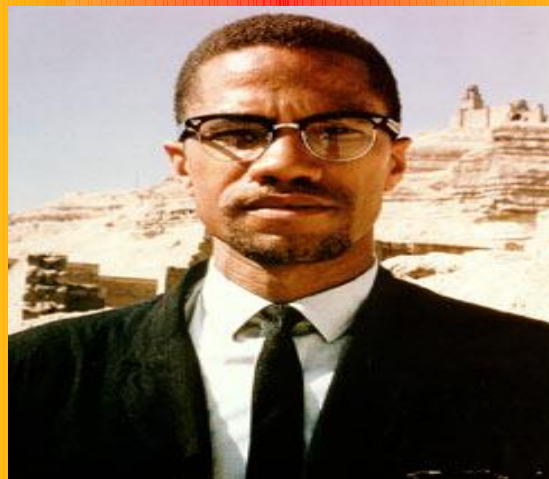


# Afrikan Liberation Day

State Attack

Afrikan Youth Fight Back!

Elders Must Arm Them With Organisation!



# Malcolm X's Opposition To Drugs In The Afrikan Community

*The Pan-Afrikan Society Community Forum – [www.pascf.org.uk](http://www.pascf.org.uk)*

The Pan Afrikan People's Phone-in  
Every Sunday 10pm – 12midnight

# PAPP Galaxy Radio PAPP

99.5fm (London airwaves) and [www.afiwestation.com](http://www.afiwestation.com) (internet)

Phone Number (for on air discussion): 07908 117 619

***The Pan-Afrikan People's Phone-in*** is a space for themed interactive discussions conducted over the airwaves and cyberspace. The themes are focused around issues affecting Afrikan people both locally and globally.

***The Pan-Afrikan People's Phone-in*** regularly features guests from revolutionary Pan-Afrikanist organisations. From time to time others including non-Afrikan guests will be invited to contribute. The activities of all guests will be examined on the basis of their relevance to Afrikan people locally and worldwide. Interviews and presentations with guests will set the scene for the more general discussion (in the second half of the programme) where listeners will be invited to phone in, ask questions and contribute.

***Spread the word:*** Please tell all of your family, friends, fellow organisation members, colleagues, associates and other networks about the show. Encourage them to listen.

# **Would Malcolm X support the smuggling of cannabis for profit as a legitimate method of raising funds to support the Afrikan liberation movement?**

## **1 Case study in anti-Afrikan criminal deception**

### **1.1 Hiding behind 'By any means necessary'**

On 12<sup>th</sup> December 2003 Caul Grant, leader of the Campaign for Truth and Justice (CTJ) was found guilty on eight counts of drug smuggling. It should be pointed out that this was a clandestine activity on his part and that the majority of CTJ members did not know that drug smuggling was going on. In fact it was the discovery of this unprincipled behaviour that led to the break-up of the group. When the group became aware of the drug smuggling, considerable debate and discussion ensued aimed at dissuading Caul from engaging in these activities. Sadly for Caul himself, for the CTJ campaign and for the Afrikan community in general he refused to desist. As a result, the majority of members left and the campaign was effectively mortally wounded.

### **1.2 The abuse of Malcolm X's good name**

In defence of his dishonest clandestine illegal drug smuggling behaviour, Caul Grant claimed that he needed the funds generated to finance the CTJ campaign. He misused the words 'By any means necessary' made famous by Malcolm X to provide additional justification. This position was recently openly supported by Ahmed Balogun, secretary of CTJ in a live broadcast to the community via Galaxy radio on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008. Ahmed Balogun sought opportunities to reiterate CTJ's support for this position during Galaxy radio broadcasts on 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> October 2008.

Ahmed Balogun's actions were triggered by an intervention made on Galaxy radio on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2008 by CTJ member Jaiyeola Bagbansoro. CTJ deliberately and knowingly attempted to deceive the Afrikan community via Galaxy radio's Pan-Afrikan People's Phone-in. Jaiyeola Bagbansoro sought to present a false image to the Afrikan community of CTJ and its leader as advocates of Afrikan liberation and justice. This falsification was rebutted and CTJ was exposed as corrupt. Since then a clear pattern has emerged. CTJ has attempted a propaganda offensive to protect its unethical support of drug smuggling. Central to this strategy has been the reiteration of its false notion that Malcolm X's words provide support for drug smuggling.

However, it must be stated that CTJ's misuse of Malcolm X's classic phrase is a complete distortion and an outrageous misrepresentation of the moral position advocated by the politically conscious Malcolm X. Furthermore, this irresponsible and reckless abuse of the ideas of a great Afrikan revolutionary like Malcolm X has the potential to mislead Afrikan youths and vulnerable sections of the community down a catastrophic road of drug induced self-destruction. This attack on Malcolm X's good name also amounts to a wicked deception of the most vulnerable sections of the Afrikan community.

### **1.3 The misuse of 'By any means necessary'**

Closer examination of the words 'By any means necessary' exposes the weakness of using this language of self-defence as a justification for drug smuggling. Firstly, we note that Malcolm X did not say 'By any means *wantonly*', implying the taking of any action that we want to take to advance what we see as our cause. Nor did he say 'By any means *possible*', which could be interpreted as taking absolutely any action available to us regardless of the consequences. Instead he used the word *necessary*.

Something is necessary when it is otherwise impossible to do without it; when there are no other options possible; when you have exhausted all alternative options and are left with your last resort. It is impossible for CTJ to make the argument that drug smuggling was necessary in order to raise finances, since no serious attempt was made to generate ideas aimed at raising funds by other means. In addition, the money generated by the number of trips involved must have been far in excess of the amounts needed to fund the CTJ campaign. At the very least we can conclude that the majority of trips were not necessary.

Nor did we see any signs of these immorally earned proceeds being invested into the community. There was, for instance, no evidence of education facilities or a school being set up for Afrikan children. Furthermore, it is not immediately obvious why CTJ should 'require' drugs money to fund its activities, when it is obvious that genuine Afrikan liberation organisations have operated successfully without resorting to this tactic. Critical examination proves beyond all reasonable doubt that there can be no justification for CTJ's claim that drug smuggling was a necessity. It was and continues to be completely bogus. This claim was clearly designed to mislead because it is so obviously baseless.

Malcolm X was using the words 'By any means necessary' as part of a strategy of self defence for Afrikan people faced with the systematic campaign of violence organised against them by the racist capitalist system. He saw the imposition of drugs on the Afrikan community as part of this ongoing evil campaign of racist violence. He would never have advocated that Afrikan people should fight the racist capitalist system by attacking themselves i.e. turning the attack inward by smuggling and dealing drugs in their own community. In fact he saw Afrikan drug dealers as 'little tools' of the criminal racist capitalists. It is impossible to genuinely equate Malcolm X's words with supporting any acts of smuggling, dealing or consuming drugs in the Afrikan community. His position was categorically that we had a moral duty to remove drug usage, drug dealing and all other 'exploitative' behaviours from our community.

## **2 Malcolm X's position on the drug economy and its agents**

### **2.1 Malcolm X consumed and dealt in drugs as a young man**

As a young man Malcolm X both consumed and dealt in drugs. Malcolm X smoked marijuana (Haley, 1966, p. 140 & 164), which he also referred to as 'Reefers', 'Ganja' and 'Kisca' (Haley, 1966, p. 174). In addition to marijuana, he used cocaine, opium, benzedrine, alcohol and tobacco (Haley, 1966, p. 140, 222 & 239). Therefore his range of usage covered 'hard' and 'soft' drugs of both 'legal' and 'illegal' varieties. It is clear

that he also dealt in Marijuana and alcohol (Haley, 1966, p. 187 & 215). Since he engaged in bootlegging which was widespread at the time, his drug dealing was in illegal soft drugs only.

He recognised a distinction between tobacco and narcotics, but nonetheless thought that tobacco was just as addictive (Haley, 1966, p. 231). He did not however, hold the position that marijuana was not in the narcotic category. There is no doubt that Malcolm X recognised marijuana both as a 'drug' and a 'narcotic'. He also made it clear that he drew a distinction between marijuana, which he saw as a 'narcotic' and heroine and cocaine which he categorised as 'heavier narcotics' (Haley, 1966, p. 186 & 239). He also equated the act of trafficking marijuana with wrong doing when he told us that marijuana importation was smuggling (Haley, 1966, p. 174). On reflection he came to the conclusion that, during his time as a drug user, he had taken marijuana and cocaine as a form of escapism (Haley, 1966, p. 239).

## **2.2 The politically conscious Malcolm X repudiated drugs as an evil vice**

The politically conscious Malcolm X described his behaviour during his drug taking days as illegal and immoral and he made it clear that he recognised the drugs industry as evil (Haley, 1966, p. 110). Using his own life as an example, he demonstrated the direct link between drug taking, criminality and immoral behaviour. During the period when he was a drug dealing user he also described himself as 'crazy' and 'insane' – states of mind which were not wholly unrelated to his drug use (Haley, 1966, p. 230). These openly expressed attitudes applied to all of the 'vices' injected into the Afrikan community including narcotic 'drugs', with 'marijuana' being no exception. For Malcolm X, marijuana and the other drugs were all illegal, immoral and evil and they all contributed to making Afrikan people 'crazy'.

The politically conscious Malcolm X left no room for doubt in articulating where he stood on the issue of the impact of drugs on the community. On a point of principle, he was categorically against their use which he unequivocally regarded as evil. Malcolm X became a member of the Nation of Islam, an organisation which totally forbade the use of drugs and alcohol. He became a staunch and vocal opponent of the drug economy. He regularly warned Afrikan audiences against using narcotics describing them as: the 'white man's poison' (Memorable Quotes) and the 'weapon of the white man' (Knight, 2003, p. 454/5). Malcolm X's opposition to drug smuggling and associated activities was so public and of such a magnitude that some historians have suggested that it was his public opposition to the drug economy that was the reason why he was assassinated.

He was aware that Afrikan people who bring drugs into the community also bring the scourge of drug addiction. Drug addiction was deadly because it caused the Afrikan community to attack itself at its core by undermining its moral fibre. He was not shy to warn us of the consequences suffered by the Afrikan community as a direct result of these evils and cited clear examples. For instance he warned us that:

"Drug addiction turns your little sister into a prostitute before she gets into her teens; makes your little brother into a criminal before he gets into his teens – drug addiction and alcoholism. And if you and I aren't men enough to get to

the root of these things, then we don't even have the right to walk around here complaining about it in any form whatsoever." (Breitman, 2003, p. 73).

### **2.3 Malcolm X's views on the police, the capitalist elite and Afrikan drug dealers**

The process of imposing a drug economy on Afrikan people is an important part of the larger agenda of criminalising the Afrikan community. Criminalising the Afrikan community is itself part of capitalism's larger anti-Afrikan containment strategy. Malcolm X was aware of this and made it clear that the police force deliberately put crime into the community and wayward Afrikan drug dealers were their accomplices. He informed us that:

"Any time there is a police commissioner who finds it necessary to increase the strength numerically of the police [in our community] ... and at the same time we don't see any sign of a decrease in crime ... we're justified in suspecting his motives ... The more cops we have, the more crime we have. We begin to think that they bring some of the crime with them." (Breitman, 2003, p. 72)

The police play an important role in managing the drug economy. However, Malcolm X understood that as bad as they are, the police were not the central problem. There was interplay between drug dealers, the police force, other state forces and the capitalist elite. What was really happening was the Afrikan dealers were secretly working for the police. Therefore it was ultimately in the drug dealer's interest to side with the police against the Afrikan community. Meanwhile, the police and other state forces were secretly working for the capitalist elites, who controlled the whole criminal system from behind the scenes. Again, it was ultimately in the interest of the police to side with the capitalist elites against the Afrikan community. He explained:

"When a person is a drug addict he is not the criminal; he's the victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings the drug into the country. [Afrikans] can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any planes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles – those are the ones who control things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown." (Breitman, 2003, p. 74).

The capitalist elites (i.e. the men downtown) were the major problem, the major obstacle that had to be overcome. However, careful examination of Malcolm X's analysis also reveals his thoughts on Afrikan drug dealers. He described those Afrikans that participate and drug dealing as 'just a little tool used by the man downtown'. They were just a tiny part of the evil racist violent attack systematically organised by the capitalist state to help contain Afrikan communities. He understood that they were really working for the capitalist elites and were therefore controlled by the violent, racist, evil capitalist state. He was demonstrating how those Afrikans that engage in drug dealing are really part of the police, part of the state apparatus and part of the systematic racist campaign of violence sponsored by the state and specifically designed to help hold the

Afrikan community in check. For Malcolm X, Afrikan drug dealers were a part of the problem, even if they were not the central part of the problem.

Malcolm X's words also leave no room for doubt about where he stood on the issue of drug smuggling. Those that brought drugs into the country were criminals. Their actions directly undermined the moral fibre of the community by stimulating and increasing the rate of drug addiction. Since it is clear that he considered marijuana a narcotic drug and he accepted that its importation was smuggling, there is no question about his assessment of Afrikans who brought marijuana into Afrikan communities. He saw Afrikans who smuggled marijuana into the country as criminals.

#### **2.4 Perception of crime is used as a pretext for attacking the Afrikan community**

There are several examples of Malcolm X explaining the manner in which capitalism's police force, supported by its media deliberately promotes the lie that the Afrikan community is a 'criminal community'. Once created, this bogus image is used to contain, vilify and isolate the Afrikan community, so that it can be openly attacked and brutalised by state forces without generating significant outcries from other communities.

Indeed, when this indoctrination process is carried out effectively, non-Afrikan communities together with deluded members of the Afrikan community, openly pledge support for anti-Afrikan police brutality programmes. In the worse cases, Afrikan people are murdered in police custody with little to no community outcry. Whilst speaking in London on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1965 Malcolm X explained this phenomenon in the following words:

"There is an element of whites who are nothing but cold animalistic racists. That element is the one that controls or has a strong influence in the power structure. It uses the press skilfully to feed statistics to the public to make it appear that the rate of crime in the black community, or community of non-white people, is at such a high level. It gives the impression or the image that everyone in that community is a criminal.

As soon as the public accepts the fact that the dark skinned community consists largely of criminals or people who are dirty, then it makes it possible for the power structure to set up a police-state system. Which will make it permissible in the minds of even the well meaning white public for them to come in and use all kinds of police methods to brutally suppress the struggle on the part of these people against segregation, discrimination and other acts that are unleashed against them that are absolutely unjust.

They use the press to set up this police state, and they use the press to make the white public accept whatever they do to the dark-skinned public. They do that here in London right now with the constant reference to the West Indian population and the Asian population having a high rate of crime or having a tendency toward dirtiness. They have all kinds of negative characteristics that they project to make the white public draw back, or to make the white public be apathetic when police-state-like methods are used in these areas to suppress the people's honest and just struggle against discrimination and other forms of segregation." (Clark, 2003, p. 47)

It follows therefore that those who smuggle and deal in drugs are actively assisting the police programme of criminalising the Afrikan community. Their actions help to give justification to the false claim that the Afrikan community is a 'criminal community'. Their drug smuggling or drug dealing actions are in effect setting the Afrikan community up for police attacks, police brutality and police harassment. They become state instruments in its calculated process of anti-Afrikan containment and oppression.

Regardless of their race, drug smugglers and dealers form part of this anti-Afrikan category because: (i) they personally attack the Afrikan community through their role in actively bringing the harmful effects of drug use into the Afrikan community and; (ii) their actions provide a trigger for police brutality programmes targeted against the Afrikan community.

## **2.5 Malcolm X's suggested response to drugs in the community**

Malcolm X gave us a clear idea about who controlled the drug economy and against whom we should focus our main efforts when resisting it. He saw the imposed drug economy as an important element of the criminal exploitation system designed to attack and contain Afrikan communities. He clarified his stance on the actions that Afrikans were obliged to take in order to counter the state's drug and vice led containment strategy using the following words:

"... we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction and other evils that are destroying the moral fibre of our community." (Breitman, 1989, p. 52; Ovenden, 1992, p. 69)

Malcolm X's ultimate position on how Afrikan people should respond in the face of the drug attack against the Afrikan community was:

"The [Afrikan] community must accept its responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all out war on organised crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction." (Breitman, 2003, p. 74)

Malcolm X also left us with no illusions about the police force's responsibility for putting drugs into the Afrikan community as part of a systematic process of organised anti-Afrikan violent crime. When Afrikan people took up their responsibility and fought against the imposed drug economy and other forms of organised crime there would be a 'backlash'. There was no room for illusions about how the police would respond. He reminded us that:

"When you unite ... to fight organised crime, you'll find your selves fighting the police department itself because they are involved in the organised crime. Wherever you have organised crime, that type of crime cannot exist other than with the consent of the police, the knowledge of the police and the co-operation of the police.

You'll agree that you can't run a number in your neighbourhood without the police knowing it. A prostitute can't run a trick on the block without the police knowing it. A man can't push drugs anywhere on the avenue without the police knowing it. And they pay the police off so that they will not get arrested. I know what I'm talking about – I used to be out there. And I know you can't hustle out there without police setting you up. You have to pay them off." (Breitman, 2003, p. 73)

For Malcolm X drugs, drug addiction and the many other destructive consequences of the drug economy had to be completely removed from the Afrikan community at all costs. Therefore, regardless of the magnitude of the 'backlash' that would come from the police and other oppressive state forces, the Afrikan community had a duty to struggle resolutely to maintain its moral base if it was to survive. He explained:

"Our community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality" (Breitman, 2003, p. 73)

## **2.6 Summarising Malcolm X's position on countering drugs in the Afrikan community**

The direct quotes from Malcolm X, presented in this document, send out a number of very clear anti-drug messages. They tell us that: ***drugs are synonymous with evil; drugs are the 'white man's poison' and the 'weapon of the white man'; drugs and drug addiction destroy the Afrikan community; drug smugglers are criminals; the capitalist elite control the drug economy; the police manage the drug economy and other aspects of organised crime; the police use their imposed drug economy to justify unprovoked attacks against the innocent unsuspecting Afrikan community; Afrikan people who engage in drug smuggling and drug dealing are really working for the police; the Afrikan community must get rid of the drug economy which will bring them into direct conflict with the police; the Afrikan community has a fundamental duty to fight police brutality as part of the process of removing the externally imposed drug economy; removing the drug economy will help to restore and maintain the community's health, wellbeing and moral fibre.***

***With these messages in mind, we can reasonably infer that Malcolm X understood that the purpose of the drug economy was:***

- ***To enrich the capitalist elite, and at the same time,***
- ***To support the capitalist elite's racist counter-revolutionary programme by:***
  - ***Actively destroying the Afrikan community through:***
    - § ***Spreading drug addiction and its moral, criminal and health related problems throughout the Afrikan community***
    - § ***Creating internal physical wars within the Afrikan community – where there are drugs there are also guns***
    - § ***Providing a false pretext for capitalism's police force, mental 'health' industry and other hostile state agencies to launch unprovoked savage attacks against***

***the innocent unsuspecting Afrikan community as part of a policy of containment***

§ ***Turning those Afrikan people who are not killed or injured by the police assault, the mental industry assaults and the internal physical wars into drug zombies who are unable to overthrow the state or even defend their community's interests***

Malcolm X would also have been aware that those who control the drug economy are able to manipulate the supply of drugs to inflict maximum damage on the Afrikan community. It is obvious that the controllers of the drug economy are able to decide on the overall supply of drugs to the Afrikan community. They are able to decide which drugs to make available, at any particular point in time, and which drug supplies to cut. Using this power allows them to create an initial community dependency on 'soft drugs' by making this variety of drug readily available. Once this is achieved, they then strategically cut the supply of 'soft drugs', whilst simultaneously making 'hard drugs' readily available. When this happens, addicts who are unable to cope without their regular 'fix' are forced to seek the next available alternative which is the readily available 'hard drug'. Even some non-addicts will use the availability of 'hard drugs' as an opportunity to 'graduate'. In this way, the controllers of the drug economy calculatingly move Afrikan communities from less harmful 'soft drug' usage to the deadly arena of destructive killer 'hard drugs'.

It follows that anyone that engages in drug smuggling, supports or even promotes the drug smugglers must ultimately be supporting the purposes of the capitalist elite groups that control the drug economy. ***Drug smugglers know exactly what they are doing; they are making money for themselves, regardless of the consequences for everybody else.*** Their supporters may be supporting them knowing or not knowing that they are smuggling; however, regardless of which it is, the outcome is the same – their supporters' actions are working on behalf of the elite capitalist groupings that control the drug economy who use it to oppress Afrikan people. If the supporters knowingly give their support to drug smuggling, their moral position is qualitatively worse.

Malcolm X fully understood the necessity of ensuring that the Afrikan community was a drug free and vice free community. He stood for the absolute eradication, the complete extraction, and the total removal of drugs and other vices from the Afrikan community. He was clear that the Afrikan community was responsible for taking the actions needed for ridding itself of the scourge of drugs and other vices. He was fully aware that achieving this would involve fighting the police who were the co-ordinating force for bringing drugs into the community.

***It is obvious that the process of fighting the police in order to remove drugs from the Afrikan community is the exact opposite of helping the police, state officials, underworld criminals and the capitalist elite to bring drugs into the community.*** There is therefore no ambiguity on how Malcolm X viewed the activities of Afrikan drug smugglers. Malcolm X was totally opposed to the idea of Afrikan people

bringing narcotic drugs into the community. He maintained this position regardless of whether the drug smuggling was supposedly to fund liberation organisations or for any other purpose. Since he included marijuana amongst narcotic drugs, this analysis also applied to the smuggling of marijuana. With this in mind, it is impossible to honestly argue that Malcolm X used the term 'By any means necessary' in a way that could be interpreted as justifying drug smuggling.

Anybody who is not aware of this information but tries to present Malcolm X as a supporter or an advocate of drug dealing or drug smuggling of any sort is an ignorant deceiver of the community. Anybody who is aware of this information and nonetheless tries to present Malcolm X as a supporter or an advocate of drug dealing or drug smuggling of any sort is literally telling lies on Malcolm X. Regardless of whether they are aware or unaware, they are purely and simply wrong. Their actions amount to an unmitigated slander against the memory and legacy of Malcolm X. Furthermore, their claim that drug smuggling is a means of funding the Afrikan liberation movement is an outrageous slander against every genuine Afrikan liberation organisation and every genuine Afrikan freedom fighter.

The position adopted by Afrikan drug smugglers who try to hide behind Malcolm X's greatness is ultimately just as hypocritical as that of the European racist capitalist liars, who deliberately and misleadingly distort the words 'By any means necessary' to pretend that they meant that Malcolm X advocated violence rather than self-defence. Drug smuggling is totally wrong; there is never an acceptable reason for engaging in it. Drug smuggling is anti-human; it is the seed from which suicidal tendencies develop within individuals and communities; it creates the conditions for internal community wars which lead to the community along a path of self-destruction. Drug smuggling must therefore be totally rejected, resisted and actively ejected by Afrikan communities everywhere. Ultimately, no good can ever come from it.

### **3 A key lesson from the life of Malcolm X**

#### **3.1 Criminals are not beyond redemption**

A clear, unequivocal and uncompromising stance has been adopted in this document, on those involved in flooding our community with drugs. A similarly clear position had been adopted in relation to the slandering of Malcolm X's name, image and legacy for counter-revolutionary purposes. However, it must be pointed out that this does not necessarily amount to an eternal condemnation of those that have committed such a crime. There is always the possibility that those that have caused harm to the Afrikan community can at a future point be forgiven.

Such forgiveness would require that the wrongdoers first acknowledge what they have done; that they admit that their behaviour was wrong; that they receive an appropriate punishment; that they solemnly profess that they will never behave in such a manner again; and that they ask for forgiveness from the Afrikan community. Under these circumstances the Afrikan community would be in a position to consider their request for forgiveness.

The life of Malcolm X provides solid proof that this level of personal transformation is possible in a person. His rehabilitation and ultimate acclamation confirms the forgiving nature of the Afrikan community. Malcolm X was a pimp, a drug pusher, a drug user and a criminal who inflicted serious damage on to the Afrikan community. He went to prison as a result of his behaviour and has never argued that his imprisonment was unjustified. At that point in his life, there seemed little possibility that he would be anything other than a liability to the Afrikan community.

However, he managed to overcome all of this to become one of the greatest Afrikan leaders of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The message that flows from his life story is simple: it is that if he could overcome such adversity, then any pimp has the potential to do the same; if he could overcome such adversity, then any drug pusher or user has the potential to do the same; if he could overcome such adversity, then any person rightly or wrongly locked up in prison has the potential to do the same. Clearly, this raises the possibility that Caul Grant, along with the other Afrikans incarcerated in the prisons of imperialism can still make a constructive contribution to our people's development.

In any event the drug smuggling activity of Caul Grant and others who engage in similar practices, raises a serious question which the Afrikan community must confront and answer. The question being: are there any legitimate limits to how far we can go in what we may regard as attempts to free ourselves from the unjust exploitation and oppression of imperialism? This is a painful, difficult and in many respects even a dangerous debate for us to engage in. However, we must confront it to provide us with a basis for learning from our history so that we can move on. This will help us to re-affirm and clarify the base of principles that we as a people operate from. The principles guiding our behaviour must be understood by all, because it is our principles that will help us to determine what we can and cannot do as a means to achieving our liberation which includes our legitimate requirement for self-determination.

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