be a strong reaction against the whole process of building a legal framework for protection against colored discrimination. The TIMES writes: So far, the government has not responded too badly. It was, of course, a pity that Mr. Carmichael was ever allowed into the country, but the Home Secretary has made it clear that he is banned for the future.

The notorious speech of Mr. Michael (DeFreitas--phonetic), the British Black Moslem leader, is being investigated by the Director of Public Prosecutions, but constant care needs to be taken to insure that the law is applied with scrupulous impartiality.

The daily TELEGRAPH writes: The race relations act has not had much success so far, and we remain unconvinced that it was a necessary supplement to existing law. Since it exists, however, it must be invoked against colored as well as white. It is not easy to understand the motives of a group of London psychiatrists who, it is reported, intend to sell tape recordings of Mr. Carmichael's speeches. It certainly does not seem to be an act likely to encourage friendly relations between the races. The Attorney General may think it time to act against actual preachers of racial violence.

HEMISPHERE MUST REACT TO LASO MEETING

Panama City RPC-TV in Spanish 0000 GMT 4 August 1967--P

(Station commentary)

(Summary) The severe warnings issued on 2 August by PRAVDA, the USSR Communist Party newspaper, to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) delegates in Havana, constitute wise advice from USSR international policy experts. The USSR is convinced that the tactics of open violence will only alert the countries that are potential targets of the communist movement against international communism.

In addition to what the international press considers a reprimand of Fidel Castro by the USSR, it also has pointed out another important aspect of what is to come. It is obvious that those in charge of disseminating Castro-communism have included the United States in their plans. US Negro leader Stokely Carmichael leaves no doubt about it. We cannot be so naive as to expect the United States to do nothing in relation to this declaration of war from a leader of the US Negro movement.

In the face of this serious situation, the United States and the other countries in the hemisphere will have to take some measures to counter what no longer is a threat, but open aggression by Cuban communism supported by the USSR and Communist China.

COMBAT CRITICAL OF CARMICHAEL ATTITUDE

Paris APP in French 0353 GMT 5 August 1967--E

(From the Press Review)

(Text) Paris--The racial problem in the United States retains the attention of COMBAT's editorialist this morning. It is evident, he writes, that progress has been sincerely made in the field of emancipation of the blacks since the Kennedy era. But for it to become perceptible more time is needed than such irresponsible leaders as Carmichael--the young black leader who heads the committee paradoxically titled black students for nonviolence--are disposed to allow the democratic administration.

If a minority of young blacks were to obey the (call) of this emulator of Fannon, Che, and Mao--to whom he never ceases to refer in justification of his appeals to murder--the United States would be compelled to answer their provocations with every means for restoring order.

Moreover, in an atmosphere of civil war, the black population, the majority of which disapproves of this unleashing of hatred and violence, would be the first victim of Carmichael's ideas . . . it must be admitted that Carmichael's aims correspond only to the secret desires of the Havana Tricontinental Conference, which dreams of eating away the fruit from within by establishing a reign of violence in the heart of the United States.

PEKING SILENT ON CARMICHAEL STATEMENTS

Paris APP in French 1753 GMT 4 August 1967--E

(By Jean Vincent)

(Text) Stokely Carmichael's declarations in Havana have up to now elicited no official Chinese comment, but it is believed certain that China approves unreservedly of Afro-American recourse to violence. The latest official Chinese reaction to the events of Detroit and other American towns was embodied in an article published on 1 August in PEOPLE'S DAILY which violently attacked President Johnson's government and especially Martin Luther King and other apostles of nonviolence.

The discretion of the Chinese press concerning the declarations of Stokely Carmichael could have several causes: 1) Carmichael was formerly leader of a group which advocated nonviolence; 2) his declarations were made in Havana; 3) China has already chosen its favorite Afro-American leader, Robert Williams, who has lived in Peking for more than a year--subsequent to a stay of several years in Cuba.

It is noted in this connection that Williams, in the latest issue of a periodical letter he published in Peking--the CRUSADER--observes with nostalgia that Cuba, land full of hopes, has not succeeded in consolidating its revolution, and is gradually becoming antiblack racist, because it failed to institute the cultural revolution. We are reminded that it was to Robert Williams that Mao Tse-tung addressed his letter of encouragement to black Americans in 1963, observing that segregation, racism, and the condition of the Afro-Americans were, in the final analysis, the product of the class struggle.

MAO STATEMENT INSPIRES US NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

(Text) Peking, 7 August--NCNA 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 and 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 US 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 US imperialism is the common enemy of the black Americans and the Vietnamese people.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the final analysis, natural 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 in 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 were 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."

PEOPLE'S DAILY Editorial

Peking NCNA International Service in English 0936 GMT 8 August 1967--B

(Text) Peking, 8 August--"The struggle of the Afro-American people is a just struggle and will certainly be crowned with victory." This is the title of a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial today marking the fourth anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting this struggle. The editorial reads in full as follows:

Four years ago today our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued his "Statement supporting the American Negroes in their just struggle against racial discrimination by US imperialism." It was an historic statement. In it Chairman Mao condemned the racial discrimination and racial oppression practiced against the Afro-Americans by the reactionary rulers of the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policy of the US Government at home and its policy of aggression abroad. He stated the revolutionary truth that the racial question is essentially a class question, analyzed the development of the movement of the Afro-Americans, and expressed warm support for their just struggle.

In this statement Chairman Mao said: "I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie, and other enlightened persons of all colors in the world, whether white, black, yellow, or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination."

Chairman Mao's statement is a brilliant work of Marxism-Leninism, giving the Afro-American people's revolutionary struggle a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon. It is a beacon lighting the road of liberation for the Afro-Americans and all oppressed peoples. It is a call to arms inspiring the Afro-Americans and all revolutionary people of the world in their struggles.

In the four years since, there has been a further awakening of the Afro-American people who have been fighting back ever more vigorously. Their struggle has spread from limited areas to all parts of the United States. At first fighting with bare fists, they are now taking up arms to meet counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The armed struggle against racial oppression which broke out in Newark and Detroit this summer spread to more than 90 cities within a few days. The momentum and magnitude of this struggle is such as has never been witnessed before in the history of the United States. And the same is true of the panic shown by the Lyndon Johnson administration, which moved in tens of thousands of troops and used tanks and helicopters to crack down on the Afro-American armed struggle against racial oppression.

AUSTRIAN PAPER COMMENTS ON HAVANA CONFERENCE

Austrian Broadcasts and Newspapers 8 August 1967--A

(Editorial report) In an editorial on the Havana Latin American Solidarity conference, the socialist ARBEITER-ZEITUNG writes that this conference has clearly shown that Castro and his Cubans are not what Moscow would like them to be. This can be seen, above all, by the scant coverage the Soviet Press is giving to this event, as well as by the fact that five communist parties at this conference represented Moscow's line and rejected Castro's glorification of violence. These five parties stressed that there are other methods by which communism may obtain power. The strangest "Latin American" at this conference was Stokely Carmichael, the paper says. ARBEITER-ZEITUNG states that it wonders whether he really believes in "two nations" in the United States, or dreams about some "Negro Zion" somewhere on the shores of Africa. Actually, it is far more likely that he expects communism to exert considerable political attraction among American Negroes in the coming years, ARBEITER-ZEITUNG declares.

PRESS COMMENTS ON US VIETNAM, NEGRO PROBLEMS

Warsaw PAP International Service in English 0707 GMT 3 August 1967--L

(From the press review)

(Text) ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes among other things in a commentary headlined "Vietnam And the Negroes": The Negro revolt in the ghettos of big cities is still spreading. Today we may say with certainty that what is on question is not an isolated outburst in one or several Negro city quarters, but a movement that is slowly encompassing the big cities of the entire United States, from New York to Washington. We may also say that what are appearing are not spontaneous moves, but a conscious political struggle waged by a number of Negro organizations which perceive in the guerrilla fighting in big cities a specific form of armed struggle against oppression and exploitation of the masses of poor Negroes.

Very interesting information concerning the political consciousness of these organizers of Negro resistance is provided in the statements of Stokely Carmichael, leading activist of the radical wing of the Negro movement. The riots in the United States, Carmichael says, should be placed on the same plane as the war that is going on in Vietnam; this is a struggle against the same imperialist structure which oppresses both them and ourselves.

One can hardly overestimate the weight of this kind of solidarity with fighting Vietnam, shaped among the Negro masses--particularly in view of the disproportionately high percentage of black soldiers it is said that recruiting centers in the United States have now ceased to call up young Negroes who are considered (words indistinct)

HANOI REPORTS ON CARMICHAEL STATEMENTS

Hanoi in English to Southeast Asia 1000 GMT 9 August 1967--B

(Text) Stokely Carmichael, a black American leader now visiting Cuba, told Havana radio last week that the only solution for America's racial problem is the destruction of the capitalist system and the destruction of North American imperialism, which is accompanied by racial discrimination and exploitation everywhere.

He called Mayor Jermome Cavanagh of Detroit an idiot for saying that the problem of black Americans could be solved in a capitalist society, and described the American government as the most fascist regime in the world.

He said it is necessary to maintain a battle front within the United States so that the other people can continue the struggle from without. We have to fight in the United States in order to change the structure of that capitalist society, he said, adding (that) the black power movement in the United States is for unification of the black population to fight for liberation.

Havana Television Coverage

The following videotape recordings of Stokely Carmichael's activities in Cuba, as recorded from Havana television broadcasts by FBIS Key West Bureau, are available at OCR/Graphics, ext. 7407:

- R-67-152: Havana Domestic Television Service 0000 GMT 28 July--coverage of Premier Castro's 26 July speech which shows Carmichael present in the audience.
- R-67-157: Havana Domestic Television Service 1700 GMT 1 August--coverage of Cuban President Dorticos opening address to the LASO Conference with pan shots showing Carmichael present.
- R-67-158: Havana Domestic Television Service 0000 GMT 2 August--a four-minute film clip of Carmichael's press conference.
- R-67-159: Havana Domestic Television Service 0230 GMT 2 August--brief shot of a handwritten message from Carmichael to Che Guevara.
- R-67-165B: Havana Domestic Television Service 1700 GMT 5 August--shots of Carmichael at LASO Conference headquarters.
- R-67-166A: Havana Domestic Television Service 0000 GMT 6 August--five-minute film clip of Carmichael press conference at Havana Libre Hotel.

EL MUNDO, GRANMA GARRY CARMICHAEL MESSAGES

Message to Guevara

[Editorial Report] The Havana daily EL MUNDO of 2 August 1967 carried the message which is labeled: "Facsimile of the beginning of a message from the North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael to Major Ernesto Che Guevara."

Havana, Cuba

To my fellow comrade Che,
The African Americans inside
the United States have a great
deal of admiration for you. We
eagerly await your writings in
order to read them, digest them
and to plan our tactics based on
them. We want you to know
wherever you are that you are
an inspiration not only to the
Blacks inside the U.S. but to
the Liberation Struggles around the
world.

EL MUNDO published the entire message in Spanish. The Communist Party daily GRANMA of 2 August published the entire message, in both Spanish and English, although the English-language facsimile was blurred. The last part of the message, as given in GRANMA, reads: "We want you to know wherever you are that you are an inspiration not only to the Blacks inside the US but to the Liberation Struggles around the world. Please continue fighting because your struggle inspires us. Do not despair." The message closes: "Venceremos," and is signed "Stokely Carmichael."

Message to Comrades in Arms

Havana GRANMA 2 Aug 67

[Editor's note: Havana GRANMA 2 August 1967 reported that "Over Radio Havana Cuba, the North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael directed a message of greetings to 'our comrades in the armed struggle against imperialism and racism.'" Appearing alongside the Spanish-language version of this message was the hand-written facsimile presented below attributed to Stokely Carmichael of SNCC and dated Havana, 1 August 1967.]

Havana, Cuba, 3/1/67

To Comrades in the Armed Struggle
Against Imperialism and Racism.

We, of the Black Liberation Movement of the U.S. want all of you to know wherever you are, that we are your comrades. We are no longer going to allow our enemies to make us fight against you - as they have done in the past. We will not fight in Vietnam, Santo Domingo or anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the U.S. While we are fighting to destroy Imperialism from the inside, we know you will be fighting from the outside. We are dedicated with our very lives to destroy imperialism as you have given time and time again that you have dedicated your lives. We look forward to the day which will be very soon, when we will overthrow decadent governments and will start the real revolution of building a society based on humanity rather than a society based on exploitation. Our struggle is the same. Our love for humanity will not make us surrender to fight.

Stokely Carmichael
1967

JUVENTUD REBELDE INTERVIEWS STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE 27 Jul 67

[Text] Stokely Carmichael is in San Pedrito. The news spread like wildfire among the LASO delegates and the newspapermen. We went out to look for him and found him in the dining room. We waited for him to finish, and then later walked to his apartment where he is living temporarily.

"I am very happy to be in Cuba," was the first thing he told us.

To continue: "Although I was very young when the Cuban Revolution triumphed, there were some events that made an extraordinary impression upon me, like the expropriation of North American land and the fact that when Fidel attended the United Nations he stayed in Harlem."

The heat in Santiago is suffocating. He [Carmichael] takes off his shirt and continues speaking:

"That incident caused a great impact among the Negro masses. No other well-known personality or diplomatic figure had ever done anything like it."

Later on he indicated something else which had greatly attracted his attention: the fact that the largest segment of Cubans emigrating to the US was white.

"We assumed then that Fidel must have been doing something good," he said, and added: "but what impressed me the most is Fidel's courage and the courage of the Cuban people in standing up to the United States; something really admirable."

Carmichael is 26 years old. He had a BA in Science and Philosophy. He is single.

In referring to the [25 July] celebration and to Fidel's speech, the famous leader of American Negroes said: "I do not judge speeches on the basis of whether they are good or bad but on whether or not they are revolutionary. And that speech was entirely revolutionary. In it, he [Fidel] calls once again to struggle for humanity and shows how much the Cuban people are really concerned and aware of the oppressed nations."

He pauses and adds:

"There are cases of countries whose links with other struggling peoples disappear after they have achieved their own revolution. But that is not the case of the Cuban Revolution," Carmichael asserted. He revealed that the Negro community in the United States lends a great deal of importance to the LASO Conference and said that "LASO is important for us because it will enable us to exchange points of view about the Latin American struggle against imperialism."

In another part of the interview he mentioned:

"We must internationalize our struggle and if we are to make Che's [Guevara] words of creating two, three, or more Vietnams a reality, it should be known that Detroit and New York also are Vietnams."

He warned that if the struggle could be coordinated, something which hasn't been done so far because the US government has taken charge of dividing them, they would be capable of developing a great fight.

"We must join all the other struggles so that through them we may become brothers and when the revolution triumphs we will have developed a new concept about humanity," he commented.

He asserted that the LASO Conference is the most important meeting taking place in the world today.

Carmichael said the following about measures the US government might take on his return:

"I do not care what happens to me, I am the one who chooses my friends and decides my destiny, and not the American government. The Cuban people are friends of the North Americans and as friends we will extend our hands toward each other and if they do not like it, let them go to the devil."

In concluding he quoted the words of a Negro leader who was born during the period of slavery and who said that the world belongs to the young. "Of course that is right, our work is to struggle, to save the world, because the world belongs to us. Let us seize it."

BOHEMIA INTERVIEWS STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Havana BOHEMIA 4 Aug 67

(Gregorio Hernandez interview with Carmichael)

[Text] Stokely Carmichael is an international figure. His strong public personality arises from his defiant and combative attitude toward Yankee imperialism at its very heart. Carmichael is the leader and spokesman not only of the youth but of the millions of human beings who form the North American Negro nation, singular victim of the most ruinous feeling that can be aroused: racism or oppression based on the color of one's skin.

He was the founder in 1960 of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) along with such passive resistance figures as Martin Luther King and others. From here the organization derives the contradictory name of "Nonviolent." Stokely has held various positions of leadership in that organization, including chairman or director, from May 1966 to May 1967. At present, he is field secretary or organization secretary. The director of the North American Negro student institution is H. Rap Brown, political science student of the Southern University of Louisiana.

Carmichael has been in Yankee prisons 35 times for his intransigent position in defense of the rights of more than 22 million colored American citizens. He got his degree in philosophy at Howard University for Negroes in Washington, D. C. His father was from Trinidad and his mother was born in the Panama Canal Zone. His grandfather died of yellow fever working on the construction of this interoceanic canal.

Black Power

He said: "There is much talk of Black Power in the United States. We can summarize it saying it is the union of the Negroes in struggle for their freedom. We uphold the need for union with the other peoples of the Third World. A revolutionary awareness is lacking among the whites in the United States. If they develop it, we are ready to join hands and forces. If not, we will continue struggling by all means. We want to develop our own culture. If you want to convert a man into a slave, . . . destroy his culture and give him the culture of the dominant power. This is why we greatly admire the feelings of Cuban nationality. The Cubans love Fidel because he is the symbol of what they want. If we loved the culture of the exploiting dominant class, we would love Lyndon B. Johnson. Then we would be struggling for the imperialists and against ourselves. For this reason we develop love for our own culture of African origin, love for our leaders."

Analyzing the recent events in different North American cities, which left and are leaving a large number of Negro victims caused by Yankee police and military repression, Carmichael expressed:

"When a struggle begins, it is logical that some battles are lost. The price one pays for a revolution is never too high. The best example we have of this is the number of Cuban martyrs. If they could see the Cuba of today, they would be very pleased to give their lives again to keep these gains. Our struggle now is to develop the revolutionary awareness of the North American Negro people.

"Of course," he noted, "we have differences with some Negro leaders, but we do not argue publicly. We are more interested in showing unity than any division or fragmentation. After there is enough force and unity it will be possible to go to the side of the weak or frightened people."

Fidel

"I spent 3 days talking with Fidel and they were most educational, most interesting, and most enlightening of my public life. I am very honored and pleased with his friendship," he emphasized.

Problems for the Imperialists

The young Negro leader said, "It is necessary to create problems for the imperialists wherever they may be. The struggle against imperialism is a struggle on a world-wide scale. If there are oppressed peoples they are the peoples of the Third World, and if they struggle against oppression, they must be resolutely supported.

"My grandfather helped construct the Panama Canal, and in those days, only the whites were vaccinated against yellow fever; that is why my grandfather died of that disease. The canal was constructed with the sweat and blood of Negroes and Latin Americans; for that reason I believe I am correct in affirming that the canal belongs to the Panamanians."

Personal Dangers.

"My prospects with the authorities on my return to the United States don't interest me in the least. I came to Cuba because it is the duty of a revolutionary. I cannot respect the North American laws because they are unjust. What are they going to do? Jail me? I have been in jails 35 times. I am an organizer. Wherever I am, I will organize the struggle. If I am in Cuba, I will organize the struggle from Cuba; if in Vietnam, I will struggle in Vietnam against the imperialists; if in Africa, I will also struggle there."

LASO

"I believe," he stressed, "that the Conference of Latin American Peoples is now the most important conference of the world. It is the principle of the union of the oppressed peoples of Latin America, the union of the masses who draw together and close ranks to march together and save humanity."

Coming with Stokely Carmichael to Cuba were other figures no less important in the insurgent effort of millions of North American Negroes, headed by the young people of the classrooms, to achieve their final free determination as human beings.

They are: George Ware, 21 years old, member of the Central Committee of SNCC. He directs the Campus Program. Ware graduated with a degree in chemistry from Tuskegee [Institute], a university for Negroes in Alabama.

Julius Lester, of the SNCC Central Committee, director of photography of the organization, writer, guitar player, and singer. He was invited to the Protest Song-fest [now being held in Havana]. He is a student at Fisk University in Tennessee.

Elisabeth Sutherland, Information Officer of SNCC and writer. She wrote a book on Cuba published by Dial Press of New York. She also wrote "Letters From Mississippi." She visited Cuba in 1960 and in 1961.

CARMICHAEL ADDRESS TO LASO CONFERENCE

Havana EL MUNDO 3 August 67

[Text] "If we do not live long enough to see freedom in our own country," he said, "at least we will have lived in a free and revolutionary country," Carmichael said in referring to Cuba. "Our enemy is white imperialist society from the West and we say this because the West has never been civilized. That is why we share the conference's dream of establishing a humanistic society, breaking a centuries old situation in which we have been separated and incommunicado."

"Our destinies," he added, "are interrelated, [I mean] that of Latin America and the Afro-North American whose hatred for the imperialists and the Anglos has lasted for 400 years now. We must change the United States so that the economy and the power is in the hands of the people. That is the only way in which the Negro community will be able to live within the North American boundaries.

We have asked the white workers to consider their common cause with us. We do not consider ourselves as Afro-North Americans in the United States, but as Afro-Americans of the continent. He also said that "we look to Cuba as the example and hope of the hemisphere," and that the struggle against Yankee imperialism and for the sovereignty of the people will take place from Tierra del Fuego, in the Patagonia, to Alaska, in the Arctic regions of the Western Hemisphere.

He also spoke about the 30 million Negroes who live in limited areas and who, according to the present situation, will end up within 5 to 10 years living in city ghettos. "They are real colonies, since white power makes the laws and imposes them by force. That is why we fight for redistribution of wealth and an end to private property in the United States."

He pointed out that the movement he represents is turning into a force, adding that "it is obvious that we must begin to develop guerrilla warfare." He pointed out further that black power recognizes that even though it may destroy racism, it will not necessarily destroy exploitation.

He also said that the next Vietnam will occur on this continent, perhaps in Bolivia, Venezuela, or Guatemala. "Our history proves that coexistence is the murderer of our people. We must join all those who wage the arms struggle throughout the world." When he finished his statements, the delegates, including the members of the Presiding Board, gave him a standing ovation.

EL MUNDO ACCOUNT OF CARMICHAEL PRESS CONFERENCE

Havana EL MUNDO 2 Aug 67

(By Rolando Meneses)

[Text] Before more than 100 Cuban and foreign newsmen, Negro leader Stokely Carmichael stated that "For more than 400 years the North American Negro has been subjugated by a fascist regime of oppression and, after many trials to achieve our human rights, we have discovered that there is only one road to liberation: armed struggle, which is already occurring in many of our cities." In regard to the press conference, he commented that "It is open and you can ask what you wish. You can know many things about the United States without having to refer to the imperialist agencies, UPI and AP." After excusing himself for having had to leave the Salon of the Ambassadors, where the representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was speaking, to keep his appointment with the newsmen, the young leader regretted his inability to speak Spanish. An interpreter sat next to him and two leaders Julius Lester and George Ware, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who also answered the many questions of the newsmen.

In defining the concept of black power, Carmichael stated that "It is the rallying of the Negro population to struggle for their rights beside the oppressed outside the United States and against the capitalist and imperialist structure within the country." Addressing the Latin Americans present, he commented that "We are oppressed from within the country while you, who live in the colonies of North American imperialism, are oppressed from outside. That is to say, in your countries."

Where is the struggle concentrated in the United States?

"Throughout the country. From New York to California and from Canada to Mexico."

At what moment did non-violence change to victory?

"There is no precise moment. In 1960 we adhered to peaceful struggle for tactical reasons but we did not believe in it. Martin Luther King headed that struggle; he continues in that bungling position and has just agreed with Johnson on 'the necessity of sending federal troops to Detroit for pacification'. Perhaps it was 18 August 1966, during the first great rebellion, that the first important step was taken."

How can the struggle be coordinated, for example, with the workers of West Germany?

"We do not plan any such coordination. We do not believe that there exist revolutionary movements among workers of the white Western world; rather groups with a conscience, but with a subconscious racism. The Western powers divided the third world among themselves; they sacked its peoples and developed racism in their own Western countries, saying to their workers that the people of that 'third world' were sub-human beings. Because of this, the workers of the Western powers never objected to the exploitation of Africa, Asia and Latin America. An example of this is what France and Spain may think of the inhabitants of Somalia and Latin America, respectively. The Western powers recognize the concepts of Marx regarding the inevitable struggle of the classes and, to avoid this, they initiated the exploitation of the 'third world', making their white workers participants in that exploitation. We shall coordinate nothing with the white workers of Germany, nor even with those of the United States, until they take up arms with us in search of power for the redistribution of wealth,

for a total change in structure. As late as 1966 the whites were convincing the black masses that violence was not the adequate road. We have had to struggle and re-educate to infuse in the black masses the conscience of armed struggle which they possess today."

Concerning Senator Kennedy's request for arms control within the civilian population, Carmichael limited himself to the comment that "We will always obtain arms." Regarding the existence of Negro millionaires in the United States, the answer was clear: "There are only 67. A few days before our departure, the New York TIMES published a long report on this demagogic theme. Anyway, the Negro millionaires are not with those of us who struggle against the capitalist structure."

He added, "There are no indications that Lincoln intended to liberate the Negro slaves. He used Negro soldiers when the North was losing the war against the South. It wasn't until two years after the war ended that slavery was abolished. Lincoln had advocated sending the slaves to Africa. Our Negro youth reacted against Lincoln. Many lies have been told about him."

He continued, "Malcolm X and other leaders are our source of inspiration, as are Fidel and Che. Our world boxing champion, Mohammed Ali (Cassius Clay) has given an example and Negro youth follows it. Because we do not want to be drafted into an imperialist army to kill Vietnamese. They have done nothing to us. They do not discriminate against us; they do not force us to live in ghettos; and they do not kill us in the streets. They suffer the aggression of Yankee imperialism as we do. We are with them. Our women are organizing against the draft. They have already attacked several recruiting stations in Harlem, Atlanta and other cities. Our young Negroes are drafted to serve as cannon fodder. In Santo Domingo, Negro forces were used for the invasion. They attempt to create hatred among those of us who struggle for the same cause against imperialism. In Puerto Rico they are trying to do the same thing. But in Chicago and New York the Puerto Ricans have struggled beside us. If there exists something positive in the Negro youths sent to Vietnam, it is that they have learned to handle arms well for the time when they shall return to struggle for their rights in the United States, where the struggle shall be different for the imperialists. It shall be hand to hand. They shall not be able to throw napalm nor to bomb because they will destroy their own property."

In response to an answer about the role of intellectuals and artists, including North American Negro intellectuals, Carmichael was sharp: "We do not believe in the mouthy intellectuals who write many books. The intellectual should be revolutionary. For us, Fidel Castro is an intellectual, capable of calling a country together and conversing with it for hours on problems concerning it." Regarding art, he said, "If it does not have a political sense, it is not art."

In reply to another question he declared that "The present rebellion was not organized. It is a result of the conscience of the Negro masses, everyday more enlightened and determined to struggle." Finally, Stokely Carmichael answered a question on the danger of his returning to the United States and on the statements of State Department spokesman McCloskey concerning the possible invalidation of his passport for traveling to Cuba without permission: "McCloskey is neither my father nor my mother. I have not asked permission of my parents to go anywhere since I was 15 years old. I go where I wish. To hell with McCloskey and the Department of State. If I am assassinated, everyone will know that it was the CIA. It was the CIA who assassinated Ben Barka; who poisoned Richard Wright in Paris; and who assassinated Turcios Lima. But none of this has held back the struggle of the oppressed. If I am assassinated, the struggle will not be stopped either."

GRANMA ACCOUNT OF CARMICHAEL PRESS CONFERENCE

Havana GRANMA 3 Aug 67

[Text] (PL) -- The North American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael said that the struggle of the Negro population in the United States "is the same battle taking place outside the United States against imperialism, oppression, and racism."

At a press conference, Carmichael said also that US Negroes "have no other alternative but to take up arms to achieve our liberation."

He said that for 400 years the North American Negro population has lived under the most brutal fascism the world has known. "The Negro population," he said, "has tried to coexist peacefully within the limits of the United States but without any positive result."

In explaining the tactics used by Negro citizens in their struggle, Carmichael pointed out that "we are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States where we have no other alternative but to use offensive violence to own land, houses, and stores within our communities and control the policy of these communities."

He explained that the philosophy of "black power" consists in obtaining the monolithic union of the Negro population to "fight for their liberation regardless of means, the union with the oppressed people outside the Negro population of the United States, and the struggle for the destruction of the imperialist and capitalist structure of the United States which oppresses us in the interior and others abroad."

In answer to a question about the coordination of the struggle of the US Negro masses and that of the exploited in other parts of the world, Carmichael pointed out that his presence in Cuba "indicates that we are coordinating this struggle."

Later on, the former president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said that the North American Negro youths are aware that it is preferable to spend 5 years in prison "than to serve in the imperialist army and to serve as cannon fodder in the interests of that imperialist nation."

"We will not take up arms to shoot against the people of Vietnam. They have done nothing to us. They have never discriminated against us. They do not force us to live in ghettos nor do they make us work for low salaries, nor do they kill us in the streets," emphasized Carmichael. He continued: "The people of Vietnam are our brothers in struggle because they are struggling against the same structure which oppresses us. Our reply to the US armed forces is 'to hell with it, we are not going.'"

He added that for some time "we have been used by the imperialists of the United States to carry out those imperialist and racist wars and we are always on the front lines. As you know, in the Dominican Republic, the forces which were used to destroy the forces of the people struggling for their liberation were Negro."

"In Vietnam, the front line troops are Negroes. With regard to Vietnam, there is one positive fact: the United States has taught us how to kill."

"Our brothers who return from Vietnam," he pointed out, "are going to use this training well in the cities of the United States."

At another time during the conference Carmichael said that in the cities of the United States "the Negroes are a majority" and that in these same cities are large industrial centers. Consequently, he said that "to destroy us they have to destroy their cities, destroy the central part of the economy of the United States."

After emphasizing that the imperialist defenders "are cowards," he said that "they cannot fight hand to hand, face to face."

"When there is hand to hand combat they call it guerrilla warfare and they tell their people that guerrilla warfare is a new kind of war, and then they try to say that it is a dirty war, that it is a bad war, and in response to this kind of struggle they use napalm bombs."

He said that in the United States they are forced "to fight us face to face. But we will smash them." He then emphasized that within the present structure of the United States, "we cannot coexist, that is, we must create new structures in our own communities."

He then spoke of the whites who in the United States call themselves "liberals." He pointed out that "these liberals are enemies of the struggle of the Negroes for these reasons: because generally they are rich and consequently benefit from the existing system; they are safe economically. Consequently these liberals are fighting to maintain the system in the United States since they benefit from it, and we are struggling to destroy this system because this system brings us economic insecurity."

"Furthermore, these liberals have an intellectual commitment to the theory of equality, but they have no emotional feeling about the matter of equality. When the liberals see violence of the whites against the blacks, they shake their heads in a pained way instead of feeling violent and indignant. However, when I see a white racist policemen kill one of my Negro brothers, I want to kill him."

Carmichael said that the only whites which could be accepted in the struggle of the Negro movement "are those who are willing to take arms with us and to destroy the capitalist structure of the United States. Anything else is mere verbiage and we have had to live with this verbiage for 400 years." He added that there are approximately 67 Negro millionaires in the United States, and since they want to keep their millions, "they too must be destroyed."

Asked about the integration of the national minorities in the framework of the struggle for "black power" and the work being done to achieve this, Carmichael said: "In the first place, I would like to say that integration cannot even take place until the source is stopped. Within the United States integration is always defined as the Negro population moving toward the white communities, never the white population toward the Negro one. This reflects the unique racism of the society because we were told that Negroes had nothing to contribute and the idea was that we should become whites.

"This became a criteria for integration and I will give you an example: in Puerto Rico, which is a colony of the United States, where English is the language studied for 3 years, students are punished for speaking in Spanish. They are forced to think

that something is wrong with what they do and the way they speak. This is a reflection of the feeling of racial superiority of the white western society."

"Until we have the power to control our lives," he continued, "integration makes no sense at all. It is, in fact, a subterfuge for white supremacy."

"With regard to other minority groups within the United States, the white society has always kept them divided. Again I will use the example of the Puerto Rican population within the United States. In the cities, the white people made the Negroes fight against the Puerto Ricans and vice versa. Now we have seen the results of this in New York and in Chicago where the Puerto Ricans and the Negroes are fighting together against the police."

Carmichael as well as the leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who are with him in Cuba, Julius Lester and George Ware, explained the attitude of the Negro minister Martin Luther King on the recent racial outbreaks in Detroit and other North American cities. They pointed out that Martin Luther King is against violence and that in his statements made a few days ago he said that "he understood why there was violence, but he also said that he could not support violence. However, what Dr. Martin Luther King has not said is that he agrees with Lyndon B. Johnson's sending of troops to Detroit. It is crystal clear that when anyone says this he is against the Negro population."

"The western people," he continued, "sat down and divided among themselves the third world, and they used the third world like a pedestal. They sacked and stole from the colored peoples and to justify this plunder they developed what is called racism. They told the people of their countries that they were white and that the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America were of a different color, they were subhuman and thus it was all right to exploit them."

Carmichael laid special stress on the influence and the meaning of Major Ernesto Che Guevara's preachings on the US. Negro movement.

"One of the reasons why Che is so important to us," he said, "is because he is not just a man who talks, but one who acts; he is an activist, a militant."

In another part of the conference, Carmichael explained that when SNCC was created in 1960, Luther King was the central figure in the struggle of the Negro population. "To speak of violence at that time was the same as speaking of treason, so that we had to accept at that time a name, that of nonviolence, as a tactic.

"Those of us who created the organization did not believe in nonviolence, so that we were organizing our people and also giving them the understanding that we would have to fight with arms.

"After the Watts rebellion, the question of nonviolence for the Negro population was no longer a question to be intellectually discussed; it is clear that the armed way was the only path.

"After having carried out a triumphant revolution which took power in Cuba, he (Che) went to other countries to help the progress of the struggle in those countries. Contrary to what we call armchair revolutionaries in the world, he is ready to risk

his life. His writings, which we receive in the United States, have a special importance on two levels: in the first place, he considers the structure of international racism and the structure of international capitalism, and he acknowledges that to fight against this structure we must internationalize our struggle.

"That is exactly what he means when he states that we must create one, two, three, or more Vietnams. The explicitness with which he refuted all the intellectual debates, is very clear to us. It has been demonstrated by his statement of hate, where he says that we must develop hate to change man into a cold killing machine; the kind of hate that we must develop to be able to understand the type of fight which we wish to carry out.

"In no other part of the world do we find another man who is ready to speak so clearly, a man who is ready to kill to attain his freedom as Che has done. The example of the chain reaction in the United States is a direct result of the tactic of creating many Vietnams. To tie those rebellions with the outside world would mean 50 Vietnams within the United States and 50 Vietnams outside the United States, and that would be the equivalent of the death of imperialism."

Continuing, the revolutionary Negro leader asserted that Malcolm X, murdered in 1965, "is our leader and spiritual guide. He was one of the most legitimate leaders of the Negroes in the United States. He spoke to the black masses, for the black masses, and he fought for the black masses."

Then he stated that Abraham Lincoln "was a white racist, in the best sense of the word, and there is no indication that he had in his mind the idea of freeing the Negro population. When he began to lose the war against the South, he had to find Negro soldiers, and that changed the situation.

"The reaction against Abraham Lincoln is very strong among black men, because the United States has lied about him, and has made it be seen that he liberated the slaves. The idea should clearly be seen that Lincoln only went to war for economic reasons; the Civil War began in 1861 and Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation until 1863, and he only did this because the North was losing the war.

"He supported the idea of sending the slaves to Africa, and he said time and again that if he had been able to win the war without freeing the slaves, he would have done so. He was only another racist."

As for his impression of Cuba and Prime Minister Fidel Castro, young Carmichael offered his thoughts. "For the first time in my life I have seen an army and a police force and I was not afraid. Fidel Castro, your great leader, has for a long time been a source of great inspiration for me and for many of the Negroes in the United States because behind his enthusiasm there is an attitude of searching and finding.

"I understand why the United States does not want its people to visit Cuba because then it would not be able to spread the lies, to create the lies about the Cuban people and leaders. It would be very dangerous if a great number of people came to Cuba to see how oppressed the people of Cuba are, to see how Communism has killed the creative spirit of the Cuban people. It would be very dangerous for them because it is possible that those who visit Cuba in this situation would want the very same for themselves. I never was oppressed under better circumstances than during my visit to Cuba.

"What impressed me the most is that Fidel seems to be so full of things that he wants to speak to the people about. One feels as if he were speaking with him. In that way, I could listen to Fidel for 5 hours every day of the week."

He also said that the American Negroes "instinctively know that the Cuban Revolution is good, so that we did not come to appraise the situation, to judge the situation. We came to learn."

Carmichael did not want to end his press conference without first explaining the role of the intellectual Negroes within the US Negro movement.

"We do not believe that a man is an intellectual because he uses resounding words or writes many books; a true intellectual for us is a Fidel Castro, a man who educates the masses and spends time with them. The Negro intellectuals of the United States spend their time with the white power structure of the United States, writing many books that their people never read, and giving speeches that their people never understand.

"Art should be political or it is not art. The question then is not what the intellectual is going to do but what he is going to do for us. When the Negro intellectual returns home and uses his talent to benefit his people, instead of using it to earn more money for himself, then we will welcome him. Until then we will not concede them any importance."

LE MONDE ACCOUNT OF CARMICHAEL PRESS INTERVIEW

Paris LE MONDE 3 Aug 67

(By special correspondent Marcel Niedergang)

[Text] Havana, 2 August -- "We have decided to go over to the offensive. We do not intend to let ourselves be knocked down one after the other. We will be the first to kill and we will strike at the top. We cannot wait. The CIA is organized on a world-wide basis; it has agents everywhere. Well, we are organizing in the same way so as to counter it. When the CIA assassinated Malcolm X, our great leader, it succeeded for a while in deceiving the Negroes and making them think it was a case of private revenge. If one of should be killed, it is important that the Negroes of the US know that the CIA is responsible; vengeance must be taken against the leaders of the United States. We do not know whether our people are entirely ready, but the lists are ready: McNamara, Dean Rusk, Johnson . . . "

The inflammatory statements made in Havana on Tuesday by Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), almost completely overshadowed the other work accomplished on the first day of the LASO conference.

While the foreign observers and the members of the 29 revolutionary delegations from North and South America listened soberly in the Hall of the Ambassadors of the Havana Libre Hotel to the speech of the North Vietnamese representative, Stokely Carmichael and his friends had called the press together on the 26th floor. Relaxed and smiling, all three wearing comfortable sunglasses, Stokely Carmichael, George Ware, and Julius Lester had to reply to numerous questions for more than 2 hours.

Of the three, it is undoubtedly Stokely Carmichael who captured the spotlight after a few hours in Cuba. He was at the right of Fidel Castro during the Cuban Prime Minister's speech last week [26 July] at Santiago de Cuba on the subject "Cuba will have to face the probable American intervention alone." About 25 years old, long-limbed and with regular, clean-cut features, the mulatto reminds one of an athlete at rest. When he speaks, he takes hold of the microphone, stands tall, stretches lithely, leans back, and frequently breaks out laughing. He has a sense of humor and a feeling for phrases and figures of speech, and one can see what an effect such an orator could have on a crowd.

But he is not the thinker of the team. That role is reserved for George Ware, who is sharper, more aggressive, less brilliant but sounder, and who came to Carmichael's assistance every time a specific historical or tactical point was involved. Julius Lester, a talented Newport jazz trumpeter, wearing a goatee a la Trotsky, for his part, displays a grating and formidable temperament. He undertook immediately to point out that the SNCC is opposed to the cult of the personality. "As you can see," he said, "Carmichael is not the only one . . . "

Just One Means: Violence

But how is it that these colored leaders, who belong to an organization which is theoretically nonviolent, have come to advocate violence and the preparation of "urban guerrilla warfare in the large cities of the United States?" "In 1960," Carmichael replies, "the head of our movement was the minister Martin Luther King, a

pacifist, as is well known. At that time, to speak of violence was considered treason. For tactical reasons, we avoided the expression then, but we thought about it all the same and prepared our people for violence because there is no other means of destroying the American capitalist system which is oppressing us. The Watts riots in 1965 marked a decisive turning point. It is clear to everyone today," he continued, "that armed insurrection in the United States is the only road to liberation for us. After 4 centuries, the Negroes in the United States are living under a fascist regime. They have tried to coexist, but it is impossible. The only solution is to take up arms. The battle we are fighting in the United States," added Carmichael, "is the same one which is being fought abroad against American imperialism, oppression, and racism. We are fighting for the destruction of the capitalist structures of the United States, and we think that that fight must be coordinated with that of the other peoples of the world. Our presence in Havana is proof of this. Also, when we learned that Martin Luther King had approved of sending federal troops to Detroit, we said that Luther King was against the Negroes of the US"

"We Must Create Fifty Vietnams"

The American scene pictured by Carmichael and his friends today is a scene consisting of ruins, blood, and destruction, an Apocalyptic scene where the power of the detested white man has been done away with and replaced by the power of the colored man. "It is necessary, as Ernesto 'Che' Guevara has said, to develop hatred in order to transform a man into a killing machine." "It is necessary," said Carmichael again, "to create 50 Vietnams in the United States and 50 Vietnams outside the United States. Then that will be the death of imperialism."

The considerable losses which an urban guerrilla war might produce do not frighten him. The only risk for him is the possibility that "the colored troops would be lacking in fighting spirit. Since we will be carrying the fighting onto the adversary's territory, he will not be able to use his aircraft and napalm, as in Vietnam. The fighting will be man-to-man, and in that sort of fighting we will be the stronger. The only good thing about the war in Vietnam is the fact that the Negroes, who represent 40 percent of the fighting units, have learned to kill scientifically, and that experience is and will be very useful for us. That means that we refuse to fight in Vietnam for American imperialism. We no longer wish to serve as cannon fodder. It is not the people of Vietnam who are oppressing us, obliging us to live in ghettos and exploiting us. It is American imperialism. Our enemy is America; it is not Vietnam, which shares the struggle with us"

"Mao Inspires Us"

It is not surprising that Carmichael and his friends refer to Malcolm X, to Franz Fanon, of Martinique, and to Guevara: "He is a man of action. He does not content himself with talking. He is an activist who has recognized the importance of international racism" The reference to Mao Tse-tung is a bit surprising. "Mao," says Carmichael, "to his credit, is the man who has said 'go to the devil' to the West, to Western influence, and the corrupt culture of the West. You will find Mao's book everywhere among the young colored people of the United States. It inspired us and helps us to perfect our ideology and to integrate ourselves into the great struggle of the nations of the Third World."

Against the American Communists

It is clear that, even though the American Negroes do not say so explicitly, they hold the present position of the Soviet Union and the policy of peaceful co-existence in contempt. "It is a party of persons of distinction, bourgeoisie, persons profiting from the capitalist system. They have beautiful homes and servants; they make a lot of money. They have excellent relations with the leaders there. If Lenin and Marx had known the American Communist Party, they would have become capitalists"

The American working class--"reactionary, racist"--and the Western labor movement--"unconscious racists and profiting, themselves, from the pillaging of the 'Third World' by the capitalists"--also do not find favor in their eyes, and neither do the "so-called liberal Americans, the kind souls and partisans of a policy of welfare for the colored people." "When a white person wants to be my friend," Carmichael goes on, "that is sufficient reason for me to distrust him. We have had too many missionaries When the missionaries arrived in Africa, we had the land and they had the Bible. Now they have the land and we have the Bible."

"Destroy the White Man"

There are no shadings, no subtlety, and no hope for anything any longer but total destruction in this world of "black and white," if we may put it that way, of Carmichael and his friends. "The white man exploits the colored people, and he must be destroyed." But what then? What ideal society does Carmichael want to construct? On what foundation will black power be erected? What will be the place of the white people, if any are left, in this new system and this new world? It must be said that the answers of Carmichael and the leaders of the SNCC are singularly weak, from this point of view. They admit that they cannot "live any longer in the United States as it is at present," but they do not picture the results well. At the moment, they are thinking of nothing but fighting. "When I see a cop shoot at a Negro," says Carmichael, "I feel like killing the cop. When a so-called liberal white man sees the same thing, he doesn't make a move. That is what makes the difference. We will go as far as the American 'green berets' who are fighting in Vietnam and against the Latin American people"

And Later?

And later? "Later," says George Ware, "we're not concerned about that. It is up to the whites to clarify their relationship with black power." Carmichael, who was scheduled to address the Solidarity Conference at first, most probably will not speak. However, he will make his feelings known without beating about the bush. "This is the first time, but it is also the last time that he will address the press," said Julius Lester, furthermore. After this week, Carmichael will leave Cuba and return to the United States. Nervous? Not in the least. That idea makes him break out in laughter. "Since I was 15, I have lost the habit of asking permission to go out. The spokesman of the State Department is not my father or my mother. I am not accountable to anybody."

(The Cuban evening newspapers published an expurgated version of Stokely Carmichael's press conference in which no reference was made to his statements concerning the possible assassination of a certain number of American leaders, the Reuters agency reports.)

Rome, L'UNITA, 26 Jul 67, p. 3

[The following statement by Stokely Carmichael upon his arrival in Havana was reported by Radio Havana on 25 July.]

"We are joining you in Havana because we believe that the Cuban victory is also our victory and that the courage of the Cuban people inspired us in our struggle."

Rome, L'UNITA, 28 Jul 67, p. 10

[A dispatch datelined Havana, 27 July 1967, attributed the following statement to Stokely Carmichael in a radio interview.]

"The Cuban revolution also belongs to us and the courage of the Cuban people inspires us in our struggle."

CZECH PRESS COVERAGE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Czechoslovak daily press had given minimum coverage to the LASO conference. As regards Stokely Carmichael's participation, the sources provided the following.

Rude Pravo of 2 August (p 7) reported the opening of the LASO conference and added, under the same headline but separately, the following: "'Our struggle is in harmony with the struggle of the people of Latin America and their struggle is our struggle,' stated Stokely Carmichael, the American fighter for Negro equality and an adherent of the principle of 'Black Power,' in an interview published Tuesday in the Cuban paper GRANMA. Carmichael appealed for 'unity among the Latin American people and the Negro movement in the US in their common struggle against Yankee imperialism.'"

The 2 August ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY (p 2) also reported the opening of the LASO conference, but in even briefer form, and reported only Carmichael's appeal for unity, as given in the foregoing paragraph.

Pravda, 5 August (p 11), reporting on the last day of general discussions at the LASO conference, stated the following: "Stokely Carmichael, one of the leaders of the radical wing of the American Negro movement who had been elected an honorary delegate [to the LASO conference], also took the floor at the conference. He pointed to the various forms of the Negro struggle in the US. He labelled the armed struggle as inseparable from the struggle of the third world. He declared that the Negroes will change the structure of the US and that this structure will not be capitalistic."

Without any tie-in with the LASO conference, RUDE PRAVO of 27 July (p 6) provided a brief biographic sketch entitled "Who is . . . Stokely Carmichael, the Leading Propagator of 'Black Power'."

The 3 August PRAVDA (p 3) and 4 August ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY (p 2) reporting on the Senate hearings on racial disorders in the US, stated that police chiefs of some of the affected cities had named Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael as leaders of the extremist SNCC who had incited their fellow-Negroes to violence.

POLISH NEWSPAPER REPORT ON CARMICHAEL

The following statement concerning Stokely Carmichael's comments on 2 August 1967 at the Plenary Session of the Latin American Solidarity Conference (LASO) in Havana appeared in the 3 August 1967 edition of the Warsaw daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY (page 2) under a PAP dateline: "Carmichael expressed admiration for the achievement of the Cuban revolution and stated that the Negroes in the US have decided finally to settle matters with the Yankee imperialists."

YUGOSLAV NEWSPAPER REFERENCES TO CARMICHAEL

In an article datelined Palm Beach, written by Dragan D. Markovic, in the Yugoslav newspaper BORBA of 29 July, on President Johnson's appeal to the nation, Markovic said:

"One thing is quite clear: energetic action will be taken against the most radical Negro leaders. Rap Brown, president of the national Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, landed in jail day before yesterday. Jail has also been announced for one of the most radical and best-known leaders of the civil equality movement, Stokely Carmichael, who is at present in Havana at the anniversary celebration of the Cuban revolution."

In an AP, APP, and Tanyug report, datelined New York, published in the 3 August issue of BORBA, on the race riots and on the President Johnson-Governor Romney controversy, the statement was made that "news has arrived that Stokely Carmichael stated that American Negroes will achieve their freedom through the revolutionary movement," and adding that Carmichael had said in an interview with the Cuban newspaper, GRANMA, that the common battle against American imperialism links the peoples of Latin America with the American Negroes.

Dakar DAKAR-MATIN 4 Aug 67 p 6

[An APS -- Senegalese Press Service --dispatch from Havana attributed the following statements to Carmichael.]

"The common enemy is the Western bourgeois and imperialist society. The Black Americans and the people of the Third World should unite because the entire Third World is the proletariat of the white and bourgeois West."

"Those who speak of coexistence are defending the status quo."



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

14

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 5, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Radio station WOL, Washington, D. C., on its program "Speak Up", moderated by Dr. David Eaton, had as its guests Stokely Carmichael, Lester McKinnie, Washington Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Courtland Cox of SNCC. The program was on the air from 11:00 p.m., Sunday evening, January 14, 1968 to 1:00 a.m., Monday morning, January 15, 1968.

Dr. Eaton began the program with a brief interview of his guests, with emphasis on how they became acquainted with each other and how they became involved in the Civil Rights Movement. The questions and answers then began. The following is a verbatim transcript of the comments of Carmichael in response to questions asked him:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

EATON: Listening audience the phone number is 462-8150. And tonight we're interviewing Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinney and Mr. Cortland Cox. Let me throw this question to you, all of you have in common, being at Howard University and on this program we have had several of the Professors who have been kicked out of Howard and one of the student, student at law school. What was his name? Green I think and now he is at Yale. Let me ask you this question? What help if any, in formulating your opinions about life, what was some of your more positive impressions of Howard University? Or what is your critique, that's a better idea of Howard University. How would you answer that?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I think it is changing a little at Howard University, my biggest problem at Howard University is that it was trying too much imitate white society. I mean all of its criterion came all from white society. It was so caught up in imitating white society, it never took time to look at their own people, their own culture. I mean they just never really questioned things. They don't today, I mean they talk about education. It is crystal clear to me, education means being able to fit into your community. And Howard University is incapable of doing that, I mean the students who attend Howard University can't even mix who surround their very community. They got to have police dogs to fight what they call block boys, and that's just absurd to me, because that's the same people, same black people, flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. And if Howard University couldn't prepare me to help live in that community or change that community, then that education was absolutely wasted. I think that more than anything else (garbled) with Howard, I mean I

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I am not even going into the petty nonsense of the administration, they are trying to be so white and the petty nonsense of some faculty members. The whole institution just in its attempt to imitate lock-stock and barrel, white society and to make us white. I think what caused to rebel, cause were all first generation college, you know our parents didn't go to college, they didn't even finish high school. And if we didn't get scholarships, we wouldn't be able to go to college.

EATON: You got a good point, let me put it this way. You say, it is not only true of Howard, I don't think also, the whole educational system.

CARMICHAEL: Right.

EATON: But isn't it natural if the black man finds himself the minority, the largest minority in a seas of whiteness or the white majority. Is it not natural to have this type of imitation? What is your feeling about that?

CARMICHAEL: Man, I just want to pick up on that. I think that's a line the Honkies just use, you know telling us that we're not any relationship to Africa, man that's not true. First of all for black people the question of a community is not geography it is a question of color, that happens to be a fact, I mean you go in this country, wherever you go, if your black you're going to the same community, it doesn't make a difference where its located, if its in Washington, D. C., if its in Harlem, if its in Southside Chicago, if its in Watts in Los Angeles, wherever the brothers are thats naturally where you're going to be. And the same thing is true outside of the country, the same is true for example in the West Indies, the same thing is true in Africa. Well now the white folks got to say that nonsense because look what they've done to us. They have scattered us all over the Western

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society because they felt like it. They came to Africa they took us, they dropped some of us in the West Indies, they dropped some of us in Cuba, they dropped some of us in Brazil, they dropped some of us in Columbia, in Peru, in Panama, in Santa Domingo, in Puerto Rico, in the United States, and they just scattered us as their will, I mean we're 900 million strong in the world today and if the black man ever recognized that he was 900 million strong in the world today and recognized that we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood because we are...

EATON: He'd probably faint.

CARMICHAEL: No, he wouldn't faint, the Honkie would faint. If the black man recognized that the Honkie would faint.

EATON: Okay, lets take a few calls, the number is 462-8150, and we're having a informal discussion here tonight with Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinnie and Mr. Courtland Cox. If you care to join it they are willing to answer any questions that you put to them other than those they rule out of bounds and we decided that when we went on the air. Lets take a couple of calls, gentlemen. WOL speak-up please.

CALLER: Alright, well may I just say you have such lovely participants on there I would love to hear them talk much more to the community, you know, rather than asking so many questions at first. And I agree with these gentlemen. I just wish they could give us a better education, black people, I'm not concerned about what white people think about us. I think if we could do one of these things to more educate the black people that they are black and what they are, I would appreciate any comment anybody has about that. We're going to waste our time trying

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to teach the white man that we're black and we're Africans we can forget it because its going to take too long.

EATON: OK. Thanks very much. Any of you care to react to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me just pick up on that because I think a point that the lady I think the point that the sister made was very important. Because every time black people move in this country the first thing they decide is what is the white man going to say about this.

COX (?): You're right.

CARMICHAEL: Yeah. And we have to change our entire way of thinking. We must begin to say first our people, first our people, we are concerned with what is good for our people, and later for anybody else.

CALLER: Stokely at one of your meetings, you know, I was there and you said that ah...never knock your brother or never knock your brother's organization. There's another organization (around)...in the (), you know. But suppose your brother knocked you, you know, knowing its gonna hurt you, you know, what actions should he take behind that?

CARMICHAEL: OK, now understand this, we gotta understand this its very, very important. Look I'm gonna tell you something brother if we don't understand it all of us are gonna be wasted. Now dig, if a brother attacks another brother and the other brother's mind is messed up, his mind is messed up because the white man messed his mind up. Right?

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CALLER: True.

CARMICHAEL: So that means our primary enemy is the white man who has messed up our brothers mind. Our job is to begin to be as humble as we can with our own people, to try and bring them along to the point where we have reached because look a lot of people talking black now but remember when brother Malcolm was talking about black just think where we were.

CALLER: Yeah.

CARMICHAEL: And all of us have to grow to that point. And if people are not willing to help the brothers and sisters who are behind we're going to get wasted because they'll be able to divide us. We have to give our brothers all the slack in the world, I mean cut them a whole lot of slack to bring them along slowly. Use any methods necessary to bring them along except force. We must begin to...begin to use as a law that we do not use force on our own people, as a matter of fact when they insult us we just go to them and take the insults and just keep going slowly. I mean wherever our people are that's where we go and that's how we try and move against them so that we begin to unite everybody in our community, I mean everybody in our community got to be united, from kids six years old all the way up to the old folk we people say minds cannot be changed but that's not true, we got to work..... with them because unless we have a totally united community (isn't ?) going to be able to get us. But if we take our time with our brothers and when they make the mistakes we just go on after them, you know, like we all grow up in the church, remember Jesus Christ went after the one lost lamb, and that's who we got to go after, we got to go after our lost brothers whose minds are not straight,

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who are fighting us every time we say the word black, who are getting upset every time they hear Black Power, and take time out to un-brainwash what the Honkie did to them. Now it offers a challenge for us because the challenge is can we ...are we better and are we smarter with our own people than the white man? If the white man brainwashed our people can we un-brainwash our people and bring them home? And I think we're bad enough to do it. And that's what we have to do. And that's why we have to take time and don't get upset, you know, when brothers say things that we know they don't really mean because they don't know what they're talking about, and cut them all the slack in the world to bring them home. We got to bring our people home and you got to remember that every Negro is a potential black man. I job is to make black man.

CALLER: Why can't Stokely Carmichael tell us his real name: And who is paying him?

EATON: (to CARMICHAEL) The question is why can't you tell us your real name? And who is paying you?

CARMICHAEL: My real name is Stokely Carmichael and I'm paid by the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee when I get paid.

EATON: (to caller) Alright, thanks very much.

EATON: WOL, speak-up, please.

CALLER: So mighty glad to see that Mr. Carmichael come speaking to the community because I feel the community needs to be educated, especially or even our so called upper class. We are all nothing but Negroes.

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Some of them there seems to be indifferent or (). What makes the white man mad is when we are united and solid unity and speaking the things that should be spoken. And I think this is a very good idea.

EATON: OK, thanks very much. There is one question that comes out of two or three of the listeners and I would like to throw open and also get the listeners reaction. Should the black man become involved, not only in the destiny of his own community but the destiny of America, and if so, why? (Cox answered - Carmichael continued the answer.)

CARMICHAEL: I mean you could carry it to the present date.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: We do not want to get involved in a black united front but lets use that as an example. Now, we got together in D.C. We said, alright, we're living in a black community. We have different ideologies, you know, we have different organizations but we're all working for the benefit of the black man, why don't all of us get together, sit down and try and work out areas where we can work together and stop fighting each other. Now that seems to.....me to be what anybody would be happy to have done. But every white newspaper, every white television station, every white radio station in this city came out against such a move. They don't even want the black man to get together. Didn't any body say anything about what they're were going to do, all they said was we're calling a unity meeting, we discuss things by ourselves away from the press because we know what they do to everything we do, they always misinterpret and continue to mess up the minds of our people. And yet even something as simple as having a unity meeting among black people,

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and white people are trying to destroy it. The press is making all these stories about whats going on, who's fighting who and all that nonsense, and the reason they are doing this is because they don't want the black man to come together because they know if the black man comes together its all over for them.

EATON: OK. Lets take a few more calls. In other words what you are simple saying is that if the black man looks after his...own..best interests in becoming a better individual in terms of ownership of property, being responsible for the property he owns, developing businesses and sharing that this....by the very act of doing this will have meaningful consequences on the statue and the position of America.

CARMICHAEL:(?) Yeah, but not only that see....if the black man becomes....

EATON: In other words some basic changes will have to be made.

CARMICHAEL(?): Yeah, but look if the black man just began to think for himself then they couldn't control us anymore. For example if any serious black man started to think for himself he knows he has no business in Vietnam. He's not going to Vietnam, if the black man don't go to Vietnam then this country is messed up.

EATON: Right. Ok, lets take a few more calls and gear in on some of the areas that we've just discussed.

CALLER: I would like to ask my black brother, Carmichael, a couple of questions.

EATON: Ok, go ahead. He is listening.

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CALLER: When he was over in North Vietnam what did the leader over there think about our black brothers, boys over there fighting, our black brothers whom they are fighting with. What did they think and what did they say about them?

EATON: I think the question is, When you visited North Vietnam what did some of the leaders think about the black men in America?

CALLER: Fighting over there?

CARMICHAEL: I think that they recognize the black man is being used in that war. I think they recognize it very clearly. They recognize it for a number of reasons. Now before the United States moved in against Vietnam, the Vietnamese were fighting the French used to take the Algerians, Algeria is in North Africa, and they used to make the Algerians fight in Viet Nam against the Vietnamese. Now what the Vietnamese would do, when they captured an Algerian prisoner, they would take him and put him in a separate cell from a French prisoner and they would begin to talk to the Algerian prisoner and they would say, now look brother, why are you fighting us? This man in France has got your country up tight, you can't move out of the country, you can't own anything in the country. He owns everything and he makes you come and fight me and I haven't done anything to you. I haven't tried to take your country. I don't rape your women. I don't make them....prostitutes. So why are you fighting me? And they would begin to work a re-educational program on the Algerians. So what happened was that all the Algerians when they got out of jail from Vietnam, they formed the inner Left, the National Liberation Front. And they are the ones who carried on the long guerrilla warfare in Algeria against France.

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EATON: Thanks very much for your call.

CALLER: Can I ask one more?

CALLER: This is very important, Dave.

EATON: Ok, go ahead.

CALLER: Actually, I want to ask him, did he read this statement when he was over there, he would like to see United States get defeated?

EATON: Let me tell you, one ground rule we have established at the beginning, we don't want to get in one of these type of controversies, so I am not going to allow any question did he say or didn't he say. We won't get too much accomplished then, OK?

CALLER: OK.

EATON: We are trying to share thoughts, trying to find out who these people are, these three individuals. OK? Thanks very much. WOL, speak up please.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely who helped finance his trip abroad?

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, who helped finance your trip abroad?

CARMICHAEL: Different peoples.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael's response, did you hear?

CALLER: Different peoples.

EATON: WOL, speak up please. Your on the air.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely Carmichael and the

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rest of the men who are there why aren't they doing anything about the right of Negroes to vote in Washington, D. C.? Because I am pretty sure that the reason is because the majority....of the people in Washington are Negroes and eighty percent of the home population would be Negroes, and that's the reason we are not allowed to vote. I mean I agree with all these other things that are going on, you know, and I know (garbled) Negroes (garbled) D. ? C. should have the right to vote. So why aren't (?) we doing anything about this?

CARMICHAEL(?): OK. I think that COX is going to take that question. (Cox answered-Carmichael continued.)

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but there's another follow up to that brother. Number one, you just don't wanna get the vote, just like that, see. Cause you get the vote then the man mess you up with that vote, see.

CALLER: Yeh, I agree brother.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, what we want to do is to begin to rebuild a community feeling in our community which has been broken down by all of the forces that work against us, that are put on us from white society. Like, for example, now you walk on down 7th and T or you walk on down 14th and U, you see us out there fighting each other, cutting each other, shooting each other. We have to begin to address ourselves to problems where black people stop taking out their hatred on each other, where we begin to build a feeling of community where we'll hustle on each other. So that when we get the vote, cause we gonna take the city, I mean there aint no if, ands or buts about that; but when we get the city we will have developed a feeling of community. So that whatever we use the city for it will help the community, the masses of our people, not just a few people who are running

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for offices and fighting each other. And that's more important for us than the vote. The vote is a trick bag the white man put out here brother.

CALLER: Will I (garbled) saying, if we had the vote and (unintelligible) elect our school board, I mean, don't you think we could start educating Negro children like, you know, show them the part that Negroes, black Americans, did play in this country.

CARMICHAEL OK, dig brother, See, if you go elect somebody to the school board, they gonna function the way the school board functions now. It's not gonna work. You got to talk about changing the whole education system in this country. Now I'll tell you why. An education, see, it's supposed to prepare you to live in your community, right.

CALLER: The white community.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, that's what it's doing now. It's preparing us to live in the white community, cause it doesn't speak to the problems of our community. Let's look at our community. Our community is full of rats, roaches, prostitutes, dope addicts, preachers, gamblers; it's also full of maids, it's full of gangs, it's full of young fellas out on the street fighting each other. Now if I go to school, see, if that's the community I live in, that school should teach me to be a good prostitute or a good dope addict or a good preacher or a good whatever in my community. If it can't teach me that, then it's got to teach me how to change my community. And the schools aren't doing any of these things man. It's teaching.....

EATON(?): Not where it's not teaching you how to live and it's not teaching you how to change.

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CARMICHAEL: Right. It's not teaching you how to live in our community, it's not teaching you how to change our community. What's it teachin us to do is to perpetuate the system that we live under and that's why electin a black man to the board is not going to begin to solve our problems. We have to talk about our parents takin over the schools, takin over the school boards, and dictating to schools the type of education that our children get. Cause that's the only solution to the problem brother.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for you call, we're moving on.

CALLER: Radicate (ph) among us, you know, among, I call myself an American now, of course I'm not, but since I'm here it's been a benefit, and I'm definitely Negro (----?), I don't hesitate to say it. And it just burns we up when another Negro or soul brother or black man (looks it??). I have so much of Indian in me, you know, it's an instinction (??), you know, you really get mad.

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister.

CALLER: You have to club these people into.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister, that's true, what you say it true. It's just our job to begin to help them. There's not need to get.....They're our people. They're flesh of our flesh and they're blood of our blood and we've got to help them, no matter how long it takes, no matter how tired we get we've got to keep goin. I mean, let's just remember again brother Malcolm X when he first started about black everybody said, man shutup, we don't want to hear that nonsense. He kept pushing. He kept plugging. He kept pushing along and he kept pluggin till a lot of us began to open our eyes and we have to do the same thing with our brothers and sisters. And we cannot afford to get hostile with them because

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when we get mad with them they gonna run to the white man and that's another one we lost. We got to be....

CALLER: (Interrupts) That's a good point and it really takes a lot of patience. You see (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL: (Interrupts) The black man is the most patient man in the world. We been patient for 400 years. We can take patience with our own people if we took all that patience from the white man. (Woman caller was trying to talk at same time Stokely was.)

CALLER: Yes, I'd like to ask Stokely your doing all this talk about black power has he stopped to think just where will be get, once he get this black power, how many of our people own (?) any shares in the utilities here in the District? Have you stopped to think about that yet?

CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry ...

EATON: We didn't quite understand the latter part of your statement, would you repeat it?

CALLER: Of all these utilities here in the District has he stopped to think how many people, how many Negroes, own shares in this? If we were to get the black power, where do we go from there?

EATON: Right, the word that we are missing is utopia something, what was that word?

CALLER: The utilities here.

EATON: Utilities, right?

CALLER: That's right, the water, the electricity, all of these. Where we going from there, once we get the

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black power? How're we going to maintain it? Now you doin all this kickin (?) about black power, now how is he going to maintain once he gets the black power?

CARMICHAEL: See brother, you saying the white man is the only man who can maintain a water system and all that other utility stuff you talk about?

CALLER: No. (both talk) How you going to maintain it? How many Negroes in the District own any shares in anything?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think many of us own any shares in anything. Why don't we own it? That's a question you ought to ask yourself. Why don't we own shares in it?

CALLER: Why because we haven't (?) stopped (?) long (?) enough (?) to train this ignorant Negroes that really need the training. The only (Stokely interrupts).

CARMICHAEL: Brother, there are no ignorant black people, there are no ignorant black people.

CALLER: Have you stopped to think about all the black (?) of ourselves who haven't been (----?) that you really haven't....

EATON: (Interrupts) I think maybe that---let me interrupt and see if I can clarify this. Correct me if I'm wrong, but what you three gentlemen are talking about in terms of the black community and black people playing the major or proportionate share of the decision making process including in the black community. This is not negating, as I understand it, and association in terms of dialogue and

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communication with whites, I don't think we're talking, and correct me if I'm wrong, about some type of black enclave within America. Are we not talking about a type of real equality rather than the facade of equality in terms of communication and stature.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that...

EATON: (Interrupts) I think that's what, you know, cause he assumes that white people won't be working and, you know.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but that is not the way we should go to the question. I mean, why is it that whenever we talk about our people we got to go back and talk about white people? Does it necessarily mean that, if you do things for black people, you have to step on white people? We're concerned with our people. We're not saying we don't step on white people. I mean but the...

(Someone says OK and Eaton said, that's what I wanted you to clarify)

Stokely continues with--No brother, no. See I don't waste my time talking about that. We're talkin about gettin black people together, organized, united, so we can have the power that was stolen from us by the white man. That's all we're talking about.

CALLER: What did you have stolen from ya?

CARMICHAEL: My life, he stole me from Africa, git to that.

CALLER: So you free to go back why don'tcha go back?

EATON: OK, rather than debate this one moot point, we're going to have to move on because we have five more minutes before the news break. OK,

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thanks very much.

CALLER: Yes, I would like to direct this call to Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead, he's listening.

CALLER: All right, I was thinking, I been thinking this (?) ever (?) since (?) the program came on the woman from the West Indies more or less, you know, kinda brought it home. Don't you find that women as a whole are more hard to understand, you know the problems. I think women are...well I think that this is where the big problem comes in at.....

EATON: OK. While he's.....

CALLER: Probably but, you know men, they and...they have more foresight they can look further into the future and the women just wants to argue all the time. And another thing that I'd like to know, what can women who is really interested in going to, you know, get our people together.

CARMICHAEL: I'm not sure that's true because I think that the person who has carried the bulk of the black race in certainly the centuries before, has been the black women. I mean that I just don't think that's true. I mean that it was my black mother who had to carry me when my father couldn't get a job and carry the five of us, you know, all five of us, so I just don't think that's true. I think that our young men ought to be thankful for our black mothers that they were able to survive through all the crap that they had to take from the white folks. I'm thankful for black women, I think that they are the most beautiful women on the earth, because they were

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.....able to survive through what no other race of people would have been able to survive through. They not only took care of white people's children they took care of their own children. They fed their own and they breast fed white people, they clean their own houses and clean white people's houses, they cook supper for their children and cook supper for white people's children and they were still able to give us a feelin of humanity through all of that nonsense. Be thankful for the black woman sister.

EATON: OK, thank you very much.

EATON: The thing that is puzzling me, I'd like to get your reactions on this, and this is a genuine puzzle I had. I can't see, and I'm speaking ---I'm trying to speak objectively, I can't see why persons in America, I don't care whether they're black, white or green, can't see the value and real contribution to this country that can be made if the black man becomes more solid more united in his efforts. And I really can't understand why people can't understand this. Can you speak to that? In other words, I know that the white community has traditionally attempted to fragmentize the black community and has succeeded, but looking at it as objectively as possible, I can't understand why people don't realize that by the black community coming closer together, having more genuine communication, have more real understanding of each other how that cannot be a more positive contribution to America. Can you enlighten me?

CARMICHAEL: Well I think David that it's just a known fact, the white man recognizes that if the black man gets together there's going to be trouble because the

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whole system of this country is based upon keepin the black man where he is. So if he gets together he's, it means, automatically, he's gonna upset the applecart. Cause they say the country is fitted now, the black man is programmed in every area of his life.

EATON: OK

CARMICHAEL: And with the program goin.....

EATON: Now I want you to challenge me, as I know you will, but here's what I'm saying. My fervent feeling is that if America is to be saved then the black man has to save her. That's my feeling. If America is to be saved, the black man has to save her. Now, speaking purely in a humanitarian way and trying to be objective, if the value system in America can be changed by the black man, being concerned with his blackness and accepting it and loving it, then ostensibly, oh that's a big word, then this would have in a final form a positive input to the whole American system.

CARMICHAEL: I got to do it brother. You my (.....) boy, you know, but we got to go.

CARMICHAEL: The black man cannot be concerned with America. He must be concerned with his people. To be concerned with black people in this country is not to be concerned with America. It is to be the opposite of America.

CALLER: I'd like to ask Mr. Carmichael a question in regards to his connection with the Nation (ph) of Islam (ph). I have been listening to him tonight and I've been keeping up with him for some time. I'm a student of

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the black revolution here in America and I noticed that many of the things he is saying and teachin was taught in the Nation of Islam, I believe, even before Mr. Carmichael was born, so I was wondering what connection, if any, he has with the Nation of Islam and, if no connection, what are his thoughts and views on the Nation of Islam here in America.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, you got that?

CARMICHAEL: Yes I did. Brother, I'm not a member of the Nation of Islam, but I have the highest respect and regard for the Nation of Islam because I think that they were one of the first organized groups in our period, our lifetime, to begin to really organize our people and begin to teach them self respect and a dignity and to begin to uplift our (?) system (?), face of the whole confrontation with white society that they have to face. I have nothing but a great deal of respect for the Nation of Islam.

EATON: OK, thanks very much.

CALLER: I'd like to know, can you tell me exactly what happened on (?) thata Rufus Mayfield and that meeting?

EATON: I'm sorry but I don't know anything about that, does any of you gentlemen know? What meeting, I don't know what she's referring....

CALLER: Unity meeting, with Rufus Mayfield, when he was there exactly what happened?

CARMICHAEL: That was a.....

EATON: That was a no comment, I think wouldn't it?

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CARMICHAEL: Yes, no comment.

CALLER: I can't tell you how happy I am that I heard the program this evening because now that I hear these gentlemen especially Carmichael, at first hand. I can see that the white community has nothing to fear, just nothing at all. They want much better housing, they want better education, they want this and that and who are they going to get it from,....from the white community. You know it is too bad that Carmichael instead of going over to North Vietnam and getting his information over there, he should have taken a walk over to Chinatown, to see first hand how a non-white community is able to educate themselves, make themselves prosperous and live with peace and harmony with everyone around them. Now would they like to comment about that?

EATON: On what, anybody want to comment? I don't think about an answer forth coming.

CALLER: Well why not?

EATON: I said no one seems to want to comment.

CALLER: They're three articulate gentlemen.....

EATON: Nobody cares to comment.

CALLER:(something?) in their own defense.

CARMICHAEL: There is no defense. I mean what you mean in my own defense, what defense? I'm not defensive about anything.

CALLER:You know you three people have been played up as () in the newspapers.

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CARMICHAEL: As what?

CALLER: You've been played up as (olgies??), actually the three of you have no power, the newspapers have built you up, you are what the Chinese would call a Paper Tiger. You can form your fronts from now until dooms day and you'll never get anywhere because this is a white man's country, the white man had the dream, built the industries and employed the Negro, and until you do something on your own, which I doubt you ever will do, you'll never get anywhere.

CARMICHAEL: OK, now dig this.

CALLER: (if you are....)

EATON: OK, let him react to your quarry.

CARMICHAEL: Alright now dig this, Honkie, I'm going to tell you how you Honkies built this country. You came to America....

EATON: Let's take it in order now, let Mr. Carmichael speak and if you want to come back then after we leave you can call in again.

CARMICHAEL: Be cool, if you listen you might learn something. Now dig this, you came to the United States of America, the Indians were here, you landed on Plymouth Rock, the man took you in he showed you how to grow corn, he showed you how to live in this country and after he showed you all that you wiped him out. You went to South America.....

CALLER: Now let me tell you this.

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- EATON: Listen he's got to finish....
- CARMICHAEL: You went to South America, the Indians showed you their gold, the Aztecs showed you their gold, their silver, their copper, you stole it, you wiped them out. You went to Africa, our brothers, our sisters took you in, you came in there we showed you the happy life we had, you took us, you put us in chains, you brought us here. You went to China, the chinese took you in, they showed you what they had in Asia, you went you stole what they had and you enslaved them, and you talk about what you did. All you've ever done is rotten through and through, you have stole, you have cheated, you have killed, you have murdered, you have plundered, you have raped. And you have the dastardly courage to sit there and talk about what you have built. You built off of the sweat of other people, and baby what you sow, that you shall reap.
- CALLER: My question is directed to Stokely Carmichael or either one of the others.
- EATON: OK, go right ahead.
- CALLER: I want to ask about how is his new coalition group, Black Leaders, going to co-ordinate with the coming of Martin Luther King in April?
- CARMICHAEL: Dr. King is flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, he's our brother and we're working with every brother who is out there.
- CALLER: I would like to answer the white man's quarry to the three guest you have. Remember this now, everything this country has built up () Negro blood. Back in the 1800s even the 1700s

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this whole country's economy was built on cotton, who picked that cotton? Who had the stamina and the ability to go out there and pick that cotton, while they were in chains, while being beaten and driven by slave masters? The Negro has done something in this country and the white man is trying to, right now, is trying to hide it under stones and rocks. And any Negro who tries to bring this up to his black bosses that the black man has built this country, his blood is in France, his blood is in Germany, his blood is in Japan, its everywhere, its in Korea, its strung in the Hawaii Islands, and this white man has the audacity to call up and say the Negro can't do anything for himself. Look at the city, man, who laid out the water pipes, I've never seen a white man in a ditch in this city, he stands over the ditches in this city and he tells the Negro what to do, who has the know-how? Who laid out this great city of Washington" A black man. I mean a black man laid this city out. And a white man's going to call in and ask your three () did they want to answer it. Why can't they answer this man?

EATON: They did answer him, brother, but I think also that they preferred a man like you to call in and and talk to him. And thanks very much for calling.

CALLER: Thank you, brother.

CARMICHAEL: Keep on preaching, brother, we gonna get it up tight, we gonna get it because we gonna survive.

CALLER: I have a couple of statements I would like to make and I'd like to direct them at Mr. Carmichael. First of all I want to ask him if I'm correct in

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saying that it was a white man who got up off of the black man's neck, I know he bought us as slaves, but I want him to answer yes or no did the white man get up off the black man's neck or did he take his freedom?

EATON: The question is did the white man get off the black man's neck or did the black man take his freedom?

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on his neck.

EATON: (to caller) Did you hear that response?

CALLER: No, I didn't hear it.

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on our necks.

CALLER: OK, now I'm going to ask another question. Isn't it a fact that he can take a hundred dollars in his hand right now and go to Africa and buy his cousin from Africans right now?

CARMICHAEL: No that is not a fact.

CALLER: Well then why do the United Nations have twenty different countries on their agenda in trying to get them to consider...ah reconsider abolishing slavery in () right now.

CARMICHAEL: Oh, you see, you don't understand, the countries they are talking about are countries that are still controlled today by the white man. I mean, you have all of South Africa today, brother, where our brothers and sisters are enslaved by the white man, you've got Zimbabwe, you've got Angola, you've got Mozambique, you got South Africa, you've got South-west Africa, you got Portugese Guinea, all of those

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countries, brother, today are controlled by white men who walk around.....

CALLER: (Interrupting) I'm talking about the West Africa, in West Africa in fact...

CARMICHAEL: Like where?

CALLER: On the network here...whose that...one of the radio networks they had a documentary, a film documentary and you could write to the United Nations and get facts and figures, the fact is that in Africa the descendents, the children of the slaves who sold your mother, my mother, into slavery are still selling slaves, the white man do not have no control over them, its the understanding that the government, even the government of that particular part of Africa (has) been because of the fear of losing out (in some sort of an interest there).

EATON: (Interrupting) Alright let me ask you this question, this is Eaton, the moderator, since we are questing for truth here in all dimensions let me ask you this, do you know the countries in which you are talking about?

CALLER: I know its in West Africa. I can find out.

CALLER: I'd like to tell Mr. Carmichael how beautiful I think that his movement is. His actions are in this black movement in America, that I'm a young 21 year old Negro myself, follow and really believe in all his (band), and I have....I know all my friends feel the same way that I do when I....that if Mr. Carmichael wants this United States to be straight I think that by him being educated the way that he is that he know the proper way for us to do it and

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I say that I follow him and back him up all the way.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael

CARMICHAEL: Brother thank you, but don't follow me and back me up all the way, you just come on along up here beside of me because we got to do it together.

CALLER: Don't you feel that in the way that the Negroes are trying to prove their peace by riots and all are hurting them?

EATON: Who would like to get to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me get the Honkie.

EATON: Right, Mr. Carmichael wants to.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here Honkie, what are you doing in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well, we're trying to help the Vietnamese.....

CARMICHAEL: You are rioting, you are burning down their houses, you are shooting their babies, you're bombing their hospitals, you're killing their children. Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well we really feel that the Vietnam war is helping the United States in any way.

CALLER: Good evening, I want to say....I want to compliment Mr. Carmichael because I really think that he is doing a good job and what he said to a certain extent, that slavery is not completely over because Negroes today, this minute, are being

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exploited in this city, and I'm a living proof of it. I have two young men here now, that two weeks ago went out to find a job, and honest young men and they got this job and they..... salesmen, and they were told that they would get a certain amount over what they sold. Two weeks of labor they used their own time and car fare and they still have not got a cent you see but all this () and it really burns me up just to hear other people who don't know the inside of what's actually happening and.....

EATON: Thanks very much for your comments, WOL speak up.

CALLER: I'd like to ask brother CARMICHAEL what does he think personally about the way Rap Brown had people doing in the summer burning down their homes.

CARMICHAEL: Brother I don't think that my good brother and my leader and the chairman, Rap Brown, had anybody burning down their houses.

CALLER: Well in his speeches he had the black man out here burning.....in these riots their own houses instead of going out and burning up the white man's houses that should have been burned down.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that Brother Rap had anybody burning down anybody's houses.

CALLER: Well why did the black man burn down his own house then?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think the black man burned down his own house. He don't own no house.

CALLER: I'll put it this way, the houses that he lived in why did he burn them down that puts him out on the street.

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CARMICHAEL: OK, look here buddy, do you ever read the Bible?

CALLER: Yes, I do.

CARMICHAEL: Then if you read the Bible then you know that the Bible says that fire is a purifier, it cleanses, it cleans, that when things have become so crummed up so that the only thing you can do is just cleanse it and fire is a cleansing agent sometimes.

EATON: You're really taking that out context, brother Stokely, now you know if we're going to get into scripture here tonight I want to go into Biblical criticism.....

EATON: (to caller) Thank you very much for your call.

CARMICHAEL: The Bible does say that doesn't it brother.

EATON: Right, WOL speak up please.

CALLER: Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: I'm glad your here and I'd like to know something. Are you going to put some protection on yourself? Cause you know what happened to ---- you know, brother Malcolm(ph) ah Malcolm.

CARMICHAEL: Brother the Lord is with me at all times.

CALLER: Well I'm glad to hear that and I'm gonna keep fighting for my people all I can.

CARMICHAEL: You got to do it brother. Remember, our people are the most important thing to us. Our people first.

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CALLER: Mr. Carmichael?

CARMICHAEL: Yes sir.

CALLER: Did you see the game today?

CARMICHAEL: We was together brother. I didn't.....I had to miss it because we had a meeting (?). It (?) was together.

CALLER: Did you see Bob (?) Adderly (PH)? What did he do to the honky?

EATON: Thanks very much for your call, sir.

CALLER: Hello, I'd like to address this question to Carmichael, please.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: The answer to his definition of a radical today. I hear, often hear, conflicting views about what a radical is. Could you define that term for me, please?

CARMICHAEL: I don't know brother, the only definition I can think of is the classical definition, radical comes from latin word which means root, that is to get to the root of the problem. But I'm not sure that a definition used today to describe a radical is really a radical.

CALLER: Yeh, but this is what I'm referring to, when you had the conference in New Jersey you said there were only two sides to the question, your either radical or your the Uncle Tom. Now you moved from the side of radical and by the definition in New Jersey you moved toward the Uncle Tom side.

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CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry brother, I wasn't.....

CALLER: Wait a minute, now hold it, hold it. I've read every manuscript that've been put out by you, I think you movin, I think the white man, as you know, is sort of usin you now. Don't allow yourself to be used at this point, your doin good my man, but keep it up. Don't be like Marion Barry he took Rufus Mayfield's job, which is very dirty lowdown, took his job from him.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for your comments. We gonna....

CALLER:I continue....

EATON: Right. We gonna try to move on, if you.....

CALLER: Wait a minute. You won't let me continue fact I'm tellin the truth.

CALLER: Let me rap (??) (or) rat (??). Let me rap (??).

EATON: Go ahead, rap (?).

CALLER: OK, I'll think of a very dirty--ah--what Marion Barry did. He took Rufus Mayfield's job. Just like in all revolutions middle class has already benefited from (?) the (?) lower class. Carmichael I hope you will keep these people in (?) line (?) and help the lower classes to progress, not the middle class.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael please respond to that one.

CARMICHAEL: Brother we got to understand what we're trying to do in this city. We're trying to organize everybody in our community from the man in the streets to the

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black bourgeoisie. That is the only way we're gonna survive as a people, when all of us are organized. Now we have to understand what we're working against. We're working against 400 years of brainwash, all of us suffer from brainwashin brother, all of us do. We're trying to help each other as we try to clear up our minds and get ourselves together. That means that as we go along there're gonna be people who're gonna make mistakes. I don't think, brother, that you should depend upon me to keep everybody in line. Your a black man, you should be out here with us fightin and tryin to strai...and keep it straight.

CALLER: I'm over here witcha, I'm witcha baby, all the way.

CARMICHAEL: Well, brother, if you with me, together we gonna do it.

CARMICHAEL(?): I know we gonna do it.

CALLER: If you keep people like, you happen to keep people like Marion Barry in their place and won't (?) try to use the lit.....I mean, exploit the little people like Rufus Mayfield. We shoulda joined on to the round up and marched to the Capitol and told Broyhill (??) to have seen that we gonna keep Rufus Mayfield and Marion Barry wasn't gonna git his job. I think it was a very low-down dirty thing we allowed him to do.

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CALLER: I'd like to ask him why he goes into an area and incites (?) a riot and leaves and people that he leaves are the Negro that he ahh....the people that he gets together, they are without jobs?

CARMICHAEL: Well, they have to show me where I incited to riot and where I ran away and caused all the problems you say I caused.

EATON: Do you know of any instances where Mr. Carmichael has done this?

CALLER: Well, he went into Nashville, Tennessee.

EATON: Did they have a riot in Nashville?

CALLER: Yes they had a riot at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: And who started the riot, as you call it, brother?

EATON: He started it.

CARMICHAEL: He who?

CALLER: Stokely started it.

CARMICHAEL: Well, that's whose talking.

CALLER: He instigated the students at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: I did?

CALLER: Some of them were kicked out of school. Some of them had to go home and what not. I just wanted his comment on that.

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- CARMICHAEL: Let me give you the comment but let me include to you some facts which you don't know anything about concerning the Nashville incident. Number one, the people who incited that rebellion as has been the case of all the rebellions in the major cities are the policemen..The policemen are the ones who create rebellion.
- CALLER: I see.
- CARMICHAEL: Brother, I can't create a rebellion. If you lived in a good house and you know, you livin a good life and I came and talked to you about gettin together to take care of business, what would you do?
- CALLER: Probably tell you come in an have a coke.
- CARMICHAEL: Of course (?). I don't create rebellions. It is the system under which we live that creates....
- CALLER: All right (?)
- CALLER: I would like to direct my questions to Mr. Carmichael.
- EATON: He's listening, go right ahead.
- CALLER: I'd like to know (?), do he know anything about the black political party called Slant (ph) and another party called Us (ph).
- CARMICHAEL: Yes, Slant (ph) is headed by my good brother, Tommy (ph) Jaket (ph), and Us is headed by another good brother, Ron Coringa (ph), out in Los Angeles.
- CALLER: And...Is there any way of gettin in touch with these people?

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- CARMICHAEL: Yes, I'm afraid I don't have the address with me but I'm fairly sure you could get it if you just call information and ask for it in Los Angeles, Us and Slant.
- CALLER: I see, all right, thank you very much.
- CARMICHAEL: OK, brother. It's good that you get in contact with them, we need to contact other brothers who, you know, doin other things around the country so we can begin to move to get a national organization going so we can take care of business.
- CALLER: I see, thanks a lot.
- EATON: WOL, speak up please.
- CALLER: Yes, Stokely, don't you think that possibly a fear of mine (?) that the ninety percent of the white community is going to be against people who ah, incidents, really I should say, of burning and of violent speech and of your use, a couple of times, of the word honky. They don't like that and they're going to react to it. Probably they're numerically more, all because you say, they're more powerful. So just by (?) chance, I think that your taking a chance on ruining yourself when you (garbled) the black community as a rule (?).step up and refuse to harbor people who say honky, well that's not too bad, but people who really thought burning down houses and other things like that. Doesn't seem right to me. Your going to alienate all this white community, I don't think you want that. I think you need their help.
- CARMICHAEL: Well, I don't need any help. The people who need help in this country are white people. The white people need help in straightenin out themselves

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for what they have done to us. That's who needs help. I don't need any help. All I need is the white man to get off of our backs and we will go ahead. Now you talk about the ninety percent gettin upset just because we say honky, don't you think we should get upset for what they have done to us for 400 years.

CALLER: Yeh, but none of those people are still alive, that's why they don't want to pay you. It's very hard to find a white man whose willing to admit in the first place and, in the second place, it's very hard to find a white man who is alive and who owned slaves for some time, see. That's why he doesn't feel he owes you a debt.

CARMICHAEL: Is it hard to find a white man today whose a racist in the United States?

CALLER: Well, I don't think it's too terribly easy, I doubt that most white people are racist. I don't think they are.

CARMICHAEL: You don't think they are. Do you think the institutions.....

CALLER: I think the white people who passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965 aren't racists.

CARMICHAEL: Why did they need to pass a Civil Rights Act if we were citizens?

CALLER: Got (?) to one of their problems.

CARMICHAEL: Of course, their problem, not mine.

CALLER: I'd like to speak to Stokely Carmichael. Stokely, I was listening to you a few minutes ago when you

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mentioned that interpretation about the Bible. I think that Jesus stressed that more because I read the Bible a couple of time myself and the interpretation of the Bible is strickly under the white man's influence. This all....., I believe this to be a part of the reason for the New Testament coming about, you know, and I'd like to ask some kind of way that I can get into contact with you, you know face to face because there are a lot things that I's like to ask you about.

CARMICHAEL: Well brother I'm usually right around the corner 1234 U Street at the SNCC office.

CALLER: 12 what?

CARMICHAEL: 1234 U Street, N.W.

CALLER: What time are you there usually?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I'm in and out because I'm doing a lot of work you know, but if you call the number is 387-7445, you know maybe we can get together but now in order for us to get together now you got to be doing something because we just can't.....

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: 387-

CALLER: I'm talking about in order for us to get together.

CARMICHAEL: In order for us to get together you got to be doing something now because the time for talking is over. We got to move now in order to organize our people.

CALLER: Yes, well you see, I'm ready to make my move. I've been ready you know.

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CARMICHAEL: Beautiful, beautiful, then we can get together.

CALLER: I'd like to direct my question to Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead he's listening.

CALLER: I'd like to know----enough of this philosophical dissertation, as a black woman I'd like to know what is his program specifically advocate that black people do now that all other efforts have failed. I'd like to know what he really would like for us to do. Just what does he advocate specifically for the black man to do?

CARMICHAEL: Well, in the first place I don't think that all efforts have failed, sister. Number one, I think that the first thing we have to do as a people is to begin to understand how we have been divided. That's first and foremost. And that we must begin to organize all sections of our community to come together, to aid each other, that's first. Once we begin to do that then secondly we can move to take over those institutions which are inside our community which we do not control. We should start first with the police force. We don't control the police force, that's why there's so much police brutality. If we controlled the police force, there would be no police brutality. We have to move to control the Board of Educations in our community. We do not control them, that's why the schools are in such conditions. We have to move to control the Welfare Department. We do not control them, that's why our mothers on welfare get the treatment they get. We have to move to control all of the institutions inside our community which are manifestations of the white power structure. We have to control and own them. Then we also have to move to take over the ownership of all of the economic industries inside our communities from the local five and ten cent

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store all the way up to the big industrial complexes in Watts.

CALLER: Hello Americans to you Africans (garbled) teaching (?) in America. A man came on this show and he said that average----the American Negroes live better than any other black people in the world and I want to tell him that it is completely false. We people in Africa are free, we want those here to be free too. But if those among the American Negroes down here (?), they do not kid (?) themselves that there's freedom somewhere, they'll never get freedom here because they are being destroyed by the whites and they still think that Africa is jungles and (-----garbled-----). I think Stokely Carmichael should go out and teach his people that Africa is free, it is not as bad as some people say. And I think that wherever those Negroes in United States want to be free they should fight for it. This is the time to fight for it. They should go out and fight. Just (?) don't (?) sit down and talk.

CARMICHAEL: And brother there's only one thing I'd like to say and that is don't call us American Negroes because we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. You my brother and I'd die in the streets of Philadelphia or Washington, D. C., just as quick as I'd die in the streets of Angola (ph), Mosambique (ph) or South Africa.

CALLER: Well, we are all the same. I agree with you but the colored man in United States say he is different. He say he is more civilized than those in Africa and, therefore (?), that's why I said American Negroes. But they think they are different, but (?) we are all the same.

CARMICHAEL: Your right brother and that's the brainwashing that

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the white man has whipped on us. That's the game (?) that he put on us but today we are beginning to recognize that we are all the same and no matter how many trips Humphrey takes to Africa to try and clean up, it aint goin to work because today black people are coming together around the world..

CALLER: Yeh, we all the same but lets go out and teach other peoples, the other blacks, that we are the same. They do not understand. They don't know what they are about.

CARMICHAEL: It's true brother, it's going to take a long time but a lot of us are out here fighting and I want you, since you're from Africa, cause when every time you walk the streets don't be runnin near those white folk. You come on into the community and you walk down the streets, you just grab a brother. You say I'm from Africa, I'm your flesh and I'm your blood and you just keep on talking to him and we goin to get it on.

EATON: OK gentlemen, thank you very much, we have about five more minutes and I'd like, if you wish, to have a closing statement or something that you would like to say. Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: Well, I just got the address for the brother who called in earlier for ask(?) for Slant (ph). I just got a card with the address on it. The address is 1673 East 108th Street, Los Angeles, California 90002. In closing I just think that, well, we have to recognize there are a number of things. The first is that we lost brother Malcolm (ph). Now we lost brother Malcolm not because of what he was doing but because of what he was saying. If we are going to move on today, we cannot allow

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the honkies to waste us for what we're saying. We must be wasted today, if we are going to be wasted, for what we're doing and what we must be doing is getting our people together to survive inside this hell hole. That's what we have to be doing. That must be our major concentration today, getting our people together. All of our people beginning to teach love, beginning to teach respect for each other. The love and respect that has been broken down, that's been trampled upon in our community for 400 years. Our concern must always be our people first. First our people, first our people, then and only then me and you. We must begin to recognize that individualism is a luxury that black people can no longer afford. Secondly, we must begin to recognize that in coming together many of us are going to have to go. That's just a fact of life, but we must be willing to shed our blood for our people. That is the only way we're going to come together to survive in this country, and, lastly, we don't have anything to worry about for a black man has survived, the black man will survive. After all they've done to us we still here, we will be around. You don't have to worry, black people will survive America, black people will survive America. And like Curtis (ph) Mayfield say --- Our blessed day has come, we don't care where you come from we just go moving up because we are winners.

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