

BLACK NATION UNDER SIEGE

By Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad*

In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful, the one, the true and the living God, the Lord of all of the world, the creator of all living things, the sustainer, the nourisher of that which he has created. In the name of his messengers and servants which include Moses, Jesus and Mohammed and in the name of every righteous man and woman who has ever lived or who is living today, in the name of our foreparents who were kidnapped and made slaves and whose unmourned and unburied corpses lined the floor of the Atlantic Ocean, I would like to offer to you, the students and faculty here at the Yale University Law School the Nation of Islam's greetings of peace in the Arabic language: "Asalaamu-Alaikum."

I have an impossible task this evening, because when I met with the students from the Law and Liberation Journal, I asked them, "Well, what do you want me to talk about?" And they gave me a list of topics that they thought would be relevant; and I suppose if we had about nine hours, we could cover all of them. But I don't think you have that much time and I certainly don't have that much energy, so we will do the best that we can to touch on our subject. You know, the great Malcolm X once spoke at this University, I believe the year was 1962, and I would suggest to the scholars that you go dig out the tapes or transcripts of that address and make a study of it. One of the things that the students thought would be important to do is to give some background or history concerning the Nation of Islam. We have often said, and it's true, that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and Minister Louis Farrakhan are the two most misunderstood Black men in this country, if not the world.

You have to forgive me, but I'm a little bit shocked. I came into New Haven and found out that I was the center of a little bit of controversy and this is shocking because I'm a man who speaks five, six, seven, ten times in the course of a week and I do it so freely and so frequently; I've never been met with any protest or controversy in Washington, D.C., but I come to New Haven, CT. and I understand they're out with placards and calling me all kinds of names. And that's regrettable, because I have not to my knowledge met any of you; I don't know you and you don't know me. Hopefully one of the things

that can be accomplished as we talk about the history and the development of the Nation of Islam is that we can get to know one another a little bit better. After knowing, then if there's a basis for disagreement, then if there's a basis for controversy, then let it continue. Because that's all fair at a university. It's called university because it derives from the root word "universe," and the universe is everything. At a university it is proper that all ideas, all philosophies, all points of view have a proper chance to be represented. And then let the debaters debate. Let the scholars compare and let the progress be made.

In truth, what Jesus said is absolutely correct. He said, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." And even that statement got him into trouble. Those of you who are scholars of scripture, you know what comes after that. If you don't know, look it up in the eighth chapter of John, and you'll see that he became the victim of many of the things that leaders and speakers from the Nation of Islam are victims of today. We are vilified and attacked. We are protested against, demonstrated against, because we come with that which we claim to be the truth. The truth is doing the work that it was predicted to do, because truth comes and causes a commotion in a world that has been founded on the basis of falsehood and deception.

There are people in the world who have been held in an oppressed condition, not because they are genetically inferior or otherwise inferior. They are held back by deceit; and others who are the perpetrators of such deceit have lived luxuriously and enjoy the power and status that this world has to offer. So that when a teacher appears in the world speaking the truth, then that truth begins to uproot and overturn that which was established on the basis of falsehood. In such a day, it is hard for anyone to remain neutral.

If we want to talk about drugs and drug abuse, the equation that I use is that there is no such thing as substance abuse unless and until there has been a prior abuse of human beings.

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children and turn the hearts of the children towards their fathers. Evidently, he would be coming to a people who had been separated from their roots, from their heritage, from their tradition, from their normal way of life. If Elijah does not come, then those children and fathers cannot be brought back into accord and unity. That day, when Elijah the Prophet comes (as Muslims we don't look for another prophet after Prophet Mohammed of Arabia), when he is present among the people, *that* day is called both a great and a dreadful day. Well we know that the word "great" got Minister Farrakhan in trouble, but it is a great day for some and a dreadful day for others.

We're living at a time when the old is being replaced by the new. Those who have been in power positions in this world feel threatened by a truth that goes against what has been accepted as truth up until this point. But those who have been a part of the oppressed people of the earth, and in this world we just have to call it the way it is—the oppressed are the black, the brown, the red and the yellow people of the earth. The false doctrine that has been the foundation of this world is the false doctrine of white supremacy. Elijah is the man of the Bible; and the Koran speaks of one called Muhammad. So when Elijah Muhammad comes, and he has come, then there's bound to be controversy and conflict over a new idea, a new truth that is contrary to the teaching of a world that has reached the limit of its days.

I have a difficult task this evening because I have to speak to my own people. See, I'm a Black man who is unashamed of being a Black man, and I don't apologize to anybody. The job or the mission of the Nation of Islam, the teaching of the Nation of Islam, is to the Black man and woman of America and the red Indians. Now in the audience I tried to count. There's only about 45 to 50 Black people in the audience. This means that the overwhelming majority of those in the audience tonight are really not the proper recipients of our message. It's all right if you're here. After all, it is your school. I'm not trying to be smart or to insult or offend you in any way, but I want you to understand clearly what my job is. My mission is to speak to my people.

When we talk about the Black people in America and the Indians, we are talking about a people to whom no divine warner or teacher or guide has ever been sent. All other people on the face of the earth have a messenger or a prophet or some divine teacher who has appeared among them at some point in their history and has given them guidance from God himself. If those people to whom a warner or teacher appeared, heeded the teaching of that one sent by God, then that people became energized with the Spirit of God and you saw them lifted up to take a leading place in the progress of nations and people. When they strayed away from the guidance that they had received from their divine teachers, then persecution and oppression took place.

This might be a world that is founded on the false idea of white supremacy, but God doesn't give two cents about your notions of white supremacy. So in the fullness of time he promised that He himself would come. This is

perhaps the most controversial aspect of the teaching of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. That is, he teaches that God himself has come in person as the Savior of the Black man and woman in America, and this is the contrary to the teachings and beliefs of any other people on the face of the earth. What we are saying to you, Black people, white people, Jewish people, Christians, and some Muslims and others who may be present is the Nation of Islam's—or as Mike Wallace called it in 1959, the Black Muslims'—mere existence in your midst bears witness to the coming and presence of God in person.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad didn't graduate from Yale or Harvard or any of the colleges that I found throughout the land. He is not the student of the scholars of the West, nor is he the student of the scholars of the East. He is a man who, by the educational system of this government, was only educated to the third or fourth grade, barely learning to read and write his name. Yet he said that in 1931, he made the acquaintance of a man who was found among the Black population of Detroit. This man was in disguise as a peddler selling silks and such items, going door to door. When he got inside the door of a Black family he sat them down and began to teach them what he called the true history of the Black nation. More than that, he began to teach the history of the white people, he began to teach the proper interpretation of the Holy Koran and the Bible, he began to teach all of the sciences that pertain to civilization and civilized living, and he predicted the end of this world and the establishment of a new one. That man taught Elijah Muhammad, who worked for more than 40 years among Black people.

Elijah Muhammad hardly ever came to the notice of white people. But the government and the FBI knew of his work. They arrested him in 1942 in the city of Washington, D.C., and charged him with draft evasion, even though he was beyond the age of the draft. He came to some notice in the 50's, especially because of the efforts of his national representative, Malcolm X.

In 1959 Mike Wallace produced a documentary on the Nation of Islam, a so-called documentary, entitled "The Hate that Hate Produced." He very cleverly, he thought, called us Black Muslims, because at that time, Black people were not proud to be called Black. And to be called Black was an insult. The black side of anything was considered to be the worst side, the illegitimate side, the unorthodox side. So Mike Wallace thought that calling us Black Muslims made us somehow illegitimate. Of course it did in the eyes of all white supremacists.

The fame of the Nation of Islam grew as the works of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad became known. His teachings were often misunderstood. They seemed to be very harsh, and even filled with hate against whites because he taught that the original man was the Asiatic Black man, the maker, the owner, the cream of the planet Earth. He also taught that the Caucasian man was Yacub's grafted devil, the skunk of the planet Earth. Of course, this did not win many friends and supporters in white America who were not used to being called skunks and devils. But he stood his ground and would not take anything back that he had been taught by his teacher that he



El Hevesiarca

Credit—Elizam Escobar

Photo Credit—Tony Kelly

identified as God in person.

Most whites have never heard of Elijah Muhammad. Most of you never heard of Malcolm X until after his death, upon the publication of his so-called autobiography (even though it was written by someone else). Most of you never heard the name Louis Farrakhan until 1984 or 1985, during and after the Presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson. Some of the commentators have been shocked to find, however, that in the Black community Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan are well known and well respected names, and that the Nation of Islam occupies a position of trust and confidence that is almost unequaled among the groups that are functioning in the Black community.

Since 1984, Minister Farrakhan has been called by the media everything *but* a child of God. He's been called anti-Semitic, he's been called a bigot, he's been called a hater, he's been called anti-American, Communist and Nazi. Any name that is considered to be derogatory has been heaped upon Minister Farrakhan's shoulders. But he has often reminded you that he is not a creature of your media, and since the media did not create him, attacks in the media cannot destroy him. So his popularity and his following among Black people and some segments of the white population has increased.

Not only is the Honorable Louis Farrakhan a leader for Black people here in America, but if you go to the Caribbean, they're talking about Farrakhan. If you go to Central America and South America, they're talking about

Farrakhan. Not the white people, but the Black people. I was just in Panama about two weeks before the invasion and when they saw me at the airport with my bowtie on, they said, "Where's Minister Farrakhan? Is he here too?" Because they know all about Minister Farrakhan in Panama, and they identify him as one of the great leaders of revolution around the world.

In Africa, the most respected Black leader is the Honorable Louis Farrakhan. The white folks don't like him, but the Black people in Africa love him, because they see in Minister Farrakhan a man who is the epitome of all of the great revolutionary nationalistic leaders that we have produced down through the ages. In Minister Farrakhan you have Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey.¹ In that man you have Booker T. Washington, you have W. E. B. DuBois, you have the great and honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey. In that man you have Dr. King. In that man you have Elijah Muhammad. In that man you have Malcolm X. In that man you have Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba and Moammar Khadafy. You have Chaka Zulu and you have even Nelson Mandela rolled up into one, which makes him an awesome figure on the

1. Denmark Vesey, a free blacksmith, was the main leader of a planned slave revolt in South Carolina in 1822. The plot, which involved over 1,000 slaves and freemen, was discovered and Vesey eventually was executed. Nat Turner led the most well-known U.S. slave revolt in 1831 in Virginia. He too was subsequently captured and executed.

world stage.

Some of you want to create divisions, and pretend that there is some great division in the Black community between those who take one strategy for liberation and those who take another. The scholars delight in the debate that occurred between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois as though they were enemies, when in fact they were just different in their strategies, but their objective was the same. Their objective was the upliftment of the Black masses. Their objective was the liberation of the Black masses. You seek to divide one Black leader against the other and cause their followers to fall out with one another, causing bloodshed as occurred between the US organization and the Black Panthers in the 60's. But in the end the Black masses are like water; you separate them temporarily but then they flow back together.

The efforts to isolate Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam in the 80's and going into the 90's have met with failure. You can find some weak-kneed politicians that you own, that you have bought and paid for, holding the receipt in your pocket. You can make them give some weak repudiation of Minister Farrakhan, but even in their repudiation there's nothing but weakness and insincerity, because in private they tell a different story.

One of the controversies you got upset with was when I quoted what our mayor said in Washington, D.C. I had invited him to come out to the Armory to be with us and to issue a resolution honoring Minister Farrakhan and the "Dope-Busters," as we're called in Washington, D.C. It was no big deal. The mayor and I are great friends. But he does not like to be seen in public with the Muslims, like he once did in 1983. It was no big deal for Marion Barry to proclaim Louis Farrakhan Day in Washington, D.C. in 1983. That was before Minister Farrakhan was used a scapegoat to derail the campaign of Jesse Jackson in '84. Since that time, out of political expediency, Black politicians bowing to pressures have felt it wise to distance themselves, at least publicly, from the likes of the Nation of Islam and Minister Farrakhan. Political expediency, not any deep seated feeling in the heart.

The mayor said, "Dr. Muhammad, I would love to be at the Armory. And you tell Minister Farrakhan I'll meet with him in private, but if I come out there those damned Jews would crucify me." I said, "Mr. Mayor, I think I have the pulse beat of the people and they *hate* you when they see you weak and afraid." He was wavering. I thought that he might in fact attend. When he did not, I felt that it was best to inform the community, who had come out in overwhelming numbers to meet and greet Minister Farrakhan, about the thinking of their mayor. When I said in public what he had said to me in private, the Armory exploded because I had put it in the context that this is a new day, and the old guard leadership is either going to have to stand up and fight uncompromisingly for the liberation of the people, or be swept away by a new guard of leadership that is rising up.

It seems that the mayor would have been better off if he had been with us that night. Rather than listening to his circle of advisors, he would have been better off to

come to the Armory for a deeper knowledge and understanding of the teaching of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. If he had done that, then he would not be in the disgraceful position that he is in today. What makes us think that Marion Barry would not be in the position that he's in today if he had listened to Minister Farrakhan? It is because whether you believe it or not, in the mouth of Minister Farrakhan, in the mouth of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, has been placed a word from God. When it is heard and received into the heart of our people, it brings about a marvelous transformation. The church people sing a song. They say, "He that is within *you* is greater than *he* that is in the world." This is based on scripture because God created man in his own image and his own likeness. Man was just a lump of clay until God breathed into it and the clay became a living soul.

If we want to talk about drugs and drug abuse, the equation that I use is that there is no such thing as substance abuse unless and until there has been a prior abuse of human beings. Where you have a human being that has been degraded, where you have a human being that has been deprived of what God intended for that human being to know, then you have a weakened human being who is not able to carry out the great command of God which is to have power and dominion on the Earth. It is the human being empowered by the spirit of God that is the master of all that he surveys. If we want to talk about drugs, who would you blame? For drugs? Who created the coca bush that grows in the high Andes mountain valleys? Who created the marijuana plant? Who created the opium poppy from which is derived smokeable opium and heroin and its derivatives? What would you say? God created all of those things and more, didn't he?

Nancy Reagan, in trying to help her husband in his war against drugs, said "Just say no." That was her prescription. That was her solution to the drug problem. "Just say no." Well anybody who has ever had an experience with drugs will realize that you can't just say no. If it was just a matter of saying no, they would have said no a long time ago. I never met anybody who was truly addicted to drugs who thought it was a good thing. I never met a drug addict who recommended it to all of his friends as something good to do.

Why can't you just say no to cocaine, or heroin, or alcohol, or to tobacco? Isn't it because there is a power in cocaine? There's a power in it. And that power that is in cocaine, opium, alcohol and tobacco is a great enough power that it can produce in the human being a kind of compulsive behavior that is self-destructive. In the experiments that have been done with rats and other laboratory animals, where a rat has been put in a cage with a button for water, a button for food and a button for cocaine, the rat never pushes the button for food or water. The rat continues to push the button that supplies cocaine until death destroys that rat. There's a power in cocaine and in other substances that sometimes can override even the law of self-preservation, the instinct to survive. And if that great power is placed in these things that have been created by God, then you cannot say to people, "Just say no" until you are ready to properly teach them and instruct them into the knowledge of God that they are supposed to

have.

As Jesus taught it, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds forth from the mouth of God. That is because man is more than just flesh and blood. Man is a divine spirit that must be nourished from the word of God. When you have people who have been deprived of the knowledge of God and the knowledge of themselves, their history, their culture, their religion, their true position and purpose for living, then you have a weakened human being that falls under the control of lesser powers. Everything that God created has power in it, because God put a little of Himself in every thing that He created. But He put the potential for greater power in the human being.

Someone asked how the Nation of Islam is successful in treating people who have been addicted to drugs and alcohol and tobacco for years and have been in and out of programs, when none of the other programs seem to help. It is because the Nation of Islam is uniquely prepared to deliver to the people that which they need. They don't need Methadone. They don't need some anti-depressive medication to help them to withdraw from cocaine. They don't need some treatment center down in Florida. What they need is a complete knowledge of themselves; and this is what the Nation of Islam teaches: the knowledge of self. You call it a lie. The hell with what you say, we have proof that it works.

A lot of times I get asked, "Dr. Muhammad, do you really believe that there's a conspiracy by white people to destroy Black people?" Of course I believe it. Not only do I believe it, I know it. We are here as a result of such a conspiracy. But in your language, you don't use "conspiracy." This was just "international trade." This was just "import-export." It was not conspiracy, it was a "business deal." It was a "business partnership." It had no evil purpose, this was just "capitalism."

If we want to understand drugs and the drug problem, we can't be superficial and we can't be afraid to engage those who are actually responsible for the problem. See, as a Black man I know how I got here to America. It was not on the Nina, Pinta and the Santa Maria. It was not on the Mayflower. My people were brought from the holds of slaveships after being kidnapped and deprived of their human liberty. They were brought into the Western Hemisphere and reduced down so that the writers and framers of the American Constitution could count us as three-fifths of a human

being. Three-fifths of a human being is less than whole. I think they called that the Great Compromise that allowed the Federal Republic to come into existence. They might have been thinking of it as a compromise in a political sense, but as a Black person, I have to understand it in a more expanded way. What was actually compromised was my humanity.

What is at the root of the drug problem in America, especially in Black and other minority communities, is the dehumanization of a whole people. You have since that time amended the piece of paper that you call the Constitution. You've added amendments to it; so now, as a document, it's a more perfect document. But what you have yet to do is amend the condition into which you reduced your former slaves. So now when we talk about waging a war on drugs, we have to just look past the rhetoric and the politics and the expediencies of the day and look at the real issue.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that history is best qualified to reward our research. So what is the history of the drug trade—not just in America, but all over the world? And how does it relate to the present situation that is destroying this country? The same people who conspired in England, France, Spain, Portugal, and other European countries, along with their co-conspirators here in the New World, to develop a trade in slaves, these are the same people who at the same time and with the same motives conspired to produce the international drug trade. Drugs are not new as a weapon of imperialism and oppression in the world. It was the British and their American colonial subjects who not only gave to the world the evils of the slave trade that produced the death of hundreds of millions of black and red people and other groups around the world, but it was these same British and Americans who conspired to give the world the international drug trade.

See, it's interesting that we're here at Yale. Yale was named for Eli Yale, wasn't it? Who was he? Besides someone who provided the first substantial endowment to this University, he was an employee of the East India Company. The East India Company, along with the Royal African Company and other companies, were businesses. See, a lot of times I get asked, "Dr. Muhammad, do you really believe that there's a conspiracy by white people to destroy Black people?" Of course I believe it. Not only do I believe it, I know it. We are here as a result of such a conspiracy. But in your language, you don't use the language of conspiracy. This was just "international trade." This was just "import-export." It was not a conspiracy, it was a "business deal." It was a "business partnership." It had no evil purpose, this was just "capitalism."

The way it worked, especially after 1555, was that the English sea captain Sir John Hawkins, alias Hopkins, began to transport slaves from the west coast of Africa into the New World. Beginning in 1619, they came into Jamestown, Virginia. Jamestown was named after the King of England and Ireland, the translator of King James' version of the Bible. It all ties up together. We can't talk about one thing and isolate it from all other things. There had to be a theological basis for the en-

slavement of a people by another people. This theological basis was laid in England, and also here in the colonies under the doctrine of John Calvin. I know they don't teach you this, except in a hidden way.

Don't think that I don't know who I'm talking to. One of the missions of the Nation of Islam is to expose that which has been hidden. Pull off the cover. I know who you are. All praise is due to Allah for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who gave us the knowledge of all the people on the earth. So whether you have been willing to reveal your history to us or not, we have it from Allah today, and we are bold enough to speak it when others fear to speak it. We cannot go free until the truth has been told, so we intend to tell it. This is Yale, isn't it? Isn't this the place where they have the skull of Geronimo and Pancho Villa in a secret society, of which some of you are members? "What does that have to do with your topic this evening, Dr. Muhammad? Why do you have to go into that? Why are you rattling the skeletons in our closet?"

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that when the English sea captain, Sir John Hawkins, came into our territory, he became a Muslim and pretended to be our friend. He won the confidence of some of our people because he was flying the sun, the moon and the stars, the universal flag of Islam representing freedom, justice and equality. So they were not afraid to get on his ship, which was called the "Good Ship Jesus". He promised more gold for their labor than they were able to earn in their own country; but the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that when John Hawkins got out of the sight of land, he pulled down the sun, the moon and the stars and put up the skull and crossbones. That was the first time that our people knew they had been deceived, but they were so far from shore that they could not swim back home.

That started the international trade in slaves; but there were problems. Most of the problems revolved around the spiritual wickedness of human slavery. A justification and a rationalization had to be obtained. So the philosophy of the Calvinists on the Protestant side, and the Pope on the Catholic side justified the enslavement of human beings, by saying that this was not really slavery. The Pope said this was for the salvation of the souls of heathens, and as long as the slaves became Christians, there was nothing totally incompatible between Christianity and slavery.

Calvin handled it in a slightly different way by developing the concept of the elect and the non-elect of God. If you were the elect of God, then it didn't much matter what you did in life; if you were elect you were always elect and you were in the eternal grace of God. If you were of the non-elect, then it meant that you were deprived of a human soul, a divine soul, a divine connection with God; therefore, no matter what you did, you were always headed for eternal damnation. If the link between a human being and God could be severed, then there was nothing inherently sacred about the life of such a non-elect person. Guess who the elect were? All of the northern Europeans were the elect, with the exception of the Irish. Of course none of the non-white people were of the elect of God, which is to say they were not even

strictly speaking to be considered as human beings. So it was very easy in time for them to be designated as only three-fifths of a human being. It was in keeping with Calvinist belief; it was the foundation of their faith.

Eli Yale was sent by the East India Company to India where he was the governor for the company for a number of years. While in India, he amassed a considerable fortune; and on his return to England, he gave a huge endowment for the establishment of a college to be named after him. How did Eli Yale amass a considerable fortune as an employee of the East India Company? The East India Company and other companies were involved in the trade of slaves from Africa into the southern states of America, the Caribbean and other colonies. In the southern United States, mostly for the production of cotton. In other areas, for the production of sugar. The cotton was then transported to England, where the textile industry was generating what later became known as the Industrial Revolution in England.

The Industrial Revolution was also based on a form of slavery. The English workers were often children and women; and in no case were they well paid, well cared for, or had rights of any sort. They were really the first industrial serfs that had come out of the feudal system that had been in Europe for many, many centuries. They produced textiles in England that were then sent overseas as a part of the trade of the East India Company. India at that time was one of, if not the leading, textile producing country in the world. The Indian weavers were famed all over the world for the fine fabrics they produced. But the British went into India and chopped off the thumbs of the weavers. A weaver can't work his loom without his thumb; so they chopped them off and then compelled the Indian Maharajah and other leaders to accept inferior British textiles. The kicker was they said they didn't like Indian money. What they wanted in exchange for their textiles was opium.

Through a series of economic, political and legal maneuvers, over a period of years the British were able to compel large populations of peasant farmers to reduce their food production and to devote most of their acreage to the cultivation of opium poppies. They did this with the object of opening up the Chinese empire to their trade. The Ming emperors had long said that Europe never produced anything that they needed, so the British were determined to produce an artificial need in the Chinese population; that artificial need was the addiction to opium. Over time the activities of this East India Company (that later on became replaced wholesale by the British Crown) led to the enslavement of millions upon millions of Indians, Pakistani and Chinese people under opium. Over a period of years the great Chinese civilization that had flourished for more than 5000 years was in ruins, and India, also a classical civilization of ancient times, was in ruins—devastated by the trade in drugs which was connected, of course, to Black slavery in the New World.

Eli Yale amassed his fortune in the drug trade, as did many of the leading families of New England, like the Cabots, the Lodges and others in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Rhode Island was the center of the slave trade. And we have to say to the

Jews, who want to pretend to be our friends, it was the Jews who were the great traders in slaves from Rhode Island, Aaron Lopez being the number one trader in slaves. Don't let the name fool you, he was a Portuguese Jew. Now some say that's anti-Semitic. No, that's just factual history, just as it's true that there were Blacks, Arabs and other people who were also involved in the slave trade. Just to say that there were some African chiefs who were selling people into the slave trade doesn't make me anti-Black. It just happens to be a fact.

The skull and bones is the symbol of pirates, terrorists, buccaneers and swash-bucklers. When such people were short of cash (and in those days Europe was short of cash, due to their incessant wars and inflationary economics), they would disguise the real flag of their country, put up the skull and bones, and weren't above invading other nations and looting them of their wealth. That's how the country called America was established. That's what made England rich. That's what made France rich. That's what made Spain rich. That's what made Europe rich.

The development of Europe and America above the other nations of the world was only possible because of Black slavery and the trade in drugs. The excess wealth that was created by the labor of Black slaves is what was used to invest in the development of your economy. This miracle that is called America would not have been so miraculous if the white folks from Europe who wanted to have a new life had come over here and worked the land themselves. You'd probably still be chopping down trees.

George Bush graduated from Yale, didn't he? He's a member of Skull & Bones, isn't he? So was his father, wasn't he? Many others in the Bush and Reagan administrations are members of Skull & Bones. If there's a connection between Yale University and the East India Company that engaged in the opium trade hundreds of years ago, and brought about the destruction of China at that time, then is there a connection today between George Bush, who was the first American Ambassador to China, and the drug trade that is now rampant in the cities and streets of America? If you talk about the heroin trade, 80% of the heroin that is being sold in the world today is being produced by the People's Republic of China.

Many of you saw the movie called "The Godfather." In the movie, the Godfather called the capos in and said, "Gambling and prostitution is not enough. We have received instructions that now we have to get involved with

narcotics." They told the Godfather, "No, we've taken a vow against that." He said, "Don't worry, it's only for the niggers. And they're animals anyhow." After 1949 when Mao Tse Tung had successfully executed the Communist revolution and came to power, he solved the internal drug consumption problem by saying to those addicted to drugs and trading in drugs that they had to clean up. He gave them 6 months. Those who couldn't clean up were just summarily executed, and that was the end of the problem as far as the internal drug consumption in China. The Chinese Communist Party took control of Hunan Province, the center of the opium growing area, bordering on what's called the Golden Triangle in Thailand and Burma and those areas. And the flow of drugs which used to go into China, came out of China into the Black communities of the cities of America. But, as in the Godfather, "It's just for the niggers." So in the 50's and the 60's, and even into the 70's and early 80's, there was no such thought as having a war against drugs. It only became a war against drugs when it began to seep out of the Black community, when it began to affect the white communities. Then people started getting nervous; and that nervousness reached hysteria when the devastating effects of cocaine began to be felt.

Let's talk about the history of cocaine. Cocaine grows best in the high Andes mountain valleys. It was cultivated for thousands of years by the Incas and their predecessors, and was used in religious ceremonies. It was also used by the military, because they found that by chewing coca leaves, the soldiers could march all night and all day. They could endure cold and hunger and still arrive on the battlefield prepared to fight. It was prized by the Incas but never abused, because it had its place in society. Of course, biochemically and pharmacologically speaking, the coca leaf has a completely different effect than the naked cocaine powder, or the rock cocaine that's called "crack." The Incas never had a drug abuse problem. They never had crime waves. They never had a family in crisis for thousands of years, because they used the coca leaf in a way that was beneficial to their society. They never used it in a way to destroy civilization or to destroy another ethnic group.

Then the Spaniards arrived. I believe it was Pizarro and his Conquistadors who attacked the Incas at their capital. They imprisoned the great Inca, Atauhualpa², held him for ransom, and said to his people, "If you want the freedom of your great leader, you will have to fill up the temple hall with objects of gold," which they did in less than 24 hours. After they had received the ransom in gold, the Spaniards told the people they were going to kill their chief anyhow. That's just the kind of people they were. Before his death, Atauhualpa was allowed to speak with his chief ministers and priests and he bid them to bring to him a branch from the coca bush. He said to his priests, "Go teach the people, the Indian people, that from

2. Atauhualpa was the ruler of the Inca society when the Spanish conquistador Pizzaro arrived in what is now Peru, in 1524. Interestingly, Atauhualpa himself had just come into power following an extended civil war when Pizarro and his troops appeared.

this bush they will gain the strength to recapture their empire. And this bush that will strengthen the Indian people and free their lands will destroy the soul of the white man." Some call that "The Curse of the Great Inca," made 500 years ago.

Whether you have been willing to reveal your history to us or not, we have it from Allah today, and we are bold enough to speak it when others fear to speak it. We cannot go free until the truth has been told, so we intend to tell it.

If you want to view the trade in cocaine coming out of Peru and Bolivia, the land of the Incas, processed for the most part in Colombia and then trans-shipped through Mexico, Haiti, the Bahamas and other places, into the United States one way of looking at it is as a war. It is the war of the Indian people, who are after their number one enemy: the white people from Europe who invaded their land centuries ago. The Indian people have been stripped of all of their weapons, their pride, and even their knowledge. But they understand the political and the military use of cocaine to destroy those who have destroyed them.

On his arrest, Carlos Léder from the Medellín cartel said that the money was only secondary, and that this was an ideological war, this was a revolution that they were waging against the Yankees to the north. If you look in Peru, there's a movement there called the Shining Path, the "Sandro Luminoso." The Shining Path is a movement of Maoist revolutionary guerrillas who are erecting the culture of the great Incan past, and invoking memory from the antiquity of a great people who built one of the greatest civilizations in the history of the Earth. These revolutionaries are deeply involved in the cocaine trade in response to centuries of oppression.

It's a war. It's not the kind of war that Mr. Bush is talking about, but is a war that has been raging in the world for centuries. It's a war to determine who is going to control the earth. Is it going to be the minorities, which is to say the European white people, who are only 1/11th of the population of the earth? Or is it going to be those that we call the natives of the earth? That's what the war is all about.

Mr. Bush is on his way to Cartagena in Colombia for a drug summit in the aftermath of his invasion of Panama, supposedly to remove from power a thug named Noriega. It's interesting that while Bush was the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, he was the one who put Noriega on the payroll. When I was in Panama, I understood the situation perfectly. Five minutes in Panama City was enough to dispel the notion of Panama as the white country that is portrayed by the media. Panama is 40-50% Black. I don't mean Mestizo. I don't mean Mu-

latto. I'm talking about *Congo Black*. In addition, there are large Mestizo and Indian populations that have been ruled by a white oligarchy for about 70 or 80 years.

Mr. Noriega got in trouble not because he was dealing drugs—because if he was dealing drugs, he was dealing the drugs that belonged to the CIA. It's no secret any longer that the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council and the White House were deeply involved in running drugs and guns for the contras and with Iran. It's also true that Noriega, when he worked as an agent for the Central Intelligence Agency, was involved in intrigues against Castro, the Sandinistas and others in Central America. But Noriega drew the line when Elliott Abrams—did he come from Yale? No? Probably Harvard then—see, I'm talking to the druggies. It's the people who run institutions like this who are responsible for drugs in the world. You want to blame it on the young Black men in the cities and make them the target of your war. You're just using the war on drugs as a shield, as you wage another kind of war which is called genocide. It's genocide against Black people on the inside of your country, and its genocide against non-white people on the outside of your country, but it's genocide.

Elliott Abrams told Noriega there were three things that he had to do. Number one, he had to allow the United States to use Panamanian territory to stage its operations in Nicaragua. Why Nicaragua? Why is that so important? Because Mr. Bush's family, the Prescott and the Harriman families were in a business partnership which led to the development of Nicaragua. So when the Sandinistas were successful in overthrowing the oligarchy that had been established by Bush, the Prescotts and the Harrimans, the families felt that someone had stolen their private property. And now they had to get it back. If they had to subvert the state power of the government of the United States to get it back, then that's exactly what they were going to do. If it meant that they had to install a Black man as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff so that the United States could have a Black and Hispanic army to invade Black and Hispanic countries then that's exactly what they were going to do. Number two, they said, "Noriega, you've got to use your territory as a staging area into Nicaragua. You've got to allow us to use your medical facilities, because we don't want to evacuate the injured into the United States. We want to have a third country into which we can evacuate the injured, and Panama fits the bill." The third request was that Noriega consent to use some of the Panamanian defense forces in the war against the Sandinistas.

For all of his faults, one thing that impressed me about Noriega is that he is a Panamanian patriot. He is a Black man, and he and his predecessor, General Torrijos, represent the Black and the Indian people in Panama, who are in the majority. After decades of oppression under a white oligarchy, they managed to wrest state power in Panama. And then in 1979, they renegotiated the Panama Canal Treaty with the United States so that by 1997, it would have fallen under complete control of the sovereignty of Panama. This was intolerable to an arrogant, white supremacist state like America. So they contrived a sting operation to unseat Noriega. It wasn't so much that

they wanted Noriega to stand trial; they intended to assassinate him, just as they had intended a few years earlier to assassinate Khadafy in Libya. Now I'm coming to something that is going to tie the two of them together. This same kind of sting operation was also used against Marion Barry, and is also being used against Black people all over the country.

Remember when Bush went on T.V. to announce his strategy against drugs? They had a sting operation that very evening in Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House. They lured an 18-year-old Black man into the park where he sold drugs to an undercover agent, so that Bush could come on the T.V. and say, "See, we bought this across the street from the White House." He's using the drug war to justify a political program that would never win the support of the American people.

The problem has always been the same. The war has always been the same. What is the "problem" with Khadafy? The "problem" with Khadafy is that he is not a puppet of the West, nor of the East. He has developed an independent philosophy about how governments should run. He can no longer be trusted, because he has a philosophy that is contrary to capitalism and Communism; and therefore he can neither be controlled by the East nor the West. He's got what he calls the Third Way; in addition to that philosophy he also has plenty of money. He is calling for the unification of the Arab Nation that has been divided by European imperialism for hundreds of years. He's saying to the Egyptians, "There's no difference between us." He's saying to the Algerians, he's saying to the Chadians, he's saying to the Sudanese, "There's no difference between us. We should be one United Arab Nation, and we should pool our resources so that we would be a power in the world." This is frightening to America and her allies. This is frightening to the Soviet Union who fears fundamental Islam as her worst enemy.

Muammar Khadafy was the object of the most expensive assassination attempt in the history of the world. I visited his home. Now you talk about pinpoint accuracy. The bombs that they were shooting came right through the wall of his bedroom, right to the bed; and if the brother had been in his bed that night, he would have been dead. No doubt about it. But he was not in his bed that night. Just as General Noriega was not where he was supposed to have been that night. How did they get away? It is because they had received warning.

This little booklet is called "The Announcement, a Final Warning to the United States Government." It contains an account of a vision that Minister Louis Farrakhan received in 1985 when he was transported aboard the Wheel. Some of you call it the UFO; not the little ones, but the mother plane that looks like a city in the sky. You can make mockery if you want, but we know whereof we speak. In the vision aboard the wheel Minister Farrakhan heard the voice of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who most of you probably consider to be dead. But I'm here to say even without explanation tonight, he's not dead. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad told Minister Farrakhan that the President of the United States had met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to plan a war. He told Minister Farrakhan, "I want you to go to Washington, D.C.

and hold a press conference to tell the world what I have revealed to you from the Wheel; and tell them that you got this information from me."

When Minister Farrakhan was traveling in Africa, it came to him that the interpretation of the vision was that President Reagan and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had planned a war; the intended target was Libya, and the victim, of course, was Khadafy. So he rushed to Libya to warn Khadafy of that which had been revealed to him in his vision. That's why Khadafy was not where he was supposed to be when the F-111's came in over the Mediterranean. We're talking about a matter of a day or two that allowed Khadafy to save his life, and allowed the Libyans to reposition their forces, their missiles and their planes into other areas to escape the American attack. So that attack was a failure, even though it boosted Reagan temporarily in his ratings. The same warning was received by General Noriega prior to the attack by President Bush and his armed forces in the invasion of Panama. Noriega escaped with his life, and was able to put himself in a position where he could say, "I got Bush by the balls." He's got information on Bush that would probably, if revealed, mean the end of his administration, because it shows Bush completely and totally involved in the international drug trade. Can we prove it? Yes. The Bush administration swore in as President of Panama a certain Mr. Endara.³ Well who is Endara? Let me just read something. "Endara and his first and second Vice Presidents, Guillermo Ford and Ricardo Arias Calderón . . . (THIS PORTION OF THE SPEECH WAS LOST DURING TRANSCRIPTION).

You hear a lot of talk about the Medellín Cartel, but there are two cartels in Colombia. The drug war that sent the warship off the coast of Colombia was designed to attack the Medellín Cartel. But you don't hear any mention, or next to no mention, of the Cali Cartel, because what is really going on in this so-called war on drugs is just the same thing that goes on in any of the neighborhoods in America. You got drug gangs in New Haven, don't you? You got the Dogs and somebody else. They're selling drugs, and they fight and kill one another over territory and turf, or as you would say "market share." That's what's going on in the international drug trade. There's a war between the Cali Cartel and the Medellín Cartel.

What you must understand is that the crowd that President Bush installed in the government of Panama are all members or associated members of the Cali Cartel. Look at this (Dr. Muhammad refers to a written source here). Endara has named Carlos Lucas Lopez as Chief Justice of the Panama Supreme Court, Rogelio Cruz as Attorney General, and Mario Colindo as Treasury Minis-

3. Guillermo Endara was sworn in as President of Panama immediately after the invasion of Panama by U.S. Armed Forces in December of 1989. For more information on the U.S. invasion of Panama, see Frederick Kempe, *Divorcing the Dictator: America's Bungled Affair with Noriega*, (1990). For information on the aftermath of the invasion, in particular an appraisal of the Endara government, see Michael Massing, "New Trouble in Panama," in *The New York Review of Books*, May 17, 1990.

ter. All three, Lopez, Cruz and Colindo sat on the Board of Directors of the First Intra America's Bank owned by the Cali Cartel chief, Gilberto Rodríguez Oriella. Other members of the Endara government also were board members of this First Intra America's Bank. Also, Rodríguez Oriello is a close collaborator of the Medellín Cartel, and was arrested in 1984 with Jorge Ochoya, kingpin of the Medellín Cartel. Both were extradited to Colombia and eventually set free. Jaime Calderón, the brother of Endara's first vice president, Ricardo Arias Calderón, was president of First Intra America Bank when it was under the control of the Cali Cartel. Ricardo's banker brother is also one of the owners of Banco Continental.

In 1985, a captured Colombian drug runner confessed that he had laundered \$40 million for the Colombia drug traffickers through the Banco Continental with the full knowledge of another opposition leader, Cesar Chibaldo, the second vice president of Panama. Guillermo Ford is also associated with those who have laundered millions of dollars in drug money in the early 1980's through a Panamanian company in which Ford's brother, Henry Ford, was an officer. This is called the Corporación Ford, a Panamanian corporation, not the Ford Motor Company. Ford and two political associates, Carlos Rodríguez (named by Endara as Panama's Ambassador to Washington) and Roberto Eisenman⁴, owned the Dade Land National Bank in Miami, Florida. The bank was revealed in 1985 to have laundered money for one of the largest marijuana smuggling rings ever caught in the United States. President Endara is a business partner of Carlos Eleta Almarán, a leader of Panama's former opposition. Almarán was caught red-handed in the dope trade and was later arrested in April 1989 in Macon, Georgia by the County Sheriff and the United States Drug Enforcement Administration. He was charged with conspiring to export 600 kilos of cocaine per month into the United States and planning to set up shell companies in Panama to launder the estimated \$300 million per month in drug profits. Two associates of Almarán who were arrested in the same scheme, have pleaded guilty in a plea bargaining agreement. Almarán remains free on \$8 million bail. In yesterday's *Washington Post*, it was reported that Almarán, business partner of Endara, was released due to insufficient evidence by the authorities in Macon, Georgia.

You must understand that the root of the international drug trade is not in the ghettos of Black America. The root of it is not with the poor, oppressed peasants of Peru and Bolivia and Colombia. You must understand that in former days, you had the East India company and other imperialistic commercial concerns putting economic, political and military pressure on indigenous populations around the world, compelling them into the drug trade. It is by these same methods today that the International Monetary Fund, the World's Bank and other international aid agencies are being used to compel peasants in Colombia, Panama, Peru and Bolivia to be involved in the drug trade. Just as in America, it is the grinding poverty in the Black

communities and the Hispanic communities (these descendants of slaves who have no economic development, who have no economic opportunities) that compels them to be involved in an illicit trade in the hope that they're going to be able to make a decent kind of a living.

We can't call America good and tell the truth . . . We can't call this society just . . . This is not a just system.

If we want to have a serious war on drugs, then we have got to go to the root of it. We have got to impeach President Bush and members of his administration. We have got to go into the history of institutions like Yale and Harvard and other established institutions in this country. We have got to examine this established old money network in this country that was built through Black slavery and the opium trade. Today that same network is in legitimate businesses around the world. This network is based on a conspiracy against Black people in this country and poor people around the world to keep them in an impoverished condition and to prevent the economic development that occurred in this country, in Europe and in Japan, from occurring in South America, Central America, and Africa.

There's a lot more that could be said and needs to be said. I said some things that I know are somewhat provocative, somewhat unusual. But I have to speak the truth, even if it would cost me my life, as it might. These skull and crossbones, they mean death. They are the symbol of poison. We know who and what we're struggling against. Let me just close on this note from the scripture. Ephesians 6 & 12: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day." This is the evil day. "And having done all to stand, stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth and having on the breastplate of righteousness and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Above all, take in the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked." The war on drugs is a spiritual war. It's not about flesh and blood. It's about the spirit that is in the flesh and blood. What we are being forced to confront is that in some flesh and blood there is a wickedness that has ruled the world to the detriment and suffering and the enslavement of the majority of the people of the world. It can only be opposed by the spiritual force and power in people that gives them the ability to withstand the wicked plot of wicked enemies.

We can't call America good and tell the truth. When we recount her history, this is a wicked land, because it has brought about the wholesale death of tens of millions of human beings. We can't call her good, because her wealth is built on the enslavement and the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people around the world for gen-

4. Roberto Eisenmann is the editor of *La Prensa*, the largest newspaper in Panama.

erations. We can't call this society just. I don't care what the legal system comes up with in terms of charges against Marion Barry or any of the others. This is not a just system. If we had been treated with equity and justice all along, you could not say that you find in the Black community any genetic predisposition to deal with drugs.

What is justice? Justice means that you should get what you deserve. If this was the land of justice, then we would have long since gotten what we deserved. But former generations of this government and people held back what was due to the Black slaves, even to the present generation. Until and unless you set up a system and a structure of justice, then this destructive kind of activity—associated with drugs and violence, social chaos, the ripping asunder of your social fabric and your institutions, imperiling the safety and the future of the whole country, and in fact the whole world—will continue. If you don't make a change in your foreign policy to allow non-white indigenous people in Africa and Asia, Central and South America, to make a decent living in their own land, then they are going to continue their war against you.

We will see whether the prophecy of Atauhualpa will be fulfilled. The way it looks, his prophecy is coming true. We no longer see the strength and resolve in white people in America to protect their freedoms and liberties. We no longer see the resolve to remain number one in the world. The Japanese today are laughing at you because you have lost your productive capacity. You have cheated yourself because you thought that you could afford to discriminate against Black people, Red people, and other non-white people in education and in economic opportunity. The Japanese understood that the only resource that they really had to count upon was the human resource. But you discounted millions of your own people and called them niggers, coons and shins, and made them subhuman in your eyes. Because of this evil that you have done in the past, now it has come back to haunt you. You delighted in sowing the wind, now reap the whirlwind. You delighted in delivering others into captivity, but now the day has come that you must go into captivity. Those that you delighted in putting on the bottom of your society as your walking mats have now come into the knowledge of just who and what they are. One of them has met with the God of our fathers, and He has taught that one and made him a perfect leader, teacher and guide. He is guiding us without fault into a better way separate from you.

We don't want to be citizens of your country, because we can not endure any republic that will not grant to us human rights, freedom, justice and equality. Why should we stay with you? What right do you have to kidnap and hold us as hostages for hundreds of years and never grant us our rights, and then force us to become citizens of your country? When did we give you consent to rule over us? When did we relinquish our rights in our own homeland, among our own people? This is the day of judgement. This is the day of harvest. This is the day that is great and dreadful. That's why there's such a controversy any time Minister Farrakhan, or one representing Minister Farrakhan, comes to town. It is because, to the oppressed of the earth, he represents freedom, justice and

equality. To those who know that they are living in their last days, he represents their worst nightmare coming true.

The following text presents the discussion which took place following Dr. Muhammad's speech.

Question:

Dr. Muhammad, I would like to know if you can come to speak at Hillhouse High School, which is not terribly far from here?

Dr. Muhammad:

Just send me an invitation, and I'd be glad to come.

Question:

Dr. Muhammad, can you come to speak at Wilbur Cross High School, which is a rival of Hillhouse?

Dr. Muhammad:

You two should get together on this; but we'll work it out. I'd love to come.

Question:

Brother, I would first like to give thanks for the enlightenment you've given to us tonight in pointing out things that are not often known. As a Black person, I appreciated your talk. As a Muslim, I have to ask you, brother, why is it necessary to point out certain religions? I don't believe that the religion of Eli Yale was important. What was important was that he was a racist, and perpetuated the slave trade.

Dr. Muhammad:

Well, that's a very good question. In answering your question, or attempting to answer it, I'm going to have to go directly into the heart of controversy. Why is it necessary? Because a religion is not what is on somebody's lips. Religion is a way of life. It's what people actually do. We have a lesson from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad that deals with that very principle. Minister Farrakhan is a student of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and he quoted word for word from that lesson. Because he did, he got into a lot of trouble with certain people. He talked about a dirty religion. The lesson that we have from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad talks about how certain people who claim to be Christians use the name of Jesus to shield their dirty religion.

Jesus' teaching was freedom, justice and equality. Moses taught freedom, justice and equality. Mohammed taught freedom, justice and equality. All of the prophets of God were sent by the same God and they did not come with contrary or contradictory messages. They came with the same message in its fundamentals. Maybe the language was different, maybe the cultural expression was different, but in fact the message was the same: freedom, justice and equality. But in the name of these prophets and messengers of God, most of the evil in the world is done—behind the shield of one or another of those prophets, or even under the name of God himself.

What I was attempting to point out in a very limited amount of time is that we have people who on the surface are a denomination of Christianity, the followers of Jesus Christ, the followers of the Commandments that are given in the Bible, who had economic, political, and ethical dilemmas that they had to solve. They had an opportunity to make unlimited amounts of money; but of

course, the Commandments of God would have to be violated. So, therefore, clever men would sometimes take the word of God, and put it together in a very clever way to give themselves a loophole out of the moral law, the way of the prophets and the way of God. I have to point out that Black slavery in America, the drug trade and other evils of capitalism, imperialism and white supremacy could never have been supported by the pure teaching of any prophet. So it took a man like John Calvin and others to make an interpretation in a certain way to justify theologically what they were doing politically, economically and socially. So it's not to condemn any religion of God, as revealed to the prophets.

You see, Minister Farrakhan never called Judaism a dirty religion or a gutter religion. He was giving a speech where he was condemning the political system that is called Zionism. He said that the nation called Israel has not had any peace, and will never have any peace, because there can be no peace that is structured on lying and deceit and murder in the name of God. Moses never taught any doctrine like Zionism. Universally, Zionism is condemned all over the world by all of the nations of the world other than England and America as a form of racism. As Black people, we don't see any distinction between what Zionists do in Israel and what the Afrikaners do in South Africa, or what white people did to us in America. We don't see any distinction. They might speak different languages, they might have different cultures, but in fact it's the same white supremacy operating there that is operating all over the world. If we are willing to stand up in America and condemn the American white people for their white supremacist practices, and if we are willing to condemn whites in South Africa for their white supremacist practices, then we will stand up and condemn Jews in Israel for their white supremacist practices. You have to look not just at what people do, but you also have to look at what motivates them. It is the spiritual teaching of people that causes them to do what they do.

Let me just expand a little bit and talk about Black people. Black people were not allowed to practice any religion in this country for 310 years. Only a small number of free Negroes who escaped slavery in the South were able to set up free congregations in the North. They had to set them up independent of the white church, because they were not welcome in any white church in America, and still aren't to this very day. After the Emancipation Proclamation, wholesale missionary efforts were undertaken to bring the Black masses in the South into the Christian church. But in the Christian church you don't have the teachings of Jesus. In the so-called Christian church, what you really have is a spiritualized version of the same old white supremacy doctrine that you find in other aspects of society.

If you go into a Black church, they've got a white Jesus. Well, what's wrong with a white Jesus? We have no problem with a white Jesus if that's what the man really looked like. We aren't hung up over whether he was white or not; but we want to know if that is a true picture. According to scripture, Jesus could not have been a white man with blonde hair and blue eyes; because when they were after him shortly after he was born, his

parents took him into Egypt to hide him out for a while. Egypt is no white country. Egypt always has been a Black country in Africa. If Jesus was a blonde-haired, blue-eyed baby, certainly his parents would have taken him to Sweden, Denmark or someplace like that to hide him. But as the Europeans were preparing to break out of Europe, in which they had been confined for thousands of years, it was necessary for them to develop an imperialistic approach to religion. So the Pope commissioned Michelangelo, the great Renaissance painter, to do a portrait of their Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. Michelangelo had an unemployed cousin whom he hired as the model for the portrait. So that picture of Jesus with long, blonde, stringy hair and blue eyes isn't your Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. That's Michelangelo's cousin.

The real Jesus was a Black man. He had to be Black, because he was descended from the line of Solomon and David; and Solomon was a Black man. The description that you have in scripture of Jesus is that he's got hair like lamb's wool and feet like brass burned in an oven. That's no white man. When you think about it, Black people, you can understand why Jesus caught hell in Palestine, why they rejected him, and why they would not believe in him even after he had performed miracles in their midst. It wasn't that he was telling lies. They never charged him with that. It wasn't that he was an evildoer. They rejected him for the same reason that you are being rejected today. They rejected him because he was too Black. We're examples of that in modern-day America.

You all invited me to Yale because you heard about the dope busters program in Washington, D.C., and the success of the Nation of Islam in combating drugs. I've been doing interviews with people all over the world. One correspondent from Spain said, "Dr. Muhammad, what did Nancy Reagan say when she came and toured Mayfair Mansion?" That's the area where we had the drug patrols. I almost fell out of my seat. I said, "Evidently, sir, you don't understand the nature of American society. Nancy Reagan would never find her way into the Black sections of Washington, D.C. to compliment any Black people on any effort to eradicate drugs." On Ted Koppel's show, "Nightline", where I appeared with William Bennett and other people, William Bennett said that he intended to meet with representatives of the Nation of Islam to discuss ways that we could solve this drug problem together. I have yet to meet with William Bennett. When we called his office, we got the runaround, until a correspondent from the newspaper came to interview me. This correspondent asked me, "When are you going to meet with Mr. Bennett?" I said, "We've been trying to get an appointment, but we just can't seem to make any headway." So he said, "Well, let me tell you something, off the record. I just left Mr. Bennett's office and I asked him the same question that I just asked you. He told me that he had no intention of meeting with you. He said he would not lend the dignity and prestige of his office to an outfit like the Nation of Islam."

Well, Mr. Bennett has the actual responsibility for solving the drug problem. But the Nation of Islam did something that was beneficial to the society in Washing-

ton, D.C. by creating a zone that is drug free and crime free, that houses between 12 and 15,000 people, saving the taxpayers of that city millions of dollars in law enforcement and other kinds of services that would otherwise need to be administered. We didn't make it crime free and drug free for just one day. This coming April it will be two years that we have held that territory. When is the government going to acknowledge the contribution of an "outfit" like the Nation of Islam? Well, I'll tell you what. I'm not going to hold my breath, because I know who I'm dealing with. They don't hate drugs more than they hate Black people and they will never, never ever give any credit or resources to people that they consider to be their inferiors. Still, every place that Mr. Bennett goes in Washington, D.C. and around the country, he can't get away from the issue; because people are comparing what he has done with millions of dollars with what the Muslims have done with no dollars.

My challenge to Mr. Bennett and to all of those who are fighting this war on drugs, including those in the Barry administration, is this: Has God put in your mouth a word that can cause someone who is a drug addict to lay down their drugs? Do you have a word in your mouth like that? Do you have such a word in your mouth that you can say to people who are busily engaged in the drug trade that they have to stop and leave the area, without resorting to violence or intimidation—just with a word from your mouth? Do you have that kind of a word, Mr. Bennett or Mr. Bush? If you don't have that kind of a word, then you are going to be failures in your so-called war on drugs, because you will never be able to affect the spiritual cure that is at the root of that problem. It's all about religion. There's no other thing that it can be about.

Question:

Dr. Muhammad, you ask for recognition and respect from the American government. But how can you expect that when you support people like Moammar Khadafy, who is a terrorist, and who would kill civilians, Black or white, as long as they were Americans?

Dr. Muhammad:

Well, I think you misunderstand me. I don't think I ever said tonight that we are looking for the respect of *this* government. Are you kidding? That would be madness. To try to win the respect of a slave country? Of an oppressor? Of the number one enemy of the poor people—black, brown, red and yellow—around the earth. You think that I want the respect of a government like that? I don't want anything to do with a government like that. What I was saying was that if they were sincere in wanting a solution to the drug problem, then they certainly would seek us out. But I think I've already made it abundantly clear that I don't have any such notion in my head that President Bush and the government of America are really serious about a war on drugs, and I don't think any sensible person has such a notion.

Now, in defense of my brother Moammar Khadafy, whom America calls a terrorist, all of the charges of terrorism against Moammar Khadafy that were used to justify the attack against Libya in 1986, in light of subsequent findings were proven to be false. But even if they were true, Khadafy's acts of so-called terrorism are nothing

compared with the centuries of violence and death that have been wreaked by this country all over the world.

You mentioned civilian deaths. In Panama, on December 22, a little after midnight, this government dropped 419 bombs in Panama City, targeting an area that is called El Chorrillo. El Chorrillo is tenement slum that was constructed at the turn of the century to house the workers who were constructing the Panama Canal. Almost 100% of the residents of El Chorrillo are Black people, and thousands of them were killed. They reported in the press from U.S. Army sources that the death toll in Panama was 175; they then raised it to 200, then to a little over 225. But in fact, eye witnesses that have recently returned from Panama viewed at least eight mass graves there. One grave measured 80 yards in length, 20 yards wide and 8 feet deep. It was said to be large enough to contain the bodies of at least 1000 people. There were eight such graves that were scattered across Panama. On the east coast of Panama, America tried out her stealth fighter and bombed Colón, which is a 100% Black city (that's where all of the migrant workers from the Caribbean came in) causing thousands of deaths.

Why were all those civilians killed? So that George Bush could get out of his characterization of being timid and a wimp. His first year as President has been a miserable failure. He has had no impact on the economy. He has not done anything to increase the productivity of the American economy. He has not created jobs. He has not created prosperity. This country is falling apart at the seams, any way you want to measure it. Also, George Bush resorts to this kind of chicanery to hide his own involvement in the international drug trade while he was director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

I almost forgot the most important point about Khadafy. In 1971, Moammar Khadafy lent to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad nearly 3 million dollars so that we could purchase a national center in Chicago. Why was it necessary for Moammar Khadafy to lend us \$3 million? Because there was no financial institution or financial power in America that was willing to lend to Black people \$3 million. In 1985, Moammar Khadafy lent to the Nation of Islam \$5 million, so that Minister Farrakhan could establish a program of economic development among Black people in America. Why was it that we had to get money from Khadafy? Because none of the white people in America ever want to see anything like true economic development occurring among Black people. It is the policy of the American government and people to keep Black people on the bottom of society, so that now you refer to us as a permanent Black underclass — permanent meaning that we will never rise. Of course, if there's a permanent Black underclass, it only means that there's also a permanent white overclass. So America, who does not wish to see any help or aid coming to us whom she enslaved and destroyed, is angry because Moammar Khadafy would give us help when nobody else would.

Question:

Dr. Muhammad, let's get some things out on the table. But first, I want to tell you that as a white man, as an American, as a Jew, and as a Zionist, I am not afraid

of you. I'm not more than 5'4", and I'm not afraid of you. You said, Dr. Muhammad, that you were not an anti-Semite; but if my memory serves me well, you were just talking about the Jews. You said the moral teachings of a people caused them to do what they do. Then you talked about Jesus, and the people who rejected Jesus. You talk in a way that implies a lot of things, and then you say you're not an anti-Semite. How can you say that, when someone's going to go from this room and do violence on my people? How can you say that?

Dr. Muhammad:

If you say that you're not afraid of me, that's for good reason, because I'm not here as an enemy to you or any other person. You have never heard me, Minister Farrakhan or the Honorable Elijah Muhammad issue any threat of violence, discrimination or hatred against Jews or any other people. You have never heard of one instance where a Muslim, a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad or Minister Farrakhan, or really for the most part any Black person ever painted a swastika on your synagogues or desecrated any Jewish shrines. It just does not happen. There's not one instance of a Jew being lynched by Black people or enslaved by Black people.

If you stand here this evening and say that although you are only 5'4" that you are unafraid, then you're justified in feeling secure, because you're not in the presence of anyone who means you any harm. Now, you are accusing me of being anti-Semitic which is impossible, being a Semitic person myself. I would have to be an enemy to myself in order to be what you describe me as being. If someone goes out of here tonight and reads the scripture, in the history of Jesus and the other prophets there are some very uncomplimentary things said about Jews. Well, I didn't write the Bible. I got the Bible from you. So if it's in there, I didn't put it there. If I believe it, I only believe it because it is the revealed word of God through his prophets. As a Muslim, I am compelled to believe in every prophet, including Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, all of the others that are mentioned, and even those that are not mentioned. Every divine messenger and prophet of God that was sent to any people at any time as a Muslim, I am compelled to believe.

You can't convince me that if you could bring Moses, Jesus and Mohammed into this forum tonight, that a fight or an argument would break out between those great worthies of God. I put this forward: If people truly followed what Moses taught, truly followed what Jesus taught, and truly followed what Mohammed and all of the prophets really taught, then you would not have such a divided, confused and bloody world. You would have a kingdom of peace. But because those who claim to follow Moses are far off the path, those who claim to follow Jesus are far off the path, and yes, many of those who follow Mohammed are far off the path, the so-called Holy Land is the most bloody, violent and unpeaceful part of our world.

Because the people of the earth have gone away from that which was revealed to them through their prophets, now God Himself is to do away with the confusion, to do away with the violence, to do away with the hatred, to do away with the envy and the jealousy that

exists between nations and peoples, and to establish His own kingdom. God chooses those whom the world has despised and rejected—just as the builders had rejected a stone and put it under the rubbish heap, yet that stone which had been rejected was found to be the headstone of the building. So we're saying to you today that whether you like it or not, whether it pleases you or whether it displeases you, the Black man and woman and the Indians of America are the choice of God today. We have guidance from God today that is going to lead us to a new kingdom that will replace this kingdom. When God Himself has come and is present, as the scriptures say, some people are joyous because they are being resurrected unto salvation. But other people and nations are furious and in a rage, and there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. The coming of the God means that He comes to set everything straight.

So you have nothing to fear from me; and I would say with all respect to the Jewish people who consider Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam to be your enemies, you should seek a better understanding of Minister Farrakhan. He is not your enemy. Any man who will come to you and issue to you a warning before the judgment of God is not your enemy. He's your friend; and if you would heed his words then you could avoid the day that is promised to you in your own scripture. It's not Farrakhan or me or any Muslim that you have to fear. It is God Himself who is present and angry with the nations of the world. Thank you.

Question:

Dr. Muhammad, I'm curious whether you support or simply deny Farrakhan's statement that it was Jewish doctors who were injecting Black babies with AIDS. If you do believe that he made that statement, what kind of message do you think that sends to the Jewish people, with whom you are supposedly proclaiming brotherhood and peace? Also, when you quote the prophets like Jesus, Mohammed and Moses, and say that they believed in liberty, justice and equality, why do you continually refer to "my people?" Why is it not that we are all one people? Finally, why do you label all white people in one block? Do you honestly think that when a white person goes down the street, he somehow suffers less pain at seeing a homeless person who's Black than a homeless person who's white, Asian or whatever?

Dr. Muhammad:

Let me make a correction in your first question about Jewish doctors injecting Black babies with AIDS. Minister Farrakhan never made any such statement. That was a statement that, if I'm to believe the media, was made by Mr. Steve Copley in Chicago. Your followup was whether or not I believe it. Well, I heard Mr. Copley on "Crossfire." Maybe some of you also saw the same program, where he was given an opportunity to retract any statements that he wanted to retract, and to apologize. Mr. Copley said he had nothing to apologize for. He in fact denied the statement only in the sense that, when he made it, he had been reading from a medical journal from South Africa, where doctors who happened to be Jewish, had done experimentation on the Black population that resulted in their being infected with AIDS. That's what

Mr. Copeley said.

If you ask me whether I believe it—yes, I certainly do believe it. It's nothing new. The American government has undertaken similar activities. In the infamous "Tuskegee Experiment," which was chronicled in the book titled *Bad Blood*, this government injected syphilis into Black men in Tuskegee, Alabama just for the sake of following them to see what happens when a person with syphilis is not treated. Even though it was known that these men were sexually active and spreading syphilis far and wide, this experiment was conducted by the United States Public Health Service for a number of years.

Such activities are not inconsistent with all phases of our oppression under the hands of whites. The Indians were murdered by the millions in a form of germ warfare. White people gave them blankets which were known to be contaminated with a smallpox virus that the Indians had no natural resistance to. The same thing was done in the Hawaiian Islands where the people were deliberately infected with diseases to which they had no immunity. Very few of the original Hawaiians remain today.

I'm glad you raised the AIDS issue. All of the evidence that I have looked at does not allow me to believe that the AIDS virus is a naturally occurring virus. There is no genetic resemblance between the AIDS virus and any naturally occurring virus that's found anywhere in the world. There is no evolutionary path from a natural virus, whether its the Green Monkey Virus, the Slow Virus 40 or the Visnoff Virus, that leads to AIDS. When the AIDS story first broke in this country, the intelligence community of America accused the Soviets of developing the AIDS virus as a biological weapon. At the same time, the Soviet intelligence circulated stories that it was the American government that had developed the AIDS virus as a biological weapon. My feeling as a Black person, not really being a part of America or the Soviet Union, is that it appears that in the leading circles of both superpowers, none of them are convinced that AIDS is a natural virus. They're both convinced that it's manmade. Both of them are probably involved, since it can be shown that as early as 1969, both the Soviet Union and America were experimenting with viruses as potential biological weapons. The latest information that I have is that AIDS was probably developed on the American side at the army biological warfare center at Fort Dietrich, Maryland.

I believe that the only reason AIDS is being talked about as widely as it is in this country today is because white homosexuals were accidentally infected with it. I don't think there was any intention by those who developed the virus that it would even arise in this country. Some say that AIDS was originally introduced through contaminated specimens of vaccine into central Africa, especially the countries around Zaire, the Congo, Kenya and Tanzania. There are nine central African nations that bear the brunt of the AIDS epidemic. As of 1985, it was estimated that there were between 30 and 40 million Africans who were infected with the AIDS virus. An equal number of males and females were infected, because neither homosexuality nor IV drug usage are common in Africa.

We believe that there is, in fact, a conspiracy to de-

populate whole areas of our globe, especially Africa. For the next century, the technological progress of America, Europe and the Soviet Union rests with the wealth that is in the African continent. The only thing preventing Europeans and Americans from just raping Africa again is the fact that there are populations that have come up in those areas which are very nationalistic and anti-imperialistic. These populations would actually fight any open attempt at re-subjugation or re-colonization. So AIDS is designed as a biological weapon to depopulate Africa. But due to the unexpected mutagenicity of the AIDS virus, it has mutated into hundreds of different strains. It has basically escaped from Pandora's Box and spread all over the world.

The army biological warfare department has centers in Zaire, Haiti, Brazil and many other places. Everywhere the army has one of these biological warfare research centers, there exists a strong pocket of AIDS. Let me read some statistics. According to researchers, by the year 2000, it is expected that the majority of AIDS cases in America are going to be among Blacks and Hispanics, even though these two groups together make up only 20% of the population. Today, the cumulative number of heterosexual AIDS cases among whites is 1,135, among Blacks is 3,503, and among Hispanics is 943. If you understand, for example, that Blacks are only about 10% of the population, yet we have three times the number of AIDS cases among heterosexuals, then proportionately we are suffering from AIDS at 30 times the rate that would be expected by our numbers alone.

Black people don't have the actual responsibility of solving America's drug problem . . . As a matter of fact, as members of the oppressed, we don't much care whether America solves her problem or not. If drugs destroy America, we could really, in truth, knock the dust off our clothes and say, "Good riddance!" Because without freedom, without justice, without equality, America should never have existed in the first place.

If Black people are of the impression that we are under attack from biological weapons like AIDS or chemical weapons like crack cocaine, then I think we are justified in taking whatever measures necessary to unite into a common front against our common enemy. Furthermore, I don't think we need to pay any attention to comments like yours. After all you have been the beneficiary of slavery. You have been the beneficiary of racism. You have been the beneficiary of the death and the destruction

of black, brown, red and yellow civilizations all over the earth. When you start hollering and crying that what you hear coming from us is terrible, then that makes us feel good. If it makes you feel uncomfortable, then it must mean that our tongue, which is like a two-edged sword, is really striking home. It's like what Malcolm X said many years ago: "If you throw a stone into a pack of dogs, the only one that hollers is the one that gets hit."

Question:

It seems to me that the real focus of the drug war should be on the white power structure. This is where the problem originates. What the Nation of Islam has done in Mayfair Mansions in D.C. is admirable. But, despite the good results, by attacking the poor, Black street pushers you're not getting to the essence of the problem. What specific program is the Nation of Islam undertaking to fight the white power structure?

Dr. Muhammad:

Very good question. We went into to Mayfair Mansions and Paradise Manor to help the residents. These are two, poor Black neighborhoods in Washington D.C. which had been victimized by drug peddlers. The people in the neighborhoods are poor, working class Black people who could not afford to buy drugs; but the neighborhoods happened to be conveniently situated alongside Interstate 95, which runs all the way to New York from Washington D.C. The drug dealers, especially the crack dealers who moved into D.C. from New York, set up shop in this area for two reasons. First, since they didn't know the city, it was practically the only place they could find in Washington D.C. It was easy for the dealers to get to this area and set up shop. The second reason that Mayfair and Paradise Manor quickly became two of the worst open-air drug markets in all of D.C. is because they're located near the super highway. Those who had the money to purchase drugs could easily drive in off of 95 from the Virginia or Maryland suburbs, pull into a parking lot in Mayfair Mansions, make their purchase of drugs, and within two minutes be on their way back to the suburbs. We noticed that all of the drug pushers were young Black males who were unemployed and had no other opportunities available to them. Nearly all of the customers were whites from Virginia and Maryland. Millions of dollars were changing hands in Mayfair. Not only were young, economically oppressed Blacks drawn into the drug trade as a means of making money. There was also corruption in the Police Department of Washington, D.C. The police actually recruited some of the drug pushers, and were involved in selling drugs. They were a part of the problem more than a part of the solution.

So we went into Mayfair Mansion. Why did we go in? Simply because we were asked. When the residents asked us to help them, we didn't know what we could do; but we were willing to do whatever we could. We sought guidance from Minister Farrakhan. He told us what we needed to do, and gave us these instructions: "As you go out into this very dangerous situation, make sure that all of the brothers know that this is no plaything. Some of them may not come back alive. Prepare their wives and children for the possible loss of the breadwinner in their homes. But if we are able to maintain a perfect faith in

God, then I believe that God will bless us with success in our efforts." Of course, that is exactly what took place.

What is our approach to the white power structure? It is the same approach that you find in scripture, where you have a man named Joseph who was imprisoned in the dungeon of a powerful Pharaoh in Egypt. The Pharaoh had a vexing dream which none of his advisors could interpret for him. As a result he suffered greatly. Then someone told him that there was a man named Joseph in his dungeon who was an interpreter of dreams. The Pharaoh called Joseph up from the dungeon and told him of the dream. Joseph wisely interpreted the pharaoh's dream. As payment for his God-given wisdom, the Pharaoh put Joseph in charge of the treasuries of Egypt. Joseph soon came to rulership in the land. This story is not something that took place in the past. If we read the Bible or the Holy Koran as though they were books of history, then we are mistaken. These books were revealed to prophets; they don't contain historical material as much as they are books of prophecy. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad said that these books were revealed yesterday to give us a picture of today. God is at the root of the drug problem in America. Who put power in cocaine, marijuana, alcohol and tobacco? God did. God is using the power which He put in these substances to deal with people and nations who have reached the limit of their disobedience to Him. Through these substances He plagues them, chastises them and lays them low. Just as God creates the conditions that are problematic, out of mercy He also presents a solution at the same time. But God puts the solution in the strangest and the most unlikely place. In that Biblical parable, the mighty Egyptian Pharaoh had to go all the way down to the bottom of the dungeon to find a man who had the answer to his problem. That was a test for the Pharaoh—to see if he could overcome his arrogance, pride, and feeling of mastery in the land. Could he humble himself and take advice from one of the least of his servants? The Pharaoh did the right thing, and his kingdom was saved.

America is in the same position today. Black people don't have the actual responsibility of solving America's drug problem. America has that responsibility. As a matter of fact, as members of the oppressed, we don't much care whether American solves her problem or not. If drugs destroy America, we could really, in truth, knock the dust off our clothes and say, "Good riddance!" Because without freedom, without justice, without equality, America never should have existed in the first place. But if Mr. Bush, his government and the American people can get past their racism, bigotry, and white supremacy to understand that God has revealed to a Black man the answer to their most vexing problems, then they would be wise to accept that answer—even if it comes from the mouth of a Black man whom they despise. America is at the crossroads.

Don't misunderstand what the Nation of Islam is doing. We're not necessarily trying to save the white American power structure. We fight it by telling the truth. We're fighting it tonight. Yale students, what are you going to do? You need to do research, because you are sitting in an institution that was built on drug money. Are

you going to be a lawyer, and put behind bars some Black youth who's dealing with a few bags of crack cocaine, while you are a graduate of a school that was founded on drug money? What are you going to do? What are you going to do with the Skull and Bones Secret Society? Are you going to ask them to tell you why they suck on the skull of Geronimo and Pancho Villa? What's going on there behind closed doors? Why do they use the pirate sign? What did George Bush mean when he said in his inauguration address, "We're low on cash?" What does a pirate do when he's low on cash? If you say, "Well that's terrible," then you need to change it; because George Bush wouldn't receive me at the White House. I have to give him credit, though. I did receive a little card from Mr. Bush, thanking us for our community activity. He said it proved that good neighborliness is not dead in our society; and I appreciate that *very much*.

The Nation of Islam is not going to attack America. Fight America? With what? We're Muslims, so we don't carry any weapons. Nothing. If any Muslim is ever found with a weapon, we put him out of our society. You can't be a member of the Nation of Islam and carry any weapons. We don't have anything to fight America with, except our mouth. But if the truth is really the truth, then it has the power to root out, dig up, overturn and overthrow anything that's not right. That's our work. We just go around to places like this and tell the truth. After we drop the bomb, we leave. The rest is up to you. What are you going to do? What are you going to do to change this institution into what it's supposed to be? What are you going to do to change the government into what it's supposed to be? Some of you law professors want to build your reputation. Why don't you do the research and investigation that will bring about the impeachment of George Bush on drug charges? Why don't you do that? The reality is that probably you don't have that much nerve. You don't have the courage to actually challenge the establishment; because you are in with it. You have made a deal, a compromise. Even when the truth comes, you don't have the strength or integrity to stand up on its basis. You're trying to protect your position and job, so you don't want to shake the boat.

Since you don't have the moral courage to stand up for what is right, then that which is rotten is going to take you to your destruction. When that happens, you won't be able to blame Minister Farrakhan, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad or the Nation of Islam. You won't be able to blame the "niggers." You're going to have blame yourselves, because you've sown the seeds of your destruction. You could get out of it. The Bible says Babylon could have been saved, but it quickly goes on to say that she was not. That's how America is. There is a slim chance that America could reform herself, repent of her evil and do justice to those whom she has oppressed and enslaved. You could start with the Black man, because that is the test. If the Black man in America can stand up one day and say, "We've got justice in America," then black people, brown people, red people, yellow people, the oppressed over the whole earth would be able to say the same thing; because we are the most deprived of justice.

Justice carries a heavy price. What would it cost for you to bring about justice between Black people and white people in this country? Do you know the enormous debt that you owe us? You laugh at our poverty. You laugh at our run down homes and neighborhoods. You laugh at us because you have money. All of these Black students sitting here with you are on some kind of a scholarship or they've taken out loans. When they graduate from Yale, they're going to have an \$80,000 or \$100,000 debt that they will have to repay. Meanwhile your father is simply writing checks every year to cover your tuition. You laugh at our poverty because your wealth is based on your father's robbery of us. If justice were to be done to Black people, then some of what you have would go to the slave who earned it. Justice means you get what you deserve. In this present circumstance, white people have gotten more than they deserve and Blacks have gotten less. You want justice? You want violence? You want peace? You want tranquility in your society? You want America to complete her great destiny, her great promise that you talk about in your Constitution? Then you're going to have to do certain things that will bring about justice where Black people are concerned.

I know what some of you young whites are thinking. You're saying, "We didn't enslave your ancestors. We had nothing to do with that. Our ancestors were from Eastern Europe; they didn't come over here until 1910. That was long after slavery was over with." While that may be true, your ancestors still had a knowledge of what kind of society you were emigrating to; and, like every other group which emigrated to America, they knew that the way to economic prosperity was to head directly to the Black community, and exploit that community while pulling themselves up. That's the way it's always been done in America. Even our Asian brothers and sisters, from Korea and other parts of the Orient, are coming here and doing the same thing. They can't even speak the language; but they know that if you want to be successful in America, you head for the Black community and set up your produce store there.

So yes, young white people, you are just as guilty as your ancestors. The sins of your fathers are visited upon the present generation. If you say that you are not the same as your ancestors, then you can prove it by what you do. The first thing that you must do is repudiate your fathers. Can you do that? Can you repudiate your wicked ancestors? Can you condemn them? Can you form your lips to actually condemn Eli Yale and call him the drug pusher that he was? Can you condemn all these slave-making families in New England? Some of you are members of those families. Can you actually form your mouth to condemn your own fathers and mothers? Probably not. And since you can't do that, you can't speak up for truth. You can't speak up for justice. It just hurts you too much. So you're going to try to cover up what your fathers did, and that will only earn you death. But you don't have to fear me, Minister Farrakhan or the Muslims. It's God that you have to fear.

I started out tonight by saying that the Nation of Islam was started by the coming of God Himself. Some of you laughed at me when I told you about, Minister

Farrakhan's vision on the wheel, on the mother plane. But when you see it over your cities you won't be laughing then. What we're saying to you is that you are living in the end-times. It's no mystical thing that's going to overtake you all of a sudden. You're going to look up one day and see something over your cities that will destroy you in seconds. You don't have anything in your arsenal to defend yourself against God and the righteous. We are called by God to issue a warning, realizing that most of you will disbelieve the warning even after you hear it. You will seek to make a mockery of the warning. Some of you are so wicked that you will seek to kill the one who warns you, because you don't like what he says. You say, "Who does that Farrakhan think he is to talk to us like that!" But you would be wise to heed the warning and then seek his counsel, because you only have a little while to make restitution. After that, it's all over. I guess this speech is all over, too. So I thank you. May Allah bless you with the light of understanding. I greet you in peace. Asalaamu Alaikum.