AN ANALYSIS OF PERSUASIVE LANGUAGE
IN ‘MALCOLM X’S SPEECHES’

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

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This research attempted to analyze the persuasive language techniques in speeches given by Malcolm X, an African American human right activist. The speeches are derived from three different phases of Malcolm’s life. The first phase is the period when he was still activist of Nation of Islam (NOI). The second phase is marked with his separation from NOI. The last phase started when he went on pilgrimage until he finally passed away. The main purpose of this research is to find out kinds of persuasive language techniques used by Malcolm and the ways he applied those persuasive language techniques in his speeches. This research was conducted by employing the qualitative method and using coding to analyze the data. Based on the analysis, it indicates that Malcolm used seven kinds of persuasive language to persuade the audiences. Furthermore, it also shows that Malcolm tended to apply the persuasive language techniques throughout three major persuasion methods including giving evidences, giving reasons and appealing to emotion. In each of his speech, Malcolm tends to apply nearly all the same persuasive language techniques in appealing the attention of the audiences despite the different background of the speech. In addition, the way he applied the persuasive language techniques in each of his speech is also roughly similar.
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Banda Aceh, January 14th 2019

Azizur Mislaina
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This part is the introductory chapter of this research. This chapter presents introduction of study which consists of background of the study, research questions, the aims of the research, the significance of the research, and terminologies. These major points will be explained in the more specific following explanation.

A. Background of Study

The message of persuasion is conveyed through language as main medium of communication. Persuasive language is no longer a new issue of both written and spoken language bringing genuine interest to many investigators to undergo a textual study. Furthermore, it is often said that language has a big power as it can “stimulate thoughts, offer opinions, state facts, suggest attitudes, create moods, attack or defend views, and so on, any of which could be persuasively used for some purposes” (Mulholand, 2005, p. 17).

Since it plays prominent roles in many occasions, the use of language for persuasive communication is commonly found in advertisements, essays, talks, and speeches involving emotive terms and emotional expressions to appeal people’s attention and change their mind. The basis of this idea is what Perloff (2003, p. 4) said that people usually use persuasive communication to make a change. For instance, the activists of the social environment deliver the persuasive ideas to change the attitudes of minorities and women.
The language that acts to persuade has a huge influence in speech as it can potentially attract the listeners’ emotion throughout a spoken message delivery by which a speaker can repeat certain statements, stress important words, rise and lower the intonation (Coopman and Lull, 2012). In this case, there are many well-known speakers using persuasive languages to change people’s mind or even behavior such as in political, educational, social or business speeches.

Among a number of popular orators, Malcolm X is one of the successful speakers who gave numerous influential and phenomenal speeches by using the language containing persuasive utterances and applying distinctive techniques to appeal the audiences’ emotion. Malcolm X is an African-American Muslim minister and human rights activist in the 20th Century whose real name is Malcolm little. After converting to Islam and being paroled from prison, he dropped his "white" last name for the symbolic "X". Then, after he returned from Mecca, he changed his name to Malik El Shabbaz (Haley, 2002). In each of his speech, Malcolm orated very passionately and enthusiastically in conveying messages to the huge number of African-Americans. He frequently speaks about the discrimination between white and black Americans so that he is known as ‘the angriest Black in America’ (Epss, 1993). In this research, the researcher consistently refers ‘Malcolm X’ as ‘Malcolm’ in order to avoid both researcher and reader from the difficulty in mentioning and reading his last name namely ‘X’.
Recently, there have been some studies conducted to analyze different issues in Malcolm’s speeches since he was best known for the strength and boldness of his words in his speeches over years within three phases of his historical life: with Nation of Islam, after Nation of Islam and after pilgrimage to Mecca (Breitman, 1990).

The first study was done by Flick (1981, p. 166-181). It tried to reveal the myths blacks lived with, to promulgate Malcolm’s paradigm for demystifying myths and to note how the circumventing of a myth allowed Malcolm to create his own myths concerning blacks. The finding revealed that the myths Malcolm created were that blacks were animals, blacks were the minority, and integration was a concept that served and was supported by a majority of African Americans. The finding also suggested that Malcolm’s paradigm of myth involved a series of steps involving him in identifying the myth, locating its purpose, author, and origin, and noting the antidote needed in order to counteract such a myth.

The second previous study of this research was “Malcolm X and The Limits of The Rhetoric of Revolutionary Dissent” completed by Condit and Lucaites (1993, p. 291-313). They found that the limit of Malcolm’s revolutionary dissent was to limit willingly or to impose himself due to feeling uncomfortable.

Another study researching about Malcolm’s speech is the one conducted by Zakaria (2016, p. 147-157). This research investigated the political thoughts and ideas to change the blacks’ perception toward racial and equality issue
between black and white America. The result finally revealed that Malcolm’s ideas and political struggle in against racial discrimination are reinforcing of self-help and black unity in the spirit of Black Nationalism and strengthening the international approach on civil rights struggle. The result also showed that Malcolm used “revenge” strategy in countering the white racist.

The last relevant research was undergone by Flick and Powell (1988, p. 435-451). This study analyzed the use of animal imagery in Malcolm’s speech as he aimed to free blacks from their image of white America. The finding indicated that Malcolm’s use of animal imagery can be seen as a strategy to revise African-Americans’ perception viewing whites America were superior due to their sensitivity to the positions and needs of others. The result also uncovered that Malcolm used ‘jungle atmosphere’ in which whites were coded as wolves, foxes, and snakes, while blacks were cast as sheep in order to create the effect in a community about the lowest and most base parts of their character.

After all, having compared the four prior studies, the previous studies above and this research similarly investigated the speeches of Malcolm and used qualitative approach. Despite the similarities, this research differs in terms of the purpose and the object of study.

In this research, the researcher attempted to find the persuasive language techniques in the speeches given by Malcolm by looking at different points of ‘imagery’ used by Malcolm to convey persuasive messages including ‘simile’, ‘metaphor’ and’ concrete words’. As well as analyzing three items of ‘imagery’,
the researcher also analyzed several items of ‘rhythm’ including ‘parallelism’, ‘alliteration’, ‘repetition’, and ‘antithesis’ that has not been covered yet in the four prior studies.

In determining the main object of the research, this research selected three speeches given by Malcolm based on three different phases of his life that have not been completed yet in the four studies above. Therefore, this research hopefully could complete the gap in the four prior studies in researching different aspects of rhetoric in Malcolm’s speeches.

B. Research Questions

In accordance with the background of this research, two research problems are formulated in the following questions:

1. What kind of persuasive language techniques are applied by Malcolm in his speech?
2. How does Malcolm apply persuasive language techniques in his speech?

C. The Aims of Research

The aims of this research are:

1. To uncover kinds of persuasive language techniques applied by Malcolm in his speech.
2. To reveal the ways Malcolm applied the persuasive language techniques in his speech to persuade audience
D. The Scope of Research

This research focused on analyzing types of persuasive language techniques based on Lucas’ theory in three Malcolm’s speech. This research only studied one particular speech of each phase of Malcolm’s life. Furthermore, in analyzing Malcolm’s ways in applying persuasive language techniques, this research merely looked at three of four persuasion methods used by Malcolm in his speeches namely ‘giving evidence’, giving reason’ and ‘appealing to emotion’.

E. The limitation of Research

This research has some unavoidable limitations. First, due to the time availability, this research merely analyzed one particular speech of each phase of Malcolm’s life. Therefore, to generalize the results for larger context this research should have involved more material of analysis. Second, this research did not analyze ‘credibility’ as one of persuasion methods in Malcolm’s speech because it was estimated to consume more time by looking at some aspects in it. Last but not least, the object analysis of this research is not a current issue, however, it has distinctive characteristics to be reference for both lecturers and students of English Language Education Department.
F. The Significance of Research

1. For English Language Education Department students

First and for most, the result of this study hopefully would be a reference to English Department students and inspire them to conduct another research studying different aspects of the persuasive language that has not been covered in this research.

In addition to the reference, the result of this study is completely expected would be applicable in educational contexts as supporting material in both main and optional courses of English Department major. Initially, the result of this research hopefully would enrich students’ knowledge about rhetorical aspects in main courses including Public Speaking, Introduction to Linguistic, Linguistic and Discourse Analysis. Secondly, the result of this research hopefully would be supporting material in optional course such as English for Islamic studies because this research does not only explore about the rhetorical aspect, but, it also relates to Islamic values such as pillars of Islam, peace and brotherhood

Last but not least, looking back that most of English Department students are actively involved in numerous social activities, the result of this research is hopefully would be such an inspiring guideline to help them in determining kinds of persuasive strategies to be used while they have to give a speech in a forum.

2. For English Language Education lecturers

As well as for students, the findings of this research are also expected to be significant for the lecturers of English Department. Initially, the result of this
research would hopefully be such a supporting material for lecturer in in enhancing students’ knowledge and encouraging students’ performance in public speaking class. Finally, the researcher expects that the finding of this research would be a reflective reference for the lecturers of Discourse Analysis and Linguistics to engage students in exploring more about persuasive language that they can find in daily life such as in speeches, talks or advertisements.

G. Terminologies

1. Persuasive language

Over decades, there have been a great number of definitions of “persuasion”. Lucas (2009, p. 324) defined persuasion as the process of creating, reinforcing and changing people’s beliefs or action. Similarly, Perloff (2003) defined persuasion as a symbolic process requiring an attempt to influence people to change their ‘attitude’ and ‘behaviour’ through a communicated massage with free choices. In this research, the researcher defines persuasive language as the language produced by the speaker containing particular rhetorical figures or language devices that can powerfully and potentially influence audiences or convince people to accept a view or idea or even to change their beliefs and take a new positive action in life.

There are numerous techniques of persuasive language proposed by linguists. Thomas, et.al (2004) stated that there are several language devices that enable orators to persuade or influence the viewers: metaphor, euphuism, the ‘rule of three’, parallelism and pronouns. Similarly, Lucas (2009) discussed the use of language vividly to move people through speech can be practiced trough
two major items: ‘imaginary’ and ‘rhythm’. ‘Imagery’ includes simile, metaphor and concrete words while ‘rhythm’ involves parallelism, alliteration, repetition, and antithesis. In this research, the researcher relied on the two aspects which seemed dominantly exist in Malcolm’s speeches. Also, the researcher attempted to analyze the way Malcolm X apply the persuasive language techniques by using the theory of Lucas (2009) proposing that there are four basic methods to deliver a persuasive speech: building credibility, using reasoning, giving evidences and appealing to emotion. Nevertheless, the researcher only focused studying three of which: giving evidence, giving reasons, and appealing to emotion, which were relatively frequently used by Malcolm’s to persuade audiences in his speech. Credibility was not analyzed due to the concern of the time availability.

2. ‘Malcolm X speeches’

‘Malcolm X speeches’ are influential speeches delivered by Malcolm in three different phases. The first phase is the period when he was still activist of Nation of Islam (NOI) between 1952 and 1964. During this period, his speech described his full honor toward Elijah Muhammad and racial issues in America, the head of NOI. It was not until the middle of 1964 when Malcolm declared that he was no longer the member of NOI. This period was known as the transition period to the true Islam or the second phase of Malcolm’s life career in which his speech indicated his expansion of perspective about Islam. The last phase was that when he went on pilgrimage in April 1964 until he finally passed away in 1965 (Breitman, 1990)
In this research, what the researcher means by ‘Malcolm X speeches’ speeches are the three different speeches of each phase during Malcolm’s oratory career. The first speech that the researcher analyzed was the one delivered in October, 20th 1962 at Yale Law School. The second speech that the researcher studied was a legendary speech delivered in April, 3rd 1964 known as “The Ballot or The Bullet”. Lastly, the researcher investigated the speech delivered in Harvard Law School Forum in December, 15th 1964.
CHAPTER II
THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The second chapter reviews the related theories that become the basis of this research. This chapter is divided into three major sections in which the researcher comprises rhetoric and persuasion, explains the origin of persuasive language and discusses the theory of persuasive devices and methods proposed by Lucas.

A. Rhetoric and Persuasion

Originally, ‘rhetoric’ is a derivative Greek word from ‘rhetor’ which means ‘a speaker in a public meeting or court law’. It was first introduced in Athens as a term used by Aristotle and Plato (Kennedy, 2007). Among scholars, there are varieties of definitions of ‘rhetoric’ which are popular such as empty talk, beautiful language, or persuasion.

Regarding persuasion, some other terms are also popularized by Aristotle such as ‘ethos’, ‘logos’ and ‘pathos’ which are nowadays called by most of modern students as ‘credibility’, ‘logical appeal of a speaker’ and ‘emotional appeal’. These three major terms are the fundamental methods of persuasion studied by a number of students recently (Lucas, 2009). Thus, the art of rhetoric studied in modern periods had its birth in Greece.

As well as having intimate relationship with persuasion as discussed in prior paragraph, rhetoric is also closely related to discourse. Herrick (2005) said
that rhetoric refers to a type of discourse, namely rhetorical discourse, marked by several characteristics (being planned, adapted to audiences, shaped by human’s motives, responsive to a set of circumstances, concerned with contingent issues and persuasion-seeking. With regard to persuasion, rhetorical discourse achieves persuasion by employing various resources of symbol systems such as language known as persuasive language.

B. Persuasive Language

According to Thomas (2004, p. 45), persuasive language is the power of rhetoric. Joseph (2006, p. 111) said that we generally use rhetoric, the persuasive use of language in attempting to show the truth of what we want other people to accept. Therefore, rhetoric is defined as the art of using language to persuade or influence others.

Joseph (2006, p. 112) stated that there are certain types of language producing rhetorical effect including word choice, word order and sentence construction. These three major types of language later produce devices used by speakers nowadays to create more effect and increase the impact of their ideas (Thomas, 2004).

There are a number of devices commonly employed in speech as powerful means to appeal audiences. Repetition, rhythm and some classic tropes are examples of the devices used by speakers in order to persuade their audiences (Joseph, 2006). Some other examples of such rhetorical devices
generally found in speech are metaphor, euphemism, parallelism and pronoun (Thomas, 2004).

In the following section, the researcher elaborates more detail about devices and methods occurring frequently in persuasive speech. The specific discussion is based on the theory introduced by Lucas (2009).

C. Theory of Lucas

In order to answer the questions of this research, the researcher referred to the theory proposed by Lucas (2009). First, the researcher elaborates the use of vivid language as the persuasive language techniques. Second, the researcher discusses the methods applied as the ways to persuade the target audiences. These two major discussions will be explained in detail as follows:

1) Persuasive Language Techniques

There are a number of experts proposing the theory of persuasive language techniques. Among the experts, Lucas (2009) suggested using vivid language namely animated language as a technique to move people throughout the speeches. Imagery and rhythm are two types of animated languages and act as devices that powerfully give strong effects in speech.

The first type of animated language used to persuade people is imagery. It is the use of vivid language to create mental image of objects, actions or ideas which are divided into three sub-units namely concrete words, simile and metaphor.
1. Concrete Word

The first way to create imagery is ‘concrete word’ which can be called up as a mental impression of sights, sounds, touch, smell and taste aiming to pull the audiences irresistibly into the speech (Lucas, 2009). For example, the speaker says “We visual rangers landing at the foot of cliffs. We see them fighting their way up the cliffs in the face of enemy grenades and machine guns. We hear the crack of riffle fire the cries of soldier”. Thus a speaker uses concrete word as a persuasive language technique to appeal audiences’ attention by inviting them to see, hear or feel things highlighted by the speaker.

2. Simile

Another way to make the idea of a speaker to come alive is by using ‘simile’. Coopman and Lull (2012) stated that ‘simile’ and ‘metaphor’ are analogies as a shorthand way of comparing two similar things. However, Thomas (2004) said that ‘simile’ only asserts something similar to something else. In line with this, Lucas (2009) called it as an explicit comparison between things, commonly marked by the word “like” or “as”, that are essentially different yet have something in common. For instance, the speaker says “Air pollution is eating away at the monuments in Washington, D.C., like a giant Alka-Seltzer tablet. Another example is like when a speaker says “this problem is big as a mountain”.

3. Metaphor

Metaphor is also one of the ways to bring different color in speech. Basically, Thomas (2004) said that ‘metaphor’ is a way of comparing two
different concepts. However, they often compare something abstract with something more concrete (Coopman and Lull, 2012). In line with this, Lucas (2004) defined ‘metaphor’ as an implicit comparison between two things that are essentially different, yet, have something in common. Unlike simile, it is not introduced with the word “like” or “as”, For example, the speaker says “America’s cities are the windows through which the world looks at the American society. Although ‘simile’ and ‘metaphor’ differs in terms of its marker, both ‘simile’ and ‘metaphor’ has the same purpose in appealing audiences’ emotion.

The second type of animated language producing persuasive devices is rhythm. Lucas (2009) said that language has ‘rhythm’ which means a pattern of sound in a speech created by the choice and arrangement of words. This kind of language is mostly used by speakers to enhance the impact of their words and consists of four stylistic devises that are frequently employed by the speakers in speeches.

1. Parallelism

The first device that can be applied in the speech is ‘rhythm’. Thomas (2004) said that a speaker wants to draw attention to a particular part of their message and make it stand out from the rest of the speech by expressing several ideas in a series of similar structures namely ‘parallelism’. Similarly, Lucas (2004) defined it as the similar arrangement of a pair or series of related words, phrases or sentences. The main purpose of this device its self is to add emphasis in speech (Coopman and Lull, 2012). For example, the speaker says “rich and
poor, intelligent and ignorant, wise and foolish, virtuous and vicious, man and woman – it is ever the same, each soul must depend wholly on its self”. Thus, parallelism is another persuasive language technique that appeals audiences’ attention throughout the similar arrangement of words.

2. Repetition

The second rhetorical device of rhythm is ‘repetition’. It is repetition of the same word or set of words at the beginning or the end of successive clauses or sentences (Lucas, 2009). For example, a speaker says “If not now, when?, if not us, who?, if not in not together, how?”. Thus, like parallelism, repletion is also frequently used by a speaker to appeal audiences’ attention by stating certain words repeatedly. Furthermore, in many cases, most of repeated words are in parallel structure.

3. Alliteration

Another device that can be used to create the rhythm in speeches is ‘alliteration’. Coopman and Lull (2012) said that a speaker uses ‘alliteration’ when they repeat a sound in a series of words, usually the first consonant. In line with this, Lucas (2009) also defined ‘alliteration’ as the repetition of the initial consonant sound of close or adjoining word. For example, a speaker says “Peace is not essential for progress, but, progress is no less essential for peace”. Thus, as well as in poem and poetry, alliteration can also be applied in speech to give more persuasive effect in speech.
4. Antithesis

The last device is ‘antithesis’. It is the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas, usually in parallel structure (Lucas, 2004). With antithesis, the meaning of phrases are in opposition, but, the arrangement of words within the phrases are alignment (Coopman and Lull, 2012). For example, a speaker says “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country”. Thus, antithesis is one of robust persuasive language techniques that potentially appeal the audiences’ emotion throughout uttering two different statements but are align.

2) Persuasion Methods

There are several experts proposing the methods of persuasion. In this case, Lucas (2009) divided methods for persuading audiences into 4 major points including building credibility, using evidences, employing reasons and appealing the emotion of the audiences. Each method has some sub-unit points which will be explained in further explanation below. The following table shows the general overview of persuasion methods and the sub-units of them in brief.

1. Building Credibility

The first method playing vital role for speakers in giving speech is building their credibility to appeal audiences. ‘Credibility’ is the audiences’ perception of whether the speaker is qualified to speak of a given topic. This term is also known as ‘ethos’, a name given by Aristotle (Lucas, 2009). There are two major factors influencing a speaker’s credibility.
Initially, the competence of a speaker constitutes the prime factor dealing with how a speaker regards a speaker’s intelligence, expertise, and knowledge of the subject. For instance, if a professor intends to give a lecture in an economic course, he or she must expertise and have wide knowledge in this field.

Secondly, another prominent factor giving such a huge impact toward a speaker’s credibility is the speaker’s character themselves. It deals with the way a speaker regards a speaker’s sincerity, trustworthiness, and concern for the well-being of audiences. For instance, a student president who is known to have honesty, integrity, responsibility and good manners is credible in term of character to give a speech in front of the students.

In addition to the two essential factors, there are also several types of credibility of a speaker. Firstly, the speaker deals with initial credibility before she or he starts to speak. Then, a speaker moves into derived credibility which he or she produced by everything she or he says and does during the speech. Lastly, a speaker comes into terminal credibility at the end of the speech.

2. Using Evidences

The second method that can be applied in convincing audiences while persuading them is giving them evidences. Beebe and Beebe (2012) said that evidence is vital to support a speaker’s statement. In line with this, Lucas (2009) defined evidence in a speech as supporting material used by a speaker to prove or disprove something. Evidence is one of ‘logos’ elements, a name used by Aristotle for the logical appeal of a speaker. There are several types of evidences that can be given in a speech.
a). Specific evidence

The first type of evidence that a speaker can employ while giving a speech is a specific one. Beebe and Beebe (2012) said that an evidence should be specific in persuading audiences. Therefore, Lucas (2009) also suggested the use of specific evidence by involving the use of statistics, examples or testimon. For instance, in the speech about noise pollution, the speaker said “31 million Americans have some degree of hearing loss” rather than saying “lots of people suffer from hearing loss”. In this case, it can be seen that the speaker used more specific evidence of statistical data (31 million Americans) instead of using more general one (lots of people) to influence listeners.

b). Novel evidence

The second type of evidence that potentially appeal audiences’ attention is the novel evidence. It is a kind of evidence given by a speaker which sounds new to audiences such as giving evidences from new issues happening among society (Lucas, 2009). Beebe and Beebe (2012) called this kind of evidence as ‘the new evidence’ which plays vital role in persuading listener. For example, by saying “this is a new problem emerging in our country”, the speaker creates the curiosity among audiences leading them to willingly listen more to a problem spoken by the speaker.

c). Evidence from credible sources

Another type of evidence that can strengthen a speaker’s speech is an evidence cited from competent and credible resources (Lucas, 2009). Beebe and Beebe (2012) stated that the credible evidence could be in form of reluctant
testimony. For example, a speaker says “According to the National highway Traffic Safety Administration, while teenagers make up 7 percent of nation’s licensed drivers, they represent 14 percent all motor vehicle facilities. The NHTSA reports that last year 3,670 drivers aged 16 to 20 were killed in automobile accidents. In addition to killing drivers, these same accidents took lives of 2,625 people aged 21 or older”.

In the example above, the speaker gave an evidence from a credible source, ‘the National highway Traffic Safety Administration’, giving information about the number of motor vehicles facilities involving teenage drivers. As the result, the speech gave more persuasive effect due to the credible evidence.

d). Clear evidence

The last type of evidence is the clear one. It is an evidence given by a speaker to prove a point (Lucas, 2009). For example, a speaker says “According to the National highway Traffic Safety Administration, while teenagers make up 7 percent of nation’s licensed drivers, they represent 14 percent all motor vehicle facilities. The NHTSA reports that last year 3,670 drivers aged 16 to 20 were killed in automobile accidents. In addition to killing drivers, these same accidents took lives of 2,625 people aged 21 or older. So, the total number of people killed last year in automobile accidents involving teenager drivers was 8,666 – almost exactly the number of full time students at this campus”.

In the given example, the speaker stated clearly the point of her evidence about the number of motor vehicles facilities involving teenage drivers. Therefore, the speech sounds much persuasive due to the clear evidence.

3. Reasoning

As well as using evidence, using reasons is also one of the methods to persuade the target audiences. Lucas (2009) stated that reasoning is the process of drawing a conclusion on the basis of evidence. It is another element of ‘logos’, a term introduced by Aristotle. There are four types of giving reasons in a speech as a means of persuasion.

a) Reasoning from specific instance

The first type in giving a reason in speech is by giving a reason moving from particular facts to general conclusion. Lucas (2009) said that when a speaker reasons for specific instance, he or she progresses from particular facts to general conclusion. For instance, there are three facts of statements. The first statement states “my physical education course last term was easy. Then, the second statement states “my roommate’s physical education course last term was easy. The last statement states “my brother’s physical education course last term was easy”. Therefore, from the three given facts above, it can be concluded that physical education course ere easy.

b) Reasoning from principle

The second type of reasoning is by moving from a general principle to a specific conclusion. Lucas (2009) stated that when a speaker reasons from principle, she or he progresses from general principle to specific conclusion. For
example, we are all familiar with these kinds of reasoning statements. The first statement states “all people are mortal”. Then, the second statement states “Socrates is a person”. In this case, the first statement still sounds very general when it is stated that all people are mortal. The second one mentions a name of a person, Socrates, as a specification of ‘all people’. In conclusion, Socrates is mortal because he is a person.

c) Causal reasoning

Another type of reason that can be employed in speech is causal reasoning. This kind of reason seeks to establish the relationship between causes and effects (Lucas, 2009). For instance, the speaker says “Because of that patch of ice there, I fell and broke my arm”.

d) Analogical reasoning

The last type of giving a reason is by employing a reason that requires audiences to think critically from the given analogy of a speaker. This is kind of a reason occurs when a speaker compares two similar cases and infers that what is true for the first case is also true for the second (Lucas, 2009). For example, the speaker says “In Great Britain the general election campaign for prime minister lasts less than 3 weeks. Surely we can do the same with the U.S presidential election”.

In the example above, the speaker tried to give an analogy to the listeners by saying the duration of time Britain took for the general election campaign for prime minister. In this case, the speaker wanted to say that America can only spend the same duration with its presidential election.
1. Appealing to Emotion

Lucas (2009) said that ‘emotional appeals or what Aristotle called ‘pathos’ is a way to make listeners feel sad, angry guilty, afraid, happy, proud, sympathetic, reverent or alike feelings. There are several common emotions mostly used by public speakers to stir listeners’ emotion.

a) Fear

The first kind of emotion that the speaker attempts to appeal throughout his or her speech is the audiences’ fear. It can be the fear of serious illness, natural disaster, sexual assault, personal rejection, economic hardship, ect (Lucas, 2009).

b) Compassion

The second kind of emotion that the speaker commonly targets is the sense of compassion of the audiences toward the physically disabled, battered woman, neglected animals, starving children, victim of aids, ect (Lucas, 2009).

c) Pride

Another way of a speaker to persuade audiences is by making the audiences feel proud of something (Lucas, 2009). According to Bee Bee (2012), pride is a persuasive appeal to achieve a goal based on pride on people’s country, family, school, ethnic heritage, personal accomplishment, ect.

d) Anger

As well as appealing audiences’ emotion throughout their pride, a speaker can also persuade audiences by making them feel angry. For instance, the audiences could feel angry of terrorist and their supporters, business leader
who acts unethically, members of congress who abuse the public trust, landlords who exploit students’ tenant, vandals and thieves, etc (Lucas, 2009).

e) Guilt
In addition to anger, guilt is also kind of emotion a speaker can appeal throughout a speech by saying things that makes the audiences feel guilty. For example, feeling guilty for not helping people less fortunate than ourselves, not considering the rights of others, not doing one’s best, etc (Lucas, 2009).

f) Reverence

The last kind of emotion that a speaker can evoke to persuade his or her audiences is the reverence. In this case, a speaker can trigger audiences to revere an admired person, tradition and institution, one’s deity, etc (Lucas, 2009). Beebe and Beebe (2012) similarly said that reverence is an appeal to revered and sacred things that can inspire the audiences to change or reinforce attitude, values, belief and behavior. The following example shows the way of a speaker appealing audiences’ emotion in speech:

“Nathan was only 5 years old when the fever attacked him. At first, no one knew what was wrong. No one knew that parasites inside his body had infected his red blood cells. No one knew those cells were clumping together, choking the flow of blood through his body and damaging his vital organ. No one knew his kidneys would soon fail and seizures would begin. No one knew he would wind up in a coma.

The parasites in Nathan’s body came from a mosquito bite, a bite that gave him malaria. And Nathan is not the only one, The World Health
Organization tells us the horrible truth: in Africa, a child dies from malaria every after 30 seconds”.

The example above shows that instead of saying “Malaria is the biggest problem facing Africa. Many people die from it every day. If the rest of the world doesn't help, the malaria epidemic will only get worse”, the speaker preferred to appeal the emotion of the audiences by making them fear of the serious illness by stating a name of a child (Nathan), the numeric data (30 seconds) and repeating certain phrases (no one knows). Therefore, the story of Nathan and his tragic fate gives emotional impact toward the listeners and brings it home to listeners in personal terms.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the process of gaining and processing the data. It includes the research design, the material of analysis, the techniques of data collection and the techniques of data analysis. Each section is explained more detail in the following explanation.

A. Research Design

This research employed the qualitative method. Dornyei (2007) argued that qualitative research is an approach seeking the understanding by means of exploration, human experience, perception, motivation, intention and behaviors. Also, this design involves the analysis of the data such as words, pictures or object dealing with the quality and the description. Creswell (2007, p. 38) stated that qualitative researchers collect the data through examining documents, observing behavior and interviewing participants. Therefore, the researcher applied qualitative method because the researcher intended to analyze every utterance containing persuasive language techniques in the speeches of Malcolm.

B. Material of Analysis

The material of analysis of this research is the speeches of Malcolm derived from the three phases of his historical career between 1962 and 1965. The speeches are in the form of scripts consisting of approximately five to
six thousand words long. In this research, the researcher only selected one speech of each phase based on two major characteristics in order to fulfill the required data and the purpose of the research. The first characteristic is that the speech content is contextually relevant with English Language Education Department students in term of inspirational values. Another characteristic is that the speeches have the roughly similar word count. Thereupon, the data that the researcher analyzed were the three scripts of Malcolm’s speeches in three different phases of his oration career.

C. Techniques of Data Collection

Data is the vital aspect in research. To collect the required data, the researcher completed some stages. Firstly, the researcher searched and downloaded the scripts of Malcolm’s speeches of the three sections of his life career from http://www.americanhetoric.com. Afterward, the researcher grouped the speeches based on the three sections. Then, the researcher selected one speech only from each section. After collecting the scripts, the researcher did scanning and skimming reading to find out certain utterances containing persuasive language techniques and underlined them to analyze paragraph by paragraph.

D. Techniques of Data Analysis

In this study, the collected data were analyzed through ‘open coding’. Punch (2014, p. 176) defined ‘coding’ as the process of putting the label in
single word or small or large chunk of the data. Whereas, in analyzing textual data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) suggested the use of ‘open coding’ to describe the data by means of conceptual codes derived directly from the data. This technique includes labeling concepts, defining and developing categories based on their properties and dimensions.

In this stage, the researcher began to analyze persuasive language techniques (simile, metaphor, concrete words, parallelism, alliteration, repetition, and antithesis) and ways of the application (providing evidences, giving reasons and appealing to emotion) in Malcolm’s speeches. In analyzing the data, the researcher followed some procedures. First, the researcher labeled underlined sentences containing persuasive language technique of the three scripts of Malcolm’s speeches with particular codes (S, M, CW, P, A, R, and Ant) which stand for simile, metaphor, concrete words, parallelism, alliteration, repetition, and antithesis respectively. Afterward, the researcher used the same method to analyze the ways of persuasive language application in Malcolm’s speeches based on the theory of Lucas (2009). Then, the researcher grouped the data based on the theory. Next, the researcher drew tables to see the simple frequency of data that appears during the analysis. Finally, the data were thematically categorized and discussed.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings and discussion at once. In this chapter, the researcher elaborated two major findings. The first finding explains about types of persuasive language techniques used by Malcolm and the second finding explains ways of Malcolm applied them in his speeches. Each finding is directly followed by its discussion.

The data that were analyzed in this research are three speeches derived from three different phases of Malcolm’s life. The first phase is the period when he was still activist of Nation of Islam (NOI). The second phase is marked with separation from NOI. The last phase started when he went on pilgrimage until he finally passed away.

In each phase, there are particular characteristics for speeches given by Malcolm. In the first phase, he tended to enthusiastically orated the racial issue and separatism between African American and American and used to introduce Ellijah Muhammad, the leader of NOI, and ‘Black Nationalism’ philosophy as the solution for African Americans’ race problem. The second phase was known as Malcolm’s transition to Sunni Islam so that he was known for changing his philosophy and tended to preach African Americans’ civil and human right instead of separation. In the last phase, Malcolm was said to change his view about racism and started to develop his philosophy after returning from Mecca. Therefore, his speech was no longer referred to separatism.
Having analyzed the data, the researcher found two major findings as the answers of the research questions. These findings are presented and discussed thoroughly in the following section.

1. **Persuasive Languages techniques used by Malcolm in his speeches.**

   The first finding of this research indicated kinds of persuasive language techniques used by Malcolm in his speech. The researcher found that there are approximately seven types of persuasive language techniques used by Malcolm in his speech. In the first speech, it is found at least seven persuasive language techniques including ‘concrete word’, ‘simile’, ‘metaphor’, ‘parallelism’, ‘repetition’, ‘alliteration’ and ‘antithesis’. In the second speech, all the persuasive language techniques are found except ‘simile’. While in the third speech, six persuasive language techniques are detected, namely ‘concrete word’, ‘simile’, ‘parallelism’, ‘repetition’, ‘alliteration’ and ‘antithesis’.

   In persuading his audiences, Malcolm tended used concrete words, simile and metaphor to create mental image in mind of the audiences. Also, Malcolm applied parallelism, repetition, alliteration and antithesis to give more impact of his words in persuading his audiences. The following section explains each technique applied by Malcolm his speech of each phase together with the examples excerpted from each speech.

   1) **Concrete Word**

   The first persuasive language technique used by Malcolm as one of persuasive language techniques is concrete word. It is normally marked with words containing the mental impression of sights, sounds, touch, smell and taste
(Lucas, 2009). Therefore, the utterances containing words such as ‘see’, ‘feel’ and ‘hear’ or other words having the same meaning can be categorized as concrete word. When using concrete words, a speaker is trying to create a mental image of an object she or he wants his or her speaker to see, hear or even feel (Lucas, 2009).

In his speeches, Malcolm used concrete words to persuade his audiences to open their mind and consider things with the facts he presented. The following examples present utterances containing concrete word in Malcolm’s speeches from each phase of his life.

Data 1/6

“If Mr. Muhammad’s solution is from God, is it in time to save 20 million so-called Negroes? Is it in time to save America? Is it in time to save the Western World? Let us look closely and see. The Western World finds itself today constantly engulfed in crisis after crisis. The ingredients for disaster lurk constantly on all sides...both at home and abroad. The Western World’s leading diplomats are whispering in the halls of UN that catastrophe can come any moment, any hour, any second”.

The first excerpt is taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the first phase of his life. The speech was delivered in October 20th 1962 at Yale Law School. This speech talked about racial issue considered as a kind of serious illness for America and encouraged the audiences to against integration. In this excerpt, by saying “look” and “see” in the form of ‘command’, Malcolm attempted to encourage the audiences for being convinced that they are in a serious crisis namely race problem that is unable to be solved by the stakeholders. Therefore, Malcolm used a robust appeal to pathos by means of concrete word to create a
mental image of sight within audiences’ mind leading them to view the same thing as Malcolm does.

**Data 2/18**

“So as you can see, brothers and sisters, today – this afternoon it is not our intention to discuss religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion we'll be in an argument. And the best way to keep away from arguments and differences, as I said earlier, put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway”.

The second excerpt is taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the second phase of his life entitled ‘The Ballot or Bullet’. The speech was delivered in King Solomon Baptist Church, Detroit, Michigan in April 12, 1964. This speech aimed to deliver message to African American to fight for equal civil rights to vote. In this speech, Malcolm started his speech very uniquely by stating the purpose of delivering his speech. By saying “as you can see”, Malcolm tried to convince the audience his genuine intention to invite the audiences to get united and not being separated by different religions. Therefore, Malcolm used strong pathos appeal by using this concrete word to create a mental image within audiences’ mind leading them to genuinely believe that Malcolm and they were not going to discuss diversity but unity to fight for the same equal rights to vote.

**Data 3/3**

“When you let yourself be influenced by images created by others, you’ll find that oftentimes the one who creates those images can use them to mislead you and misuse you. A good example: A couple of weeks ago I was on a plane with a couple of Americans, a male and a female sitting to my right. We were in the same row and had a nice conversation for about thirty-five to forty minutes. Finally the lady looked at my briefcase and said, “I would like to ask you a personal question,” and I knew what was coming. She said, “What kind of last name could you have that begins with X?” I said, “Malcolm.” Ten minutes went by, and she turned to me
and said, “You’re not Malcolm X?” You see, we had a nice conversation going, just three human beings, but she was soon looking at the image created by the press. She said so: “I just wouldn’t believe that you were that man,” she said."

The third excerpt is taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the last phase of his life. The speech was delivered in December, 15th 1964. In this speech, Malcolm mostly talked about the power of press and dollarism. In this excerpt, when saying “you see” as a statement, Malcolm tried to lead the audiences to believe that the influence of press toward African American is quite harmful as their image is made up improperly, so that, it creates misconception within people’s mind before they know who and how the real African American is. Therefore, Malcolm used a strong appeal of pathos by using concrete word of sight to create a mental impression within the audiences’ mind leading them to explore to his experiences and visualize the fact that African American’s image is misled.

2) Simile

The second device applied by Malcolm as a means of persuasive language technique is Simile. It is normally marked with “like” or “as”. When using this device, a speaker is trying to compare two things that are different yet have something in common (Lucas, 2009).

In his speeches, Malcolm used simile as one of techniques to appeal his audiences’ attention. The following examples present utterances containing simile only in Malcolm’s speech of his first and last phase.
“Before we can intelligently decide to accept or reject Mr. Muhammad’s solution, let us take a closer look at America itself: America is the richest and most powerful nation on this earth. Her President is almost like a “god,” for he has in his hands almost every other country on this earth. Therefore, every four years, when a new President, or “god,” is about to be selected, the eyes of even the foreign nations are turned toward the American elections...for they too are wondering who, what type of man, will be the next ‘god’”.

This excerpt is taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the first phase of his life. The speech was delivered in October 20th 1962 at Yale Law School. The background of this speech is still talking about racial issue and proposing Elijah Muhammad as the solution for the issue. In this excerpt, to appeal the audiences’ attention, Malcolm starts his speech by leading the audiences to consider for accepting the teaching of Elijah and then inviting the audiences to imagine the abstract picture how great America is, in term of power and influence. In this case, Malcolm applied emotional appeal of pathos by making an explicit comparison between ‘President’ and ‘God’ which are essentially different, but, have something in common in terms of superiority and power.

“You have been as cold as an icicle whenever it came to the rights of the black man in this country. Excuse me for raising my voice, but I think it’s time. As long as my voice is the only thing I raise, I don’t think you should become upset!”

This excerpt is also taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the last phase of his life. Malcolm intended to say that African American feel hopeless anytime they have to talk about the rights since they have unequal right due to their level of citizenship. In this case, Malcolm applied strong appeal to pathos by making
an explicit comparison between ‘you’ and ‘icicle’ which are two different substantial things, but are, similarly cold. This persuasive language technique helped Malcolm to vitalize his idea so that it makes the speech sound more appealing.

3) Metaphor

The third device Malcolm used as a technique to appeal his audiences throughout his speeches is Metaphor. When using this device, a speaker is trying to compare two things that are different but have something in common. However, it is unmarked with ‘like’ or ‘as’ (Lucas, 2009).

In his speeches, Malcolm used metaphor as one of techniques to attract his audiences irresistibly. The following examples show utterances containing metaphor only in Malcolm’s speech of his first and second phase.

Data 1/29

“If Mr. Muhammad says “some land of our own” is God’s solution to this grave race problem, why land? Why is land so important to everyone today?”.

This excerpt is also taken from the speech Malcolm gave in the first phase of his life delivered in October 20th 1962 at Yale Law School. As well as talking about racial issue, Malcolm also talked about the importance of having land for African-Americans as the solution of dire race problem they were facing. Because, having their own land means having nationalism, which also means having the basis of freedom and equality. Instead of saying “it is necessary for us to have our own land, Malcolm made an implicit idea of two
things by saying ‘A’ is ‘B’ (‘land’ is ‘God’s solution’). As a result, the speech sounds more persuasive to the audiences.

**Data 2/29**

“How you gonna to tell me you're a second-class citizen? They don't have second-class citizenship in any other government on this Earth. They just have slaves and people who are free! Well, this country is a hypocrite! They try and make you think they set you free by calling you a second-class citizen. No, you're nothing but a 20th century slave”.

This excerpt is taken from Malcolm’s speech, ‘The Ballot or Bullet’. In this example, Malcolm used metaphor device to convince the audiences that they must not accept the term ‘second-class citizen’ from the government because it means that they unequal legal right, civil right ad human right. Therefore, Malcolm’s speech in his second phase encourages the African Americana to have the same rights as Americans especially in voting the next president. In this example, Malcolm created an emotional appeal of pathos I his speech by turning an abstract idea to be a concrete one.

4) Parallelism

Another device used by Malcolm as a persuasive language technique is parallelism. When a speaker applies this device, she or he is trying to enhance the impact of their words with a pattern of sound in a speech created by the choice and arrangement of words (Lucas, 2009).

In his speeches, Malcolm used parallelism to create persuasive effect of the parallel structure of his words. The following examples show utterances containing parallelism in Malcolm’s speech of his first, second and last phase.
“Studying world conditions in the light of facts, facing reality as grown men and women, seeing things not as we would like them to be, but as they really are...only then can we determine the rightness, the validity, the divine origin of Mr. Muhammad and the solution which he offers as the only hope for America’s 20 million so-called Negroes, and also as the only hope for this troubled Western World”.

This excerpt is also taken from the speech given in Yale Law School. In this excerpt of the speech, Malcolm used the very consistent syntactic parallelism of phrases including “Studying world conditions in the light of facts, facing reality as grown men and women, seeing things not as we would like them to be.., in order to create an ear catching speech. Although ‘seeing’ is a concrete word device, it can emerge as parallelism device if it has the same parallel level form of word, phrase or clause with other parallel words. In addition to phrases, he also used the parallel structure of the level of words (in the form of noun) namely ‘rightness’, ‘the validity’, ‘the divine origin’…. to give the same effect.

“What kinds of alibi do come up with? They try and pass the buck to the Dixiecrats. Now, back during the days when you were blind, deaf and dumb. You were ignorant and politically immature, naturally you went along with that. But today, as your eyes come open, and you develop political maturity, you're able to see and think for yourself, and you can see that a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat – in disguise”.

This excerpt is taken from the Ballot or the Bullet speech. In this excerpt, Malcolm tried to appeal the audiences by using the same level parallel structure of word such as ‘blind’, ‘deaf’ and ‘dumb’, Malcolm created a harmonious statement in his speech throughout the use of parallel adjective. As a result, the
speech sounds more appealing due to the effect of rhythm produces by the same word form of adjectives.

Data 3/3

“In Islam we practice prayer, charity, fasting. The Muslim religion also requires one to make the pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca. I was fortunate enough to make it in April, and I went back again in September”.

This excerpt is taken from Malcolm’s speech of his last phase in which he was in Europe tour and giving speech in Harvard Law School after returning from Mecca. This excerpt of the speech shows that Malcolm shared his idea about muslim’s obligation and his feeling that he could fulfill the greatest worship namely ‘hajj’. In this excerpt, Malcolm used the same arrangement level of word namely ‘noun’ in conveying his idea. “Prayer, charity, fasting” are nouns uttered by Malcolm to state the important points of Islamic teaching obligated to do before doing hajj. The use of parallelism helped Malcolm created a rhythmic effect in his speech.

5) Repetition

The next powerful device used by Malcolm as a persuasive language technique is repetition. When a speaker applies this device, she or he is trying to enhance the impact of their words repeating the same word or set of words at the beginning or end of clauses or sentences (Lucas, 2009). In his speeches, Malcolm used repetition to create persuasive effect of repeated words. The following examples show utterances containing repetition in the three speeches of Malcolm.
Data 1/54

“Why don’t the educated Negroes know something about their own history, their own culture, the last names of their forefathers, their own nationality, their own country, their own flag, their own religion, and their own God?”.

The example above is taken from speech given by Malcolm in his first phase. This excerpt of speech indicated that Malcolm used a number of repetition words in order to create an ear catching speech. In this except, Malcolm repeated the words “their own” six times to emphasize the sense of belonging of African American toward their identity and dignity by stating the word “their own” more than once. By stating this word repeatedly, Malcolm showed the African American, as the audiences, the completely important of self-reliance and knowing every single detail part of themselves including the history, the root of culture, nationality, country, religion and God.

Data 2/15

“So we're trapped, trapped, double-trapped, triple-trapped. Any way we go, we find that we're trapped. Any every kind of solution that someone comes up with is just another trap. But the political and economic philosophy of Black nationalism…the economic philosophy of black nationalism shows our people the importance of setting up these little stores, and developing them and expanding them into larger operations”.

This is an excerpt of Malcolm’s speech in the second phase of his life. In this excerpt of the speech, Malcolm tried to build a strong and cadenced statement. Malcolm stated the word “trapped” 5 times in a beautifully arranged sequence beginning from merely being ‘trapped’, then, ‘double-trapped’ to triple-trapped’. In this excerpt, by using repetition of word ‘trapped’ Malcolm
intended to declare to the African Americans, as the audiences, that they are ‘seriously trapped’ repeatedly in a conception of image that they are merely minority hated by native Americans. As the consequence, they will always be trapped in this kind of misconception if they do not start to love and believe in themselves. Therefore, Malcolm proposed ‘Black Nationalism’ as the solution toward the problem aiming to educate African American to learn their own identity and culture, to control both their own politics and economy of community.

**Data 3/8**

*“Brotherhood* is a two-way street. I don’t think *brotherhood* should be practiced with a man just because his skin is white. *Brotherhood* should hinge upon the deeds and attitudes of a man.”*

This excerpt is quoted from Malcolm’s speech derived from the phase of his life. In this excerpt of the speech, Malcolm emphasized his idea by repeating the words ‘brotherhood’ three times. It indicates that Malcolm tremendously wanted to stress how the brotherhood should work like. This excerpt of the speech points out the different point of view of Malcolm in seeing that the colour of someone’s skin does not determine the real personality of him or her. On the other hand, someone’s real colour is determined by the good deeds and attitude. Therefore, Malcolm perceives that no matter what the colour of someone’s skin is, brotherhood can be practiced with the so-called person if she or he is respectful.
6) Alliteration

As well as the mentioned device above, alliteration is also one of the devices used by Malcolm as a persuasive language technique. When a speaker applies this device, she or he is trying to enhance the impact of their words repeating the initial consonant sound of adjoining words in his speech (Lucas, 2009).

In his speeches, Malcolm used alliteration to create more persuasive effect. The following examples show utterances containing parallelism in the three speeches of Malcolm.

**Data 1/86**

“Or, will America blindly reject God’s Messenger, and in so doing bring on her own Divine Destruction?. I trust you **will weigh well** these **words**”.

In this chunk of the speech excerpted from Malcolm’s speech at Yale School of Economic, Malcolm applied alliteration as a persuasive device in catching audiences’ attention. By repeating the initial consonant of ‘w’ in the utterance “I trust you will weigh well these words”, Malcolm tried to enhance the rhythmic effect leading audiences to easily remember the ideas he conveyed. As the result, it encouraged the audiences to keep listening and likely wait for another catchy rhythmic device in his speech.

**Data 2/2**

“This afternoon we want to talk about the **ballot or the bullet**. The **ballot or the bullet** explains itself. But before we get into it, since this is the year of the **ballot or the bullet**, I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally, concerning my own personal position”.

In this excerpt of Malcolm’s speech quoted from the “Ballot or Bullet”, Malcolm also used alliteration device. He stated the repetition of initial consonant of ‘b’ in saying “the ballot or the bullet”. Malcolm applied alliteration to spruce up his speech so that it can appeal the attention of the audiences. As the result, the use of this technique in Malcolm’s speech is highly successful that it took the ‘the ballot and the bullet’ to be one of a legendary speeches 1964.

**Data 3/24**

“The American press made the murderers look like saints and the victims like criminals. They made criminals look like victims and indeed the devil look like an angel and angels like the devil”.

In this excerpt of the speech, Malcolm actually wanted to state that the power of press used by white American is severely tremendous as it can make a positive thing look like the negative one. In this example, Malcolm repeated the initial consonant sound of ‘d’, ‘l’ and ‘a’. When saying “the devil look like an angel and angels like the devil”, Malcolm created an appeal of pathos toward the emotion of the audiences by highlight the sound of these words to create a catchy and beautiful sound of utterances he. As a result, it could draw much attention and stimulate audiences to continuously listen to the speech he was delivering.

7) Antithesis

The last powerful device used by Malcolm as a persuasive language technique is antithesis. When a speaker applies this device, she or he is trying to enhance the impact of their words by juxtaposing two contrasted ideas in the same parallel structure (Lucas, 2009).
In his speeches, Malcolm used antithesis to create another type of persuasive effect. The following examples show utterances containing repetition in the three speeches of Malcolm.

Data 1/2

“In this crucial hour in which we live today, it is essential that our minds constantly be kept open to reality. We have both races here in this Yale Law School Auditorium tonight. Let us not be emotional. Let us be governed and guided only by facts”.

The excerpt above indicates the example of antithesis used by Malcolm in his speech of the first phase of his oratory career. In this example, by saying “let us not be emotional. Let us be governed and guided only by facts”, Malcolm used the appeal to logos by stating two contrasting ideas which are structurally parallel. This technique used by Malcolm to create a neatly and catchy sentence turning from negative into positive one. As the result, it gives more varieties of ear-catching utterances which potentially appeal the audiences’ attention.

Data 2/3

“All of these are Christian ministers [applause]…all of these are Christian ministers but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters in some other category”.

The excerpt above showed that Malcolm still preferred to use antithesis in his speech during the second phase of his oratory career. The example indicates that by saying two contrasting ideas such as “but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters in some other category”, Malcolm wanted to emphasize an idea by stating its negation first. As a result,
instead of saying directly the main point of his idea, Malcolm made the speech sound more appealing by saying the contrast idea of it first.

Data 3/13

“I believe in the brotherhood of all men, but I don’t believe in wasting brotherhood on anyone who doesn’t want to, practice it with me”.

The excerpt of Malcolm’s speech of the last phase above indicated that Malcolm used antithesis techniques in his speech. In this example, he turned the positive sentence of statement (“I believe in ……”) into the negative one (“I don’t believe in ….”), because, he wanted to declare and emphasize to the audiences that brotherhood should be practiced between both parties who are willing to. Therefore, Malcolm wanted to say that he is one of the parties that is willing to practice brother with any respectful people.

2. Ways of Malcolm applied the persuasive language techniques in his speech to persuade audience

The second finding of this research showed that, to persuade the audiences, Malcolm tended to apply the persuasive language techniques throughout three major methods of persuasion including giving the audiences evidences, reasoning and appealing to their emotion. These methods are commonly used as the strategy to give more emotional and strong feeling to the audiences in speech (Lucas, 2009). In his speeches, Malcolm applied the persuasive devices not only in purpose to create imagery or rhythm effect to
appeal audiences’ attention but also to influence them to take certain action by presenting facts, giving reasons and.

1) Giving evidences

First, to convince his audiences about the ideas he conveyed, Malcolm used persuasive language techniques as the means to present the facts that are credible, clear and specific. The use of this kind method of persuasion is to support a speaker’s ideas to prove or disapprove something (Lucas, 2009). The following examples show utterances containing evidences in the three Malcolm’s speeches.

Data 1/7

"The New York Tribune, in an editorial (Feb. 5, 1960), pointed out that out of 11 million qualified Negro voters, only 2,700,000 actually took time to vote. This means that, roughly speaking, only 3 million of the 11 million Negroes who are qualified to vote take an active part...and the remaining 8 million remain voluntarily inactive, and yet it is this small minority of Negro voters who help determine who will be the next President”.

In this excerpt, it can be seen that “who help determine who” is an example of alliteration. In the example above, Malcolm applied alliteration, a persuasive language technique, throughout giving evidences. In persuading his audiences to believe in his idea, Malcolm gave two types evidences.

Firstly, Malcolm gave the audiences credible evidence by stating the source “The New York Tribune, in an editorial”. By mentioning the credible source, Malcolm intended to create strong appeal to logos within audiences’ mind with the strong basis of conveying his ideas by giving clear evidence in stating the clear date, month and year (Feb. 5, 1960).
Secondly, Malcolm presented specific evidences by stating specifically the total number of African Americans who were qualified to vote, but, there are only roughly one third of those who were willing to vote. In fact, the remaining number of those African Americans has such a huge impact in determining the next elected president. By giving statistical, Malcolm used a robust appeal to logos to prove his ideas to his audiences so that they would easily accept his ideas and likely wanted to involve in voting the president candidate.

Data 2/48

“You look at the structure of the government that controls this country, is controlled by 16 senatorial committees and 20 congressional committees. Of the 16 senatorial committees that run the government, 10 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. Of the 20 congressional committees that run the government, 12 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. And they’re going to tell you and me that the South lost the war?”.

In this excerpt, it can be seen that “look” is an example of concrete word. In the given excerpt, Malcolm applied concrete word of sight as a persuasive language technique throughout giving specific evidences. By stating the detail number of senatorial and congressional committee controlling America, and, more than half of them are segregationists, Malcolm created a strong appeal to logos to make his speech sound more convincing.

Data 3/3

“When you let yourself be influenced by images created by others, you’ll find that oftentimes the one who creates those images can use them to mislead you and misuse you. A good example: A couple of weeks ago I was on a plane with a couple of Americans, a male and a female sitting to my right. We were in the same row and had a nice conversation for about thirty-five to forty minutes. Finally the lady looked at my briefcase and said, “I would like to ask you a personal question,” and I knew what was coming. She said, “What kind of last
name could you have that begins with X?” I said, “Malcolm.” Ten minutes went by, and she turned to me and said, “You’re not Malcolm X?” You see, we had a nice conversation going, just three human beings, but she was soon looking at the image created by the press. She said so: “I just wouldn’t believe that you were that man.”

In this excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied parallelism, alliteration, concrete word and repetition in his speech. Firstly, by saying “mislead you and misuse you”, Malcolm made the speech sound catchy and emotional at the same time as an appeal to pathos. In addition to pathos, Malcolm applied parallelism, alliteration throughout giving a specific evidence taken from his own experience. As exemplified above, when saying “A good example: A couple of weeks ago,….”, Malcolm wanted to show the audience the serious impact of image created by press is extremely harmful for African American. Secondly, Malcolm applied concrete word of sight and repetition of the words “she said” to strengthen his idea in pointing out the testimony of the woman he was engaged a conversation with was surprised because the genuine reality of African American is not in line with what has been drawn by press.

2) Reasoning

Second, Malcolm applied persuasive language techniques throughout giving the audiences the reasons that are from specific instances to general conclusion, causal and analogical. When using this method, a speaker aims to draw a conclusion based on the evidences she or he has presented (Lucas, 2009). The following examples show utterances containing typical reasons in the three Malcolm’s speeches.
“Why are the Africans in the Congo rising against the white Belgian oppressors? Why are the Africans in Kenya rising against their white British oppressors? Why are the Africans in Angola rising against their white Portuguese oppressors? Why are the Africans in Algeria rising against their white French oppressors? In short: Why is the black man today all over Africa rising up”.

In the given excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied repetition in his speech by stating “we are the Africans” four times. In line with this, Malcolm applied repetition as a persuasive language technique throughout reasoning beginning from specific instances to the more general one. When saying “Why are the Africans in the Congo rising against the white Belgian oppressors? Why are the Africans in Kenya rising against their white British oppressors? Why are the Africans in Angola rising against their white Portuguese oppressors? Why are the Africans in Algeria rising against their white French oppressors?”, Malcolm tried to create the appeal to logos by showing the facts that the Africans in many different counties were rising up against their oppressors. Then, Malcolm came into the general conclusion as the main point of his idea by saying “Why is the black man today all over Africa rising up”.

Anytime you have to rely upon your enemy for a job, you're in bad shape. [applause] When you — and he is your enemy. You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't kidnapped you and brought you here. [applause] On the other hand, some of you think you came here on the Mayflower”.

In the given excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied repetition in his speech by stating “enemy” three times. In line with this, Malcolm applied repetition as a persuasive language technique throughout an analogical reasoning. By saying “You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't
kidnapped you and brought you here” Malcolm applied the logos appeal with logical progression of idea. He actually wanted to convey the fact that unless the African American work for Americans, they may not permitted to reside in America.

Data 3/5

“Now I have taken time to discuss images because one of the sciences used and misused today is this science of image making”.

In the given excerpt, it can be seen that, in his speech, Malcolm applied repetition by saying the words “image”. In line with this, Malcolm applied repetition as a persuasive language technique throughout a causal reasoning as an appeal to logos to create logical idea. Malcolm built the cause by saying “because one of the sciences used and misused today is this science of image making”. Then, he linked it with the consequence by stating “Now I have taken time to discuss images”. Malcolm wanted to state the urgency of discussing ‘image’ because it is frequently abused by a number of parties to disfigure African American throughout their skill.

3) Appealing to emotion

Last but not least, to persuade the audiences, Malcolm applied persuasive language techniques by appealing their feeling of fear, anger, guilt and reverence. This method aims to appeal feeling of imagination that make the audiences tremendously emotional (Lucas, 2009). The following examples show utterances containing kinds of emotion in the three speeches of Malcolm.
Since this clergy-politician “leadership,” which was carefully hand-picked for us by the white man, has failed to solve the problem for the downtrodden black masses, God Himself has stepped into the picture, and has made Messenger Elijah Muhammad a wise, fearless, and uncompromising spokesman for the 20 million black people here in America, who, behind the Divine Leadership of this man of God, will now never be satisfied until we have a home in a land that we can proudly call our own”.

In this excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied repetition which also results in parallelism by saying “God Himself has stepped into the picture, and has made Messenger Elijah Muhammad a wise, fearless, and uncompromising spokesman”. Malcolm repeated the word ‘has’ more than once and in the same parallel of structure. In the given excerpt, Malcolm applied repetition and parallelism as persuasive language techniques throughout appealing audiences’ emotion. As exemplified above, Malcolm used a great appeal to pathos stimulating them to revere Mr. Elijah throughout giving complement that he is a wise, fearless and uncompromising spokesman for the 20 million black people.

“He keeps us divided in order to conquer us. He tells you, I'm for separation and you for integration, and keep us fighting with each other. No, I'm not for separation and you're not for integration, what you and I are for is freedom”.

In this excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied repetition which also results in parallelism by repeating the word “he” and then followed by the same form of verb and object. In the given excerpt, Malcolm applied repetition and parallelism as persuasive language techniques in order to appeal audiences’ emotion. As exemplified above, Malcolm used a strong appeal to pathos by
evoking the feeling of fear within the audiences if they can be provoked and which results in hostility and separation. Therefore, throughout stimulating the audiences to feel fear by means repetition and parallelism, Malcolm could influence the African Americans, as the audiences, to keep being strongly united to achieve one same goal namely freedom.

**Data 2/7**

The economic philosophy of Black Nationalism only means that we should own and operate and control the economy of our community. You would never have found—you can't open up a black store in a white community. White man won't even patronize you. And he's not wrong. He got sense enough to *look out* for himself. **It's you who don't have sense enough to look out for yourself.**

In this excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied repetition in his speech by stating “look out” twice. Malcolm applied repetition in order to evoke guilt feeling within audiences. In this case, Malcolm used a strong appeal to pathos to point out that African American’s mistake for not only being helpless. Therefore, Malcolm wanted to encourage them for daring to set up investment, develop it and then maintain it so that they can the economy of their community.

**Data 3/11**

“*The American press made the murderers look like saints and the victims like criminals. They made criminals look like victims and indeed the devil look like an angel and angels like the devil.*”

This excerpt of the speech is very emotionally-appealed. In this excerpt, it can be seen that Malcolm applied alliteration by repeating the same consonant sound of ‘d’, ‘l’ and ‘a’. Malcolm applied alliteration as persuasive language techniques in order create an appeal to pathos by evoking their feeling of anger
toward American press who badly manipulate the image of African Americans as if they are criminals. In fact, they are victims.

In conclusion, the findings indicates that, in appealing the attention of his audiences, Malcolm tended to use seven kinds of persuasive language techniques from imagery and rhythm including concrete word, simile, metaphor, parallelism, repetition, alliteration and antithesis. Furthermore, the findings also shows that Malcolm applied those persuasive language techniques throughout three major persuasion methods namely giving evidence, reasoning and appealing to emotion.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This fifth chapter provides significant information on two major sections. The first section presents the conclusion drawn from the preceding chapter. The second section offers some suggestions for the future researcher related to outgrowth of this research.

A. Conclusion

Persuasive language is considerably used by Malcolm in the highly unique ways in each of his speech derived from three different phases of his life. He is considered by many as a great rhetor who skillfully applied the robust appeals to pathos and logos in appealing audiences’ emotion. Based on the analysis referring to Lucas’ Theory, it was found that there are about seven types of persuasive language techniques used by Malcolm in his speech in persuading the audiences.

In the speech given by Malcolm in the first phase of his life, the analysis showed that Malcolm used the seven persuasive language techniques. Therefore, Malcolm’s speech in this period sounds completely sharp and powerful with the appeals to pathos and logos. This is probably influenced by the background of Malcolm’s speech in the first phase which was characterized to tough he tended to enthusiastically orate about racial issue and separatism between African American and American

In the second speech, ‘simile’ was not found. In the prior speech, Malcolm used simile to evoke the feeling of anger within the audiences when
orating about separatism. It is not detected in the speech of his second phase probably because the background of the speech that is different to the speech in Malcolm’s first phase. It probably occurs because within this period, Malcolm was in his process of transition to Sunni Islam and only orated about the fight for African American’s civil and human rights instead of separatism.

Like ‘simile’, metaphor was also not detected in the last speech. It is probably influenced by the content of the speech in which he started to introduce himself as a muslim who is willing to practice brotherhood with anybody no matter what colour their skin is. This is in line with the features of speech given in last phase of Malcolm’s life which sounds much neutral after he returned from Mecca.

In addition to persuasive language technique, it is also found that Malcolm tended to apply the persuasive language techniques throughout three major methods of persuasion including giving evidences, giving reasons and appealing to emotion. Therefore, it can be concluded that despite the different context and content of the speech, Malcolm tended to apply nearly all the same persuasive language techniques in his speeches to maintain the unique characteristics of his speeches from phase to phase of his life.

B. Suggestion

1. For PBI

Hopefully, the result of this research might be applicable in educational contexts as supporting material for both main and optional courses of English Department major. The English Language Education Department main courses
may include Public Speaking, Introduction to Linguistic, Linguistic and Discourse Analysis. Whereas, the optional course may include English for Islamic Studies, because, this research does not only explore about the rhetorical aspect but it also relates to Islamic values such as pillars of Islam, peace and brotherhood.

2. For Further Research

Due to some limitation of this research, some suggestions are offered for future researchers. Firstly, as this research only focused on rhetorical devices such as persuasive language techniques, it is highly recommended that the future researchers study other aspects of persuasive language such as pronoun, adverb or future language. Secondly, since the object of this research is relatively too old, it can be suggested to the further studies to study more current objects or issues. Furthermore, the next researcher can probably study persuasive language aspects not only in a political speech or address but also in Islamic religious oratory or preaches. Last but not least, as this research could only analyze the speeches of one subject, it is suggested for the future researcher to probably compare two or three subjects.
REFERENCES


SURAT KEPUTUSAN DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY
Nomor : B-13455/UN.08/FTK/KP.07.6/12/2018
TENTANG
PENYEMPURNAAN SURAT KEPUTUSAN DEKAN NOMOR 06.08/DT/TLS/05/2015 TENTANG
PENGANGKATAN PEMBIMBING SKRIPSI MAHASISWA FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-
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Untuk membimbing Skripsi :
Nama : Azizur Miftah
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Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul Skripsi : An Analysis of Persuasive Language in "Malcolm X" Speech

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Pada Tanggal: 4 Desember 2018

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3. Pembimbing yang bersangkutan untuk dimaklumi dan dilaksanakan;
4. Mahasiswa yang bersangkutan;
On behalf of my beloved leader and teacher, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and the many young Muslims who follow him, we wish to thank you for this opportunity to explain our position today in what we feel to be the only solution to the serious race problems confronting America and the entire troubled Western World.

In this crucial hour in which we live today, it is essential that our minds constantly be kept open to reality. We have both races here in this Yale Law School Auditorium tonight. Let us not be emotional. Let us be governed and guided only by facts.

I represent Mr. Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual head of the fastest-growing group of Black Muslims in the Western Hemisphere. We who follow him know that he has been divinely taught and sent to us by God Himself. We believe that the miserable plight of the 20 million black people in America is the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We believe that the serious race problem that our presence here poses for America is also the fulfillment of divine prophecy. We also believe the presence today in America of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, his teachings among the so-called Negroes, and his naked warning to America concerning her treatment of these so-called Negroes is all the fulfillment of divine prophecy.

Thus, when Mr. Muhammad declares that the only solution to America’s race problem is complete separation of the two races, he is fulfilling that which was predicted by all of the biblical prophets to take place in this day. But, because Mr. Muhammad takes this uncompromising stand, those who don’t understand biblical prophecy wrongly label him as a racist and as a hate teacher, or as being anti-white, or as teaching Black Supremacy. So tonight, while we are all here together, face to face, we can question and examine for ourselves the wisdom or the folly of what Mr. Muhammad is teaching.

Studying world conditions in the light of facts, facing reality as grown men and women...seeing things not as we would like them to be, but as they really are...only then can we determine the rightness, the validity, the divine origin of Mr. Muhammad and the solution which he offers...
as the only hope for America’s 20 million so-called Negroes, and also as the only hope for this troubled Western World.

If Mr. Muhammad’s solution is from God, is it in time to save 20 million so-called Negroes? Is it in time to save America? Is it in time to save the Western World? Let us look closely and see.

The Western World finds itself today constantly engulfed in crisis after crisis. The ingredients for disaster lurk constantly on all sides...both at home and abroad. The Western World’s leading diplomats are whispering in the halls of the UN that catastrophe can come any moment, any hour, any second.

Whether this grave crisis be studied at the international level, the national level, or the local level, we will discover the primary ingredient always encountered, in one form or another, is the race issue...the race question...the race problem. Whether it is the Congo, Algeria, South Africa, China, Cuba, or Panama.

Let us take the advice Paul gave in the Bible; let us toss our emotions aside and reason together. Let us look closely at this chaotic world picture before us, and in the light of the facts. Let us then determine if Mr. Muhammad’s divine solution fits the picture before us.

But many of you may be asking yourselves: "Why should we listen to this little so-called Negro...this little Georgia-born ex-slave? What can he do? What can he tell us?"

Well, my friends, the Western World’s most learned diplomats have failed to solve this grave race problem. Her learned politicians have failed. Her learned theologians have failed. Her learned legal experts have failed. Her sociologists have failed. Her civil leaders have failed. Her fraternal leaders have even failed.

Since the Western World’s most skillful scientists and scholars have failed to solve this race problem, it is time for us to sit down tonight and reason together, and I’m certain we will be forced to agree that it takes God Himself to solve this grave racial dilemma. When we face these facts, we see the necessity for divine intervention...we see the necessity for a divine solution.

If God is going to intervene, will He come Himself, or will He send someone with His solution? Will we be able to accept this divine solution when it comes? How will we know if the Messenger who brings
us the solution is really a man from God? What yardstick will we use to measure him.

Will this man of God be someone from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Howard, or Tuskegee? Will this man of God be a black man or a white man? Will he be a theologian or preacher from one of the prevailing religions of the Western World? Will he be a politician from one of the major political parties? What type of man do you think God would choose to deliver His solution to this troubled Western World? How are we to determine whether or not Mr. Muhammad is a man from God and, how are we to determine if it is time for God Himself to intervene?

Let us not be emotional; let us reason together. Look around us at the condition of the world. Never before has man had in his hands the power to destroy human life on such a vast scale. Never before has there been such propaganda, mass lies, mass suspicion, mass confusion, mass dissatisfaction, mass unrest, mass hatreds...and the ingredients for such mass bloodshed. Never before has America made so many crucial blunders, one after another, and suffered such great loss of prestige in the eyes of the world, despite the advice of her expert advisors.

The U-2 spy plane incident caused the President of the strongest country on earth to be tricked, trapped and exposed before the whole world as a liar...despite the advice of expert advisors.

At the Paris Summit Conference, the same President was cursed, ridiculed, and humiliated again before the eyes of the entire world...despite the advice of his expert advisors.

In Korea, students, mere children, toppled the government of Syngman Rhee, the best friend America had in the Far East, despite the advice of her expert advisors. In Turkey, children toppled the government of Menderes, America’s best friend in the Middle East...despite the advice of expert advisors. In Tokyo, students, mere children again, defied the President to come to Japan, and blocked him from entering after he had traveled thousands of miles from home and had arrived at their back door...a most humiliating insult...despite the advice of his expert advisors.

And Cuba, a little midget island government in the Caribbean, is challenging Giant America, accusing her of economic aggression, confiscating all of her investments, and getting unexpected support from
Mexico and other strategically located Latin American countries—and all of this, despite the advice of her expert advisors.

My friends, if the expert politicians, the expert theologians, the expert diplomats and other scientists, professors and scholars have failed to devise a solution to these grave world problems, surely you will agree that it is now time for God to send us someone with a solution from Himself.

Is Mr. Muhammad from God? Is he on time? Does his divine solution fit the events of today?

Look at the racial volcano that has erupted in the Congo, with the ingredients present for an even greater racial explosion building up into what could easily touch off the dreaded Third World War...and once again the diplomats in the UN are whispering that Western Civilization is tottering on the brink of disaster.

Why are the Africans in the Congo rising against the white Belgian oppressors? Why are the Africans in Kenya rising against their white British oppressors? Why are the Africans in Angola rising against their white Portuguese oppressors? Why are the Africans in Algeria rising against their white French oppressors? In short: Why is the black man today all over Africa rising up against his white European overlords?

In the Congo, Central Africa, the black man is saying, “We must have our own land.” In Kenya, East Africa, the black man is saying, “We must have our own land.” In Angola, West Africa, the black man is saying, “We must have our own land.” In Algeria, North Africa, the black man is saying, “We must have our own land.” Even deep into South Africa, all over the entire African continent, the only solution in the minds of the awakening black man is: “We must have our own land.”

The cry of the black man in Africa for the return of his own land is so widespread, so unrelenting, so uncompromising...it stands to reason that only God Himself is inspiring him and driving him onward in this spirit of freedom. If God has made the black man in Africa realize he cannot rest until he has some land of his own...surely that same God will look westward toward America and see 20 million black people here, second-class citizens, who are also in dire need of some land that we can call our own.

If Mr. Muhammad says “some land of our own” is God’s solution to this grave race problem, why land? Why is land so important to everyone
The white man in Great Britain could once boast that his control extended over so much of the black man’s land that the sun never set on the British Empire. Today, when the sun rises, we can hardly find the British Empire.

How important is land? Well, look what happened to the British Empire when she lost the lands she had colonized in Asia: lands like **India**, **China**, **Burma**, **Malaya**, etc. Her inability to continue robbing Asia of the natural resources produced by the land almost **wrecked** the British economy, **decreased her military strength** and **her** political prestige so low she could no longer use “force” to hold her African colonies.

As her grip on the black man’s land loosened, Britain dwindled. **Loss of land meant loss of Empire...loss of wealth, power, and of prestige.**

As the black men in Africa and Asia regain control over their lands, the **French**, **Belgians**, **Dutch**, **Portuguese**, **Spanish**, and all other European Empires also begin to crumble and topple downward.

As we face these facts, we are forced to agree that the economy of white Europe, **the military power of white Europe**, and **the political prestige of white Europe** was based upon the lands in Africa and Asia which they had taken from the black man.

The combined powers of white Europe have not been able to stem this black tide in Africa that is sweeping aside the shackles of colonial slavery. The Africans have become militant and are marching toward freedom. Africa is the only continent where a new nation is being born every day...and these new nations are taking their seats in the family of other independent nations symbolized by the United Nations.

And, this fast-growing **black block** formed by these newly born African nations, united with our darker brothers in Asia, can already easily outvote the white colonial powers in the UN who had formerly enslaved them. These newly born independent black nations can also take a firm stand in behalf of other black people all over the world who are still **enslaved, persecuted, exploited, or deprived of their basic rights.**

As the rise of these newly independent black nations collapses **the economic, military, and political** strength of America’s allies in white Europe, what effect does this have upon white America?
Does white America face the same black web in which the colonial powers of white Europe find themselves entangled? And, if so, how will this affect America’s attitude toward the black people of Africa? How will this affect America’s attitude toward the 20 million black people who are yet suffering the bondage of so-called second-class citizenship right here in America...20 million so-called Negroes who have also been deprived of freedom, justice, and equality...20 million so-called Negroes who not only have been deprived of their civil rights, but who have even been deprived of their human rights...the right to hold their heads up, and to live in dignity like other human beings.

Let us not be emotional, but let us face these facts. Let us reason together. This has become a serious problem for America, and for the entire world.

Will the Divine Solution that God has given Mr. Elijah Muhammad help white America avert the racial dilemma in which the awakening dark nations of Africa and Asia have already placed America’s allies in white Europe?

Before we can intelligently decide to accept or reject Mr. Muhammad’s solution, let us take a closer look at America itself: America is the richest and most powerful nation on this earth. Her President is almost like a “god,” for he has in his hands almost every other country on this earth. Therefore, every four years, when a new President, or “god,” is about to be selected, the eyes of even the foreign nations are turned toward the American elections...for they too are wondering who, what type of man, will be the next “god.”

Yet, at the two great political conventions in which the two candidates are selected, despite America’s need to impress, and favourably influence the foreign nations, foreign policy is never the great controversial issue...the controversial issue is always over domestic policy...the civil rights issue...in which the so-called American Negro is the primary figure...the star on the world stage...for it is he who holds the balance of power in all elections... it is he who can easily determine “who” will be the next “god.”

Therefore, this great political drama not only stars the Negro, but all the political schemes are designed primarily to woo him, to please him, to tempt him, ensnare him, to get his allegiance and capitalize upon his political support.
The Negro’s position is most strategic, but his mental condition is too pathetic for him to take intelligent advantage of this vital position “fate” has placed him in. The American Negro is suffering from a mental sickness. His mind has been “tampered” with by his slave master.

**The Western World is sick. America is sick**...but the Negro in America is the sickest of them all. The sickening condition of the Negro in America is **infecting** Uncle Sam’s entire body and **endangering** the **security and future** of the whole Western World.

Muhammad says that only after the American Negro’s condition is “corrected” will **Uncle Sam's** health improve...for only then will **Uncle Sam** look “healthy” in the inquiring eyes of the fast-awakening dark world.

Since we see the vital necessity of correcting the miserable condition of the American Negro, and we must also agree that all other efforts to solve this problem have failed, will Mr. Muhammad’s “prescription” cure the ailments of these 20 million second-class citizens?

Many of you will say: “No! Muhammad is a Black Supremacist. He is an extremist. He stresses race too much. He is a racist.” My friends: If you were to see a man attired in white, with a sharp instrument in his hands, bending over someone who is prostrate on a table, your lack of understanding might compel you to shout, “murderer!” But when you know the place is a hospital, the sleeping man is a patient, the man attired in white is a surgeon, and the sharp instrument must be used to perform some surgery that is necessary to save the patient’s life, you can then accept the fact that although the operation is very painful, it must be performed.

Uncle Sam is sick, because he has a black “lump” growing in his white body that doesn’t belong there, and this black “growth” is **getting** larger every day, and **increasing** Uncle Sam’s internal pains. God Himself has ordained that this surgery must be performed, for if the 20 million rapidly increasing so-called Negroes are not separated from the white parts of the body, it will soon cause the death and destruction of Uncle Sam.

God has given Mr. Muhammad some sharp truth. It is **like a two-edged sword. It cuts into you. It causes you great pain**, but if you can take it, **it will cure** you and **save** you from what otherwise would be certain death.
In your mental anguish many of you will emotionally insist that Mr. Muhammad is not teaching the real religion of Islam. You will still insist that he is teaching a racial, economic, and political philosophy.

My friends, Islam is the religion taught by all of the prophets: Noah, Lot, Abraham, Moses, and even Jesus. Islam is the true name of the religion God gave to the prophets in the past to cure their people of whatever moral or spiritual ailments that were afflicting them in that day.

Since we have examined the ailments of the crumbling Western World, and the ills that are infecting America...let us look more closely at the miserable condition of the American Negro.

Here are 20 million people who have lost their original identity; they cannot even speak their own mother tongue. How can 20 million people lose their language? What happened to it? What was it? Why don’t they at least know what it was?

Why don’t the educated Negroes know something about their own history, their own culture, the last names of their forefathers, their own nationality, their own country, their own flag, their own religion, and their own God?

My friends, surely you will agree that no other people in history, biblical or otherwise, have been so completely stripped and robbed by their slave master of all knowledge concerning their own kind, and because of this, no other people in history, biblical or otherwise, have ever presented such a problem to their former slave masters or to the world...as the problem created by the presence of the 20 million so-called Negroes here in America today.

The New York Tribune, in an editorial (Feb. 5, 1960), pointed out that out of 11 million qualified Negro voters, only 2,700,000 actually took time to vote. This means that, roughly speaking, only 3 million of the 11 million Negroes who are qualified to vote take an active part...and the remaining 8 million remain voluntarily inactive, and yet it is this small minority of Negro voters who help determine who will be the next President.

If who will be the next President can be influenced by 3 million Negro voters, it is easy to see why the presidential candidates of both political parties put on such a false show with the civil rights bill, and with promises of integration. They must woo or impress the 3 million voting Negroes who are the actual “integration seekers.”
If so much fuss is made over these 3 million “integration seekers,” what would the presidential candidates have to do to appease the 8 million non-voting Negroes if they ever decided to become politically active in this election year?

Who are the 8 million non-voting Negroes, what do they want, and why don’t they vote? The 3 million voters are the so-called middle- (or high-) class Negroes, referred to by Howard University Sociology Professor E. Franklin Frazier, as the “Black Bourgeoisie,” who have been educated to think as patriotic individualists, with no racial pride...who believe in, and look forward to, the future “integrated, intermarried” society promised them by the Negro politicians...and therefore, this “integration-minded” 3 million remain an active part of the white-controlled political parties. But it must never be overlooked, that these 3 million integration seekers are only a small minority of the 11 million qualified voters. The 8 million non-voting Negroes are the majority, the downtrodden black masses. They have refused to vote, or to take part in politics, because they reject the Uncle Tom approach of the “clergy-politician” leadership that has been hand-picked for the American Negroes by the white man himself.

The clergy-politician leadership does not speak for the Negro majority; they don’t speak for the black masses. They speak for the “Black Bourgeoisie,” the “brainwashed”, white-minded, middle-class minority who, because they are ashamed of being black, and don’t want to be identified with black or as being black, are seeking to lose this “identity” by mingling, mixing, intermarrying, and integrating with the white man.

The race problem cannot be solved by listening to this white-minded, brainwashed minority. The white man must try to learn what does the majority want. The next President would be wise to try and learn what the black masses want. And, the only way to find this out is by listening to the man who speaks for the black masses of America.

I declare to you and to the entire world, that the man here in America who speaks for the majority, the downtrodden, dissatisfied black masses, is this same man whom so many thousands of our people are looking toward to see and hear, this same Mr. Muhammad who is labeled by you as a Black Supremacist, and as a Racist!

If the 3 million middle-class Negroes are casting their ballots for integration and intermarriage...what do the non-voting black masses who are in the minority want? Find out what the black masses want, and then perhaps America’s grave race problem can be solved.
The black masses are tired of following these hand-picked Negro “leaders” who sound like professional beggars, as they cry year after year for white America to accept us as first-class citizens. Since this clergy-politician “leadership,” which was carefully hand-picked for us by the white man, has failed to solve the problem for the downtrodden black masses, God Himself has stepped into the picture, and has made Messenger Elijah Muhammad a wise, fearless, and uncompromising spokesman for the 20 million black people here in America, who, behind the Divine Leadership of this man of God, will now never be satisfied until we have a home in a land that we can proudly call our own.

We have accepted your invitation to come here to Yale University Law School this evening to let you know first hand why 20 million so-called Negroes cannot integrate with white America, why white America, after 100 years of religious hypocrisy and political trickery will never accept us as first-class citizens here…and why we must therefore seek some separate territory of our own.

In your blind emotion, again many of you will cry out that this is wrong, that this is not religion, that this is not Islam, that this is just another economic-political philosophy. I must remind you to keep an open mind. Let your own Christian Bible be the judge.

You credit Moses with being a religious man, a man of God, doing God’s work. Yet, what did Moses actually do? What did Moses teach? Moses freed his people from their slave master. Moses told the oppressor of his people: “Let my people go.” Moses separated his people from their masters, and then led them into a separate territory of their own.

You admit Moses was a man of God, yet you will have to agree Moses did not teach integration. Moses taught separation. Moses didn’t take time to dwell on religious practices. He just let his people know that he represented the God of their forefathers, whose desire it was for them to be separated from their slave master and placed in a land that they could call their own. Mr. Muhammad’s message and mission today is the same as that of the biblical Moses. Mr. Muhammad is a modern Moses in this modern-day house of bondage.

Many of you will cry out that you don’t go by what Moses said or did, but rather by what Jesus said. You claim that Jesus taught love and that Mr. Muhammad teaches hate.

But, my friends, have you really read the Bible? Are you familiar with
Luke 14:26 where Jesus taught: “If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yes, and even his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.”

In other words, Jesus taught that you must hate everyone in your family, even your own self...and Muhammad teaches us to love our brothers and sisters... yet you say Muhammad teaches hate and that Jesus taught love.

Many of you will say that Jesus was no respecter of persons, that he came to all the world. You say Muhammad bars white people, therefore he can’t be from God.

My friends, Jesus told his followers to go not the way of the Gentiles, go only to the “lost sheep.” He definitely advised his followers to discriminate and make a distinction between the Gentiles and the “lost sheep.”

But you still cry out that Jesus is coming back at the end of the world to make us all the same, make us one people...integrate us.

No, my friends, Jesus himself did not even advocate integration. He referred to the end of this world as that great “harvest time.” He likened the people of today as “wheat and tares,” who would be allowed to “grow together,” or integrated, until God comes at the end of this world and separates the people Himself...then He would cause one to be burned in a Lake of Fire, and those whom He chooses for Himself, He would save.

Jesus also spoke of the people of today as being like “sheep and goats,” whom God would separate at the end of the world...some for salvation and some for destruction. Jesus did not advocate integration; he advocated separation!

Noah’s solution was not integration; in his day it was also a message of separation. Lot’s solution was separation. And, remember, my friends, Jesus warned that “as it was in the days of Noah and Lot, so shall it be these last days”...not integration, but complete separation of the two races...or destruction!

Surely you can now see that Mr. Muhammad’s message, or solution, is the same as that of Noah, Lot, Moses, and Jesus. How can you still doubt if Mr. Muhammad is from God? What you really should be concerned about is has Mr. Muhammad come in time to save you; and what must you do now to save yourselves.
When Mr. Muhammad says that we must have some of these states, before you flinch and hold up your hands in “mock shock,” let us look and see if 20 million so-called Negroes deserve such a solution.

If I were to collect the combined wages of everyone in this Yale University Law School auditorium tonight for just one week, I would have plenty of money. If I could work all of you for nothing for just one year I would be extremely rich. Well, what about the millions of black people who worked here in America as your slaves for over 300 years without one payday? What happened to their wages? Who collected the profits, or amassed the fortunes received from their free labor? Facing these unpleasant facts, surely you can easily see now how America became so rich so fast.

How will 20 million so-called Negroes today receive a “just compensation”? We have hundreds of years’ “back pay” that is long overdue, and must be paid sooner or later...or is there to be no such things as justice for your faithful ex-slaves?

The American government has appropriated billions of dollars to pay the Indians for lands taken from their fore-parents by your fore-parents.

Again I say, my friends, let us reason together: surely you will agree that God is more just than your government...yet your government has felt morally and legally obligated to pay billions of dollars to the Indians for the crime committed against them.

What about the 20 million so-called Negroes! If the Indians must be paid for land taken from them, what about the free labor and lives of our fore-parents that were taken from us for over 300 years?

If the white politicians have agreed that the Indians should be paid for their lands...what price or payment will the God of justice demand for 20 million black people who were robbed of our labor, lives, identity, culture, history...and even our human dignity? What will God’s price be? What will God’s solution be? Can America pay God’s price? And, if not, what will be the alternative?

The handwriting is on the wall for America. As America faces crisis after crisis, as America sees dangerous troubles mounting on all sides, and as America stares with stubborn blindness, refusing to read the handwriting
on the wall, since her “experts” have shown they are unable to read its meaning, will America now accept an ambassador from God, a Divine Messenger, a Warner, to read the handwriting for her and tell her what solution she must accept?

Or, will America blindly reject God’s Messenger, and in so doing bring on her own Divine Destruction?

I trust you will weigh well these words.
Appendix 2

Phase 2 speech (transition to real Islam)
"The Ballot or the Bullet"
King Solomon Baptist Church, Detroit, Michigan - April 12, 1964

Mr. Moderator, Rev. Cleage, brothers and sisters and friends, and I see some enemies. [laughter, applause] In fact, I think we'd be fooling ourselves if we had an audience this large and didn't realize that there were some enemies present.

This afternoon we want to talk about the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet explains itself. But before we get into it, since this is the year of the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally, concerning my own personal position.

I'm still a Muslim. That is, my religion is still Islam. [applause] My religion is still Islam. I still credit Mr. Muhammad for what I know and what I am. He's the one who opened my eyes. [applause] At present I am the minister of the newly founded Muslim Mosque Incorporated, which has its offices in the Theresa Hotel right in the heart of Harlem, that's the black belt in New York City. And when we realize that Adam Clayton Powell, is a Christian minister, he has Abyssinian Baptist Church, but at the same time he's more famous for his political struggling. And Dr. King is a Christian minister from Atlanta Georgia, or in Atlanta Georgia, but he's become more famous for being involved in the civil rights struggle. There's another in New York, Rev. Galamison, I don't know if you've heard of him out here, he's a Christian minister from Brooklyn, but has become famous for his fight against the segregated school system in Brooklyn. Rev. Cleage, right here, is a Christian minister, here in Detroit, he's head of the Freedom Now Party. All of these are Christian ministers [applause]...all of these are Christian ministers but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters in some other category.

I am a Muslim minister. The same as they are Christian ministers, I'm a Muslim minister. And I don't believe in fighting today on any one front, but on all fronts. [applause] In fact, I'm a Black Nationalist freedom fighter. [applause] Islam is my religion but I believe my religion is my personal business. [applause] It governs my personal life, my personal morals. And my religious philosophy is personal between me and the God in whom I believe, just as the religious philosophy of these others is between them and the God in whom they believe. And this is best this
way. Were we to come out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the out start and we could never get together.

So today, though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic and social philosophy is black nationalism. You and I – [applause] As I say, if we bring up religion, we'll have differences, we'll have arguments, and we'll never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God, but when we come out here we have a fight that's common to all of us against an enemy who is common to all of us. [applause]

The political philosophy of black nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community. The time when white people can come in our community and get us to vote for them so that they can be our political leaders and tell us what to do and what not to do is long gone. [applause]. By the same token, the time when that same white man, knowing that your eyes are too far open, can send another Negro in the community, and get you and me to support him, so that he can use him to lead us astray, those days are long gone too. [applause].

The political philosophy of black nationalism only means that if you and I are going to live in a black community – and that's where we're going to live, 'cause as soon as you move into one of their….soon as you move out of the black community into their community, it's mixed for a period of time, but they're gone and you're right there all by yourself again. [applause]

We must, we must understand the politics of our community and we must know what politics is supposed to produce. We must know what part politics play in our lives. And until we become politically mature, we will always be misled, led astray, or deceived or maneuvered into supporting someone politically who doesn't have the good of our community at heart. So the political philosophy of black nationalism only means that we will have to carry on a program, a political program, of reeducation – to open our people's eyes, make us become more politically conscious, politically mature. And then, we will – whenever we are ready to cast our ballot, that ballot will be cast for a man of the community, who has the good of the community at heart. [applause]
The economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that we should own and operate and control the economy of our community. You would never have found—you can't open up a black store in a white community. White man won't even patronize you. And he's not wrong. He got sense enough to look out for himself. It's you who don't have sense enough to look out for yourself. [applause]

The white man, the white man is too intelligent to let someone else come and gain control of the economy of his community. But you will let anybody come in and control the economy of your community, control the housing, control the education, control the jobs, control the businesses, under the pretext that you want to integrate. Nah, you're out of your mind. [applause]

The political … the economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to become involved in a program of reeducation, to educate our people into the importance of knowing that when you spend your dollar out of the community in which you live, the community in which you spend your money becomes richer and richer, the community out of which you take your money becomes poorer and poorer. And because these Negroes, who have been misled, misguided, are breaking their necks to take their money and spend it with the Man, the Man is becoming richer and richer, and you're becoming poorer and poorer. And then what happens? The community in which you live becomes a slum. It becomes a ghetto. The conditions become rundown. And then you have the audacity to complain about poor housing in a rundown community, while you're running down yourselves when you take your dollar out. [applause]

And you and I are in a double trap because not only do we lose by taking our money someplace else and spending it, when we try and spend it in our own community we're trapped because we haven't had sense enough to set up stores and control the businesses of our community. The man who is controlling the stores in our community is a man who doesn't look like we do. He's a man who doesn't even live in the community. So you and I, even when we try and spend our money on the block where we live or the area where we live, we're spending it with a man who, when the sun goes down, takes that basket full of money in another part of the town. [applause]

So we're trapped, trapped, double-trapped, triple-trapped. Any way we go, we find that we're trapped. Any every kind of solution that someone comes up with is just another trap. But the political and economic philosophy of black nationalism…the economic philosophy of black nationalism shows our people the importance of setting up these little stores, and developing them and expanding them into larger
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operations. Woolworth didn't start out big like they are today; they started out with a dime store, and expanded, and expanded, and expanded until today they are all over the country and all over the world and they getting some of everybody's money.

Now this is what you and I – General Motors, the same way, it didn't start out like it is. It started out just a little rat-race type operation, and it expanded and it expanded until today it's where it is right now. And you and I have to make a start. And the best place to start is right in the community where we live. [applause]

So our people not only have to be reeducated to the importance of supporting black business, but the black man himself has to be made aware of the importance of going into business. And once you and I go into business, we own and operate at least the businesses in our community. What we will be doing is developing a situation, wherein, we will actually be able to create employment for the people in the community. And once you can create some employment in the community where you live, it will eliminate the necessity of you and me having to act ignorantly and disgracefully, boycotting and picketing some cracker someplace else trying to beg him for a job. [applause]

Anytime you have to rely upon your enemy for a job, you're in bad shape. [applause] When you — and he is your enemy. You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't kidnapped you and brought you here, [applause] On the other hand, some of you think you came here on the Mayflower. [laughter]

So as you can see, brothers and sisters, today – this afternoon it is not our intention to discuss religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion we'll be in an argument. And the best way to keep away from arguments and differences, as I said earlier, put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway. [laughter, applause]

Whether you are a Christian or a Muslim or a nationalist, we all have the same problem. They don't hang you because you're a Baptist; they hang you 'cause you're black. [applause] They don't attack me because I'm a Muslim. They attack me 'cause I'm black. They attacked all of us for the same reason. All of us catch hell from the same enemy. We're all in the same bag, in the same boat.

We suffer political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation. All of 'em from the same enemy. The government has failed us. You can't deny that. Any time you're living in the 20th century,
1964, and you walking around here singing "We Shall Overcome," the government has failed you. \[applause\] This is part of what's wrong with you, you do too much singing. \[laughter\] Today it's time to stop singing and start swinging. \[laughter, applause\]

You can't sing up on freedom. But you can swing up on some freedom. \[cheering\] Cassius Clay can sing. But singing didn't help him to become the heavyweight champion of the world. Swinging helped him. \[applause\]

So this government has failed us. The government itself has failed us. And the white liberals who have been posing as our friends have failed us. And once we see that all of these other sources to which we've turned have failed, we stop turning to them and turn to ourselves. We need a self-help program, a do-it-yourself philosophy, a do-it-right-now philosophy, a it's-already-too-late philosophy. This is what you and I need to get with. And the only time – the only way we're going to solve our problem is with a self-help program. Before we can get a self-help program started, we have to have a self-help philosophy. Black nationalism is a self-help philosophy.

What's so good about it – you can stay right in the church where you are and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can stay in any kind of civic organization that you belong to and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can be an atheist and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. This is a philosophy that eliminates the necessity for division and argument, 'cause if you're black, you should be thinking black. And if you're black and you not thinking black at this late date, well, I'm sorry for you. \[applause\]

Once you change your philosophy, you change your thought pattern. Once you change your thought pattern you change your attitude. Once you change your attitude it changes your behavior pattern. And then you go on into some action. As long as you got a sit-down philosophy you'll have a sit-down thought pattern. And as long as you think that old sit-down thought, you'll be in some kind of sit-down action. They'll have you sitting in everywhere. \[laughter\]

It's not so good to refer to what you're going to do as a sit-in. That right there castrates you. Right there it brings you down. What goes with it? What – think of the image of someone sitting. An old woman can sit. An old man can sit. A chump can sit, a coward can sit, anything can sit. Well, you and I been sitting long enough and it's time for us today to start doing some standing and some fighting to back that up. \[applause\]
When we look at other parts of this Earth upon which we live, we find that black, brown, red and yellow people in Africa and Asia are getting their independence. They're not getting it by singing, 'We Shall Overcome.' No, they're getting it through nationalism. It is nationalism that brought about the independence of the people in Asia. Every nation in Asia gained its independence through the philosophy of nationalism. Every nation on the African continent that has gotten its independence brought it about through the philosophy of nationalism. And it will take black nationalism to bring about the freedom of 22 million Afro-Americans, here in this country, where we have suffered colonialism for the past 400 years. [applause]

America is just as much a colonial power as England ever was. America is just as much a colonial power as France ever was. In fact, America is more so a colonial power than they, because she is a hypocritical colonial power behind it. [applause] What is 20th — what, what do you call second-class citizenship? Why, that's colonization. Second-class citizenship is nothing but 20th slavery. How you gonna to tell me you're a second-class citizen? They don't have second-class citizenship in any other government on this Earth. They just have slaves and people who are free! Well, this country is a hypocrite! They try and make you think they set you free by calling you a second-class citizen. No, you're nothing but a 20th century slave. [applause]

Just as it took nationalism to remove colonialism from Asia and Africa, it'll take black nationalism today to remove colonialism from the backs and the minds of twenty-two million Afro-Americans here in this country. And 1964 looks like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet. [applause]

Why does it look like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet? Because Negroes have listened to the trickery and the lies and the false promises of the white man now for too long, and they're fed up. They've become disenchaned. They've become disillusioned. They've become dissatisfied. And all of this has built up frustrations in the black community that makes the black community throughout America today more explosive than all of the atomic bombs the Russians can ever invent. Whenever you got a racial powder keg sitting in your lap, you're in more trouble than if you had an atomic powder keg sitting in your lap. When a racial powder keg goes off, it doesn't care who it knocks out the way. Understand this, it's dangerous.

And in 1964, this seems to be the year. Because what can the white man use, now, to fool us? After he put down that March on Washington — and you see all through that now, he tricked you, had you marching down to
Washington. Had you marching back and forth between the feet of a dead man named Lincoln and another dead man named George Washington, singing, "We Shall Overcome." [applause]

He made a chump out of you. He made a fool out of you. He made you think you were going somewhere and you end up going nowhere but between Lincoln and Washington. [laughter]

So today our people are disillusioned. They've become disenchanted. They've become dissatisfied. And in 1964 you'll see this young black man, this new generation, asking for the ballot or the bullet. That old Uncle Tom action is outdated. The young generation don't want to hear anything about "the odds are against us." What do we care about odds? [applause]

When this country here was first being founded, there were thirteen colonies. The whites were colonized. They were fed up with this taxation without representation. So some of them stood up and said, "Liberty or death!" I went to a white school over here in Mason, Michigan. The white man made the mistake of letting me read his history books. [laughter] He made the mistake of teaching me that Patrick Henry was a patriot, and George Washington – wasn't nothing non-violent about ol’ Pat, or George Washington. "Liberty or death" is what brought about the freedom of whites in this country from the English. [applause]

They didn't care about the odds. Why, they faced the wrath of the entire British Empire. And in those days, they used to say that the British Empire was so vast and so powerful that the sun would never set on it. This is how big it was, yet these thirteen little scrawny states, tired of taxation without representation, tired of being exploited and oppressed and degraded, told that big British Empire, "Liberty or death." And here you have 22 million Afro-Americans, black people today, catching more hell than Patrick Henry ever saw. [applause]

And I'm here to tell you in case you don't know it – that you got a new, you got a new generation of black people in this country who don't care anything whatsoever about odds. They don't want to hear you ol' Uncle Tom, handkerchief-heads talking about the odds. No! [laughter, applause] This is a new generation. If they're going to draft these young black men, and send them over to Korea or to South Vietnam to face 800 million Chinese… [laughter, applause] If you're not afraid of those odds, you shouldn't be afraid of these odds. [applause]

Why is America – why does this loom to be such an explosive political year? Because this is the year of politics. This is the year when all of the
white politicians are going to come into the Negro community. You never see them until election time. You can't find them until election time. [applause] They're going to come in with false promises. And as they make these false promises they're going to feed our frustrations, and this will only serve to make matters worse. **I'm no politician. I'm not even a student of politics. I'm not a Republican, nor a Democrat, nor an American** – and got sense enough to know it. [applause]

I'm one of the **22 million black victims** of the Democrats. One of the **22 million black victims** of the Republicans and one of the **22 million black victims** of Americanism. [applause] And when I speak, I don't speak as a Democrat or a Republican, nor an American. I speak as a victim of America's so-called democracy. You and I have never seen democracy – all we've seen is hypocrisy. [applause]

When we open our eyes today and **look around** America, we see America not through the eyes of someone who has enjoyed the fruits of Americanism. We see America through the eyes of someone who has been the victim of Americanism. We don't see any American dream. We've experienced only the American nightmare. We haven't benefited from America's democracy. We've only suffered from America's hypocrisy. And the generation that's coming up now can see it. And are not afraid to say it. If you go to jail, so what? If you're black, you were born in jail. [applause]

If you black you were born in jail, in the North as well as the South. Stop talking about the South. As long as you south of the Canadian border, you South. [laughter, applause] Don't call Governor Wallace a Dixie governor, Romney is a Dixie Governor. [applause]

Twenty-two million black victims of Americanism are waking up and they are gaining a new political consciousness, becoming politically mature. And as they become – develop this political maturity, they're able to see the recent trends in these political elections. They see that the whites are so evenly divided that every time they vote, the race is so close they have to go back and count the votes all over again. Which means that any block, any minority that has a block of votes that stick together is in a strategic position. Either way you go, that's who gets it. You're in a position to determine **who'll go to the White House and who'll stay in the doghouse**. [laughter]

You're the one who has that power. You can keep Johnson in Washington D.C., or you can send him back to his Texas cotton patch. [applause] You're the one who sent Kennedy to Washington. You're the one who put the present Democratic administration in Washington, D.C. The whites were evenly divided. It was the fact that
You threw 80 percent of your votes behind the Democrats that put the Democrats in the White House.

When you see this, you can see that the Negro vote is the key factor. And despite the fact that you are in a position to be the determining factor, what do you get out of it? The Democrats have been in Washington, D.C. only because of the Negro vote. They've been down there four years. And they're – all other legislation they wanted to bring up they've brought it up, and gotten it out of the way, and now they bring up you. And now they bring up you! You put them first and they put you last. Because you're a chump! [applause] A political chump.

In Washington, D.C., in the House of Representatives there are 257 who are Democrats. Only 177 are Republicans. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats. Only 33 are Republicans. The party that you backed controls two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate 'Cause you're a chump. [applause] and still they can't keep their promise to you.

Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promise that it made to you during election-time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race. [applause]

What kind of alibi do come up with? They try and pass the buck to the Dixiecrats. Now, back during the days when you were blind, deaf and dumb, ignorant, politically immature, naturally you went along with that. But today, as your eyes come open, and you develop political maturity, you're able to see and think for yourself, and you can see that a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat – in disguise. [applause]

You look at the structure of the government that controls this country, is controlled by 16 senatorial committees and 20 congressional committees. Of the 16 senatorial committees that run the government, 10 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. Of the 20 congressional committees that run the government, 12 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. And they're going to tell you and me that the South lost the war? [laughter, applause]

You, today, are in the hands of a government of segregationists. Racists, white supremacists, who belong to the Democratic party but disguise themselves as Dixiecrats. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat. Whoever runs the Democrats is also the father of the Dixiecrats. And the father of all of them is sitting in the White House. [applause] I say, and I'll say it again, you got a president who's nothing but a southern segregationist [applause] from the state of Texas. They'll lynch in Texas
as quick as they'll lynch you in Mississippi. Only in Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent, in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent. [cheering]

The first thing the cracker does when he comes in power, he takes all the Negro leaders and invites them for coffee. To show that he's all right. And those Uncle Toms can't pass up the coffee. [laughter, applause] They come away from the coffee table telling you and me that this man is all right [laughter]. 'Cause he's from the South and since he's from the South he can deal with the South. Look at the logic that they're using. What about Eastland? He's from the South. Why not make him the president? If Johnson is a good man 'cause he's from Texas, and being from Texas will enable him to deal with the South, Eastland can deal with the South better than Johnson! [laughter, applause]

Oh, I say you been mislead. You been had. You been took. [laughter, applause] I was in Washington a couple of weeks ago while the senators were filibustering and I noticed in the back of the Senate a huge map, and on this map it showed the distribution of Negroes in America. And surprisingly, the same senators that were involved in the filibuster were from the states where there were the most Negroes. Why were they filibustering the civil rights legislation? Because the civil rights legislation is supposed to guarantee boarding rights to Negroes from those states. And those senators from those states know that if the Negroes in those states can vote, those senators are down the drain. [applause] The representatives of those states go down the drain.

And in the Constitution of this country it has a stipulation, wherein, whenever the rights, the voting rights of people in a certain district are violated, then the representative who's from that particular district, according to the Constitution, is supposed to be expelled from the Congress. Now, if this particular aspect of the Constitution was enforced, why, you wouldn't have a cracker in Washington, D.C. [applause]

But what would happen? When you expel the Dixiecrat, you're expelling the Democrat. When you destroy the power of the Dixiecrat, you are destroying the power of the Democratic Party. So how in the world can the Democratic Party in the South actually side with you, in sincerity, when all of its power is based in the South?

These Northern Democrats are in cahoots with the southern Democrats. [applause] They're playing a giant con game, a political con game. You know how it goes. One of 'em comes to you and make believe he's for you. And he's in cahoots with the other one that's not for
you. Why? Because neither one of 'em is for you. But they got to make you go with one of 'em or the other.

So this is a con game, and this is what they've been doing with you and me all of these years. First thing, Johnson got off the plane when he become president, he ask, "Where's Dickey?" You know who Dickey is? Dickey is old southern cracker Richard Russell. Lookie here! Yes, Lyndon B. Johnson's best friend is the one who is a head, who's heading the forces that are filibustering civil rights legislation. You tell me how in the hell is he going to be Johnson's best friend? [applause] How can Johnson be his friend and your friend too? No, that man is too tricky. Especially if his friend is still ol' Dickey. [laughter, applause]

Whenever the Negroes keep the Democrats in power they're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. This is true! A vote for a Democrat is nothing but a vote for a Dixiecrat. I know you don't like me saying that. I'm not the kind of person who come here to say what you like. I'm going to tell you the truth whether you like it or not. [applause]

Up here in the North you have the same thing. The Democratic Party don't – they don't do it that way. They got a thing they call gerrymandering. They maneuver you out of power. Even though you can vote they fix it so you're voting for nobody. They got you going and coming. In the South they're outright political wolves, in the North they're political foxes. A fox and a wolf are both canine, both belong to the dog family. [laughter, applause] Now, you take your choice. You going to choose a northern dog or a southern dog? Because either dog you choose, I guarantee you, you'll still be in the doghouse.

This is why I say it's the ballot or the bullet. It's liberty or it's death. It's freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody. America today finds herself in a unique situation. Historically, revolutions are bloody, oh yes they are. They have never had a bloodless revolution. Or a non-violent revolution. That don't happen even in Hollywood [laughter] You don't have a revolution in which you love your enemy. And you don't have a revolution in which you are begging the system of exploitation to integrate you into it. Revolutions overturn systems. Revolutions destroy systems.

A revolution is bloody, but America is in a unique position. She's the only country in history, in the position actually to become involved in a bloodless revolution. The Russian Revolution was bloody, Chinese Revolution was bloody, French Revolution was bloody, Cuban Revolution was bloody. And there was nothing more bloody than the American Revolution. But today, this country can become involved in a
revolution that won't take bloodshed. All she's got to do is give the black man in this country everything that's due him, everything. \[applause\]

I hope that the white man can see this. 'Cause if you don't see it you're finished. If you don't see it you're going to become involved in some action in which you don't have a chance. We don't care anything about your atomic bomb; it's useless, because other countries have atomic bombs. When two or three different countries have atomic bombs, nobody can use them. So it means that the white man today is without a weapon. If you want some action you've got to come on down to Earth, and there's more black people on Earth than there are white people. \[applause\]

I only got a couple more minutes. The white man can never win another war on the ground. His days of war – victory – his days of battleground victory are over. Can I prove it? Yes. Take all the action that's going on this Earth right now that he's involved in. Tell me where he's winning – nowhere. Why, some rice farmers, some rice farmers! Some rice-eaters ran him out of Korea, yes they ran him out of Korea. Rice-eaters, with nothing but gym shoes and a rifle and a bowl of rice, took him and his tanks and his napalm and all that other action he's supposed to have and ran him across the Yalu. Why? Because the day that he can win on the ground has passed.

Up in French Indochina, those little peasants, rice-growers, took on the might of the French army and ran all the Frenchmen, you remember Dien Bien Phu! The same thing happened in Algeria, in Africa. They didn't have anything but a rifle. The French had all these highly mechanized instruments of warfare. But they put some guerilla action on. And a white man can't fight a guerilla warfare. Guerilla action takes heart, take nerve, and he doesn't have that. \[cheering\] He's brave when he's got tanks. He's brave when he's got planes. He's brave when he's got bombs. He's brave when he's got a whole lot of company along with him. But you take that little man from Africa and Asia; turn him loose in the woods with a blade. A blade. \[cheering\] That's all he needs. All he needs is a blade. And when the sun comes down – goes down and it's dark, it's even-Stephen. \[cheering\]

So it's the, it's the ballot or the bullet. Today, our people can see that we're faced with a government conspiracy. This government has failed us. The senators who are filibustering concerning your and my rights, that's the government. Don't say it's southern senators, this is the government. This is a government filibuster. It's not a segregationist filibuster, it's a government filibuster. Any kind of activity that takes place on the floor of the Congress or the Senate, that's the government. Any kind of dilly-dallying, that's the government. Any
kind of pussy-footing, that's the government. Any kind of act that's
designed to delay or deprive you and me, right now, of getting full
rights, that's the government that's responsible. And anytime you find
the government involved in a conspiracy to violate the citizenship or the
civil rights of a people in 1964, then you are wasting your time going to
that government expecting redress. Instead you have to take that
government to the world court and accuse it of genocide and all of the
other crimes that it is guilty of today. [applause]

So those of us whose political and economic and social philosophy is
black nationalism have become involved in the civil rights struggle. We
have injected ourselves into the civil rights struggle. And we intend to
expand it from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. As
long as you fight it on the level of civil rights, you're under Uncle Sam's
jurisdiction. You're going to his court expecting him to correct the
problem. He created the problem. He's the criminal! You don't take your
case to the criminal, you take your criminal to court. [applause]

When the government of South Africa began to trample upon the
human rights of the people of South Africa they were taken to the
U.N. When the government of Portugal began to trample upon the
rights of our brothers and sisters in Angola, it was taken before the
U.N. Why, even the white man took the Hungarian question to the U.N.
And just this week, Chief Justice Goldberg was crying over three million
Jews in Russia, about their human rights – charging Russia with violating
the U.N. Charter because of its mistreatment of the human rights of Jews
in Russia. Now you tell me how can the plight of everybody on this
Earth reach the halls of the United Nations and you have twenty-two
million Afro-Americans whose churches are being bombed, whose
little girls are being murdered, whose leaders are being shot down in
broad daylight? Now you tell me why the leaders of this struggle have
never taken [recording impaired] [their case to the U.N.?

So our next move is to take the entire civil rights struggle – problem –
into the United Nations and let the world see that Uncle Sam is guilty of
violating the human rights of 22 million Afro-Americans right down to
the year of 1964 and still has the audacity or the nerve to stand up and
represent himself as the leader of the free world? [cheering] Not only is
he a crook, he's a hypocrite. Here he is standing up in front of other
people, Uncle Sam, with the blood of your and mine mothers and fathers
on his hands. With the blood dripping down his jaws like a bloody-jawed
wolf. And still got the nerve to point his finger at other countries. In 1964
you can't even get civil rights legislation and this man has got the nerve
to stand up and talk about South Africa or talk about Nazi Germany or
talk about Portugal. No, no more days like those! [applause]
So I say in my conclusion, the only way we're going to solve it: we got to unite. We got to work together in unity and harmony. And black nationalism is the key. How are we gonna overcome the tendency to be at each other's throats that always exists in our neighborhood? And the reason this tendency exists – the strategy of the white man has always been divide and conquer. He keeps us divided in order to conquer us. He tells you, I'm for separation and you for integration, and keep us fighting with each other. No, I'm not for separation and you're not for integration, what you and I are for is freedom. [applause] Only, you think that integration will get you freedom; I think that separation will get me freedom. We both got the same objective, we just got different ways of getting' at it. [applause]

So I studied this man, Billy Graham, who preaches white nationalism. That's what he preaches. [applause] I say, that's what he preaches. The whole church structure in this country is white nationalism, you go inside a white church – that's what they preaching, white nationalism. They got Jesus white, Mary white, God white, everybody white – that's white nationalism. [cheering]

So what he does – the way he circumvents the jealousy and envy that he ordinarily would incur among the heads of the church – whenever you go into an area where the church already is, you going to run into trouble. Because they got that thing, what you call it, syndicated … they got a syndicate just like the racketeers have. I'm going to say what's on my mind because the preachers already proved to you that they got a syndicate. [applause] And when you're out in the rackets, whenever you're getting in another man's territory, you know, they gang up on you. And that's the same way with you. You run into the same thing. So how Billy Graham gets around that, instead of going into somebody else's territory, like he going to start a new church, he doesn't try and start a church, he just goes in preaching Christ. And he says anybody who believe in him, you go wherever you find him.

So, this helps all the churches, and since it helps all the churches, they don't fight him. Well, we going to do the same thing, only our gospel is black nationalism. His gospel is white nationalism, our gospel is black nationalism. And the gospel of black nationalism, as I told you, means you should control your own, the politics of your community, the economy of your community, and all of the society in which you live should be under your control. And once you…feel that this philosophy will solve your problem, go join any church where that's preached. Don't join any church where white nationalism is preached. Why, you can go to a Negro church and be exposed to white nationalism. 'Cause when you are on – when you walk in a Negro church and see a white Jesus and a
white Mary and some white angels. that Negro church is preaching white nationalism. [applause]

But, when you go to a church and you see the pastor of that church with a philosophy and a program that's designed to bring black people together and elevate black people, join that church. Join that church. If you see where the NAACP is preaching and practicing that which is designed to make black nationalism materialize, join the NAACP. Join any kind of organization – civic, religious, fraternal, political or otherwise that's based on lifting the black man up and making him master of his own community. [applause]
I first want to thank the Harvard Law School Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening, more especially to speak on a very timely topic—“The African Revolution and Its Impact on the American Negro.” I probably won’t use the word “American Negro,” but substitute “Afro-American.” And when I say Afro-American, I mean it in the same context in which you usually use the word Negro. Our people today are increasingly shying away from use of that word. They find that when you’re identified as Negro, it tends to make you “catch a whole lot of hell” that people who don’t use it don’t catch.

In the present debate over the Congo, you are probably aware that a new tone and a new tempo, almost a new temper, are being reflected among African statesmen toward the United States. And I think we should be interested in and concerned with what impact this will have upon Afro-Americans and how it will affect America’s international race relations. We know that it will have an effect at the international level. It’s already having such an effect. But I am primarily concerned with what effect it will have on the internal race relations of this country—that is to say, between the Afro-American and the white American.

When you let yourself be influenced by images created by others, you’ll find that oftentimes the one who creates those images can use them to mislead you and misuse you. A good example: A couple of weeks ago I was on a plane with a couple of Americans, a male and a female sitting to my right. We were in the same row and had a nice conversation for about thirty-five to forty minutes. Finally the lady looked at my briefcase and said, “I would like to ask you a personal question,” and I knew what was coming. She said, “What kind of last name could you have that begins with X?” I said, “Malcolm.” Ten minutes went by, and she turned to me and said, “You’re not Malcolm X?” You see, we had a nice conversation going, just three human beings, but she was soon looking at the image created by the press. She said so: “I just wouldn’t believe that you were that man,” she said. I had a similar experience last week at Oxford. The Oxford Union had arranged a debate. Before the debate I had dinner with four students. A girl student looked kind of crosseyed, goggle-eyed and otherwise, and finally just told me she wanted to ask me a question. (I found out she was a conservative, by the way, whatever that is.) She said, “I just can’t get over your not being as I had expected.” I told her it was a case of the press carefully creating images.
Again I had a similar experience last night. At the United Nations a friend from Africa came in with a white woman who is involved with a philanthropic foundation over there. He and I were engaged in conversation for several minutes, and she was in and out of the conversation. Finally I heard her whisper to someone off to the side. She didn’t think I was listening. She said—she actually said this—”He doesn’t look so wild, you know.” Now this is a full-grown, so-called “mature” woman. It shows the extent to which the press can create images. People looking for one thing actually miss the boat because they’re looking for the wrong thing. They are looking for someone with horns, someone who is a rabble-rouser, an irrational, antisocial extremist. They expect to hear me say that Negroes should kill all the white people—as if you could kill all the white people! In fact, if I had believed what they said about the people in Britain, I never would have gone to Oxford. I would have let it slide. When I got there I didn’t go by what I had read about them. I found out they were quite human and likable. Some weren’t what I had expected.

Now I have taken time to discuss images because one of the sciences used and misused today is this science of image making. The power structure uses it at the local level, at the national level, at the international level. And oftentimes when you and I feel we’ve come to a conclusion on our own, the conclusion is something that someone has invented for us through the images he has created.

I’m a Muslim. Now if something is wrong with being Muslim, we can argue, we can “get with it.” I’m a Muslim, which means that I believe in the religion of Islam. I believe in Allah, the same God that many of you would probably believe in if you knew more about Him. I believe in all of the prophets: Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad. Most of you are Jewish, and you believe in Moses; you might not pick Jesus. If you’re Christians, you believe in Moses and Jesus. Well, I’m Muslim, and I believe in Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. I believe in all of them. So I think I’m “way up on you.”

In Islam we practice prayer, charity, fasting. The Muslim religion also requires one to make the pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca. I was fortunate enough to make it in April, and I went back again in September. Insofar as being a Muslim is concerned, I have done what one is supposed to do to be a Muslim. Despite being a Muslim, I can’t overlook the fact that I’m an Afro-American in a country which practices racism against black people. There is no religion under the sun that would make me forget the suffering that Negro people have undergone in
this country. Negroes have suffered for no reason other than that their skins happen to be black.

So whether I’m Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist or agnostic, I would still be in the front lines with Negro people fighting against the racism, segregation, and discrimination practiced in this country at all levels in the North, South, East, and West. I believe in the brotherhood of all men, but I don’t believe in wasting brotherhood on anyone who doesn’t want to, practice it with me. Brotherhood is a two-way street. I don’t think brotherhood should be practiced with a man just because his skin is white. Brotherhood should hinge upon the deeds and attitudes of a man. I couldn’t practice brotherhood, for example, with some of those Eastlands or crackers in the South who are responsible for the condition of our people.

I don’t think anyone would deny either that if you send chickens out of your barnyard in the morning, at nightfall those chickens will come home to roost in your barnyard. Chickens that you send out always come back home. It is a law of nature. I was an old farm boy myself, and I got in trouble saying this once, but it didn’t stop me from being a farm boy. Other people’s chickens don’t come to roost on your doorstep, and yours don’t go to roost on theirs. The chickens that this country is responsible for sending out, whether the country likes it or not (and if you’re mature, you look at it “like it is”), someday, and someday soon, have got to come back home to roost.

Victims of racism are created in the image of racists. When the victims struggle vigorously to protect themselves from violence of others, they are made to appear in the image of criminals; as the criminal image is projected onto the victim. The recent situation in the Congo is one of the best examples of this. The headlines were used to mislead the public, to create wrong images. In the Congo, planes were bombing Congolese villages, yet Americans read that American-trained anti-Castro Cuban pilots were bombing rebel strongholds. These pilots were actually dropping bombs on villages with women and children. But because the tags “American-trained” and “anti-Castro Cubans” were applied, the bombing was legal. Anyone against Castro is all right. The press gave them a “holier than thou” image. And you let them get away with it because of the labels. The victim is made the criminal. It is really mass murder, murder of women, children, and babies. And mass murder is disguised as a humanitarian project. They fool nobody but the people of America. They don’t fool the people of the world, who see beyond the images.
Their man in the Congo is Tshombe, the murderer of the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo. No matter what kind of language you use, he’s purely and simply a murderer. The real Prime Minister of the Congo was Patrice Lumumba. The American government—your and my government—took this murderer and hired him to run the Congo. He became their hired killer. And to show what a hired killer he is, his first act was to go to South Africa and to hire more killers, paying them with American dollars. But he is glorified because he is given the image of the only one who could bring stability to the Congo. Whether he can bring stability or not, he’s still a murderer. The headlines spoke of white hostages, not simply hostages, but white hostages, and of white nuns and priests, not simply nuns and priests, but white nuns and priests. Why? To gain the sympathy of the white public of America. The press had to shake up your mind in order to get your sympathy and support for criminal actions. They tricked you. Americans consider forty white lives more valuable than four thousand black lives. Thousands of Congolese were losing their lives. Mercenaries were paid with American dollars. The American press made the murderers look like saints and the victims like criminals. They made criminals look like victims and indeed the devil look like an angel and angels like the devil. A friend of mine from Africa, who is in a good position to know, said he believed the United States government is being advised by her worst enemy in the Congo, because an American citizen could not suggest such insane action—especially identifying with Tshombe, who is the worst African on earth.

You cannot find an African on earth who is more hated than Tshombe. It’s a justifiable hatred they have toward him. He has won no victory himself. His Congolese troops have never won a victory for him. Every victory has been won by white mercenaries, who are hired to kill for him. The African soldiers in the Congo are fighting for the Stanleyville government. Here Tshombe is a curse. He’s an insult to anyone who means to do right, black or white. When Tshombe visited Cairo, he caused trouble. When he visited Rome last week, he caused trouble, and the same happened in Germany. Wherever Tshombe goes, trouble erupts. And if Tshombe comes to America, you’ll see the worst rioting, bloodshed, and violence this country has ever seen. Nobody wants this kind of man in his country.
What effect does all this have on Afro-Americans? What effect will it have on race relations in this country? In the U.N. at this moment, Africans are using more uncompromising language and are heaping hot fire upon America as the racist and neocolonial power par excellence. African statesmen have never used this language before. These statesmen are beginning to connect the criminal, racist acts practiced in the Congo with similar acts in Mississippi and Alabama. The Africans are pointing out that the white American government—not all white people—has shown just as much disregard for lives wrapped in black skin in the Congo as it shows for lives wrapped in black skin in Mississippi and in Alabama. When Africans, therefore, as well as we begin to think of Negro problems as interrelated, what will be the effect of such thinking on programs for improved race relations in this country? Many people will tell you that the black man in this country doesn’t identify with Africa. Before 1959, many Negroes didn’t. But before 1959, the image of Africa was created by an enemy of Africa, because Africans weren’t in a position to create and project their own images. The image was created by the imperial powers of Europe.

Europeans created and popularized the image of Africa as a jungle, a wild place where people were cannibals, naked and savage in a countryside overrun with dangerous animals. Such an image of the Africans was so hateful to Afro-Americans that they refused to identify with Africa. We did not realize that in hating Africa and the Africans we were hating ourselves. You cannot hate the roots of a tree and not hate the tree itself. Negroes certainly cannot at the same time hate Africa and love themselves. We Negroes hated the American features: the African nose, the shape of our lips, the color of our skin, the texture of our hair. We could only end up hating ourselves. Our skin became a trap, a prison; we felt inferior, inadequate, helpless. It was not an image created by Africans or by Afro-Americans, but by an enemy.

Since 1959 the image has changed. The African states have emerged and achieved independence. Black people in this country are crying out for their independence and show a desire to make a fighting stand for it. The attitude of the Afro-American cannot be disconnected from the attitude of the African. The pulse beat, the voice, the very life-drive that is reflected in the African is reflected today here among the Afro-Americans. The only way you can really understand the black man in America and the changes in his heart and mind is to fully understand the heart and mind of the black man on the African continent; because it is the same heart and the same mind, although separated by four hundred years and by the Atlantic Ocean.

There are those who wouldn’t like us to have the same heart and the same mind for fear that that heart and mind might get together. Because
when our people in this country received a new image of Africa, they naturally united through the new image of themselves. Fear left them completely. There was fear, however, among the racist elements and the State Department. Their fear was of our sympathy for Africa and for its hopes and aspirations and of this sympathy developing into a form of alliance. It is only natural to expect us today to turn and look in the direction of our homeland and of our motherland and to wonder whether we can make any contact with her.

I grew up in Lansing, Michigan, a typical American city. In those days, a black man could have a job shining shoes or waiting tables. The best job was waiting tables at the country club, as is still the case in most cities. In those days, if a fellow worked at the State House shining shoes, he was considered a big shot in the town. Only when Hitler went on the rampage in 1939, and this country suffered a manpower shortage, did the black man get a shot at better jobs. He was permitted a step forward only when Uncle Sam had his back to the wall and needed him. In 1939, ‘40, and ‘41, a black man couldn’t even join the Army or Navy, and when they began drafting, they weren’t drafting black soldiers but only white. I think it was well agreed upon and understood: if you let the black man get in the Army, get hold of a gun, and learn to shoot it, you wouldn’t have to tell him what the target was. It was not until the Negro leaders (and in this sense I use the word Negro purposely) began to cry out and complain—"If white boys are gonna die on the battlefields, our black boys must die on the battlefields too!"—that they started drafting us. If it hadn’t been for that type of leadership, we never would have been drafted. The Negro leaders just wanted to show that we were good enough to die too, although we hadn’t been good enough to join the Army or Navy prior to that time.

During the time that Hitler and Tojo were on the rampage, the black man was needed in the plants, and for the first time in the history of America, we were given an opportunity on a large scale to get skills in areas that were closed previously to us. When we got these skills, we were put in a position to get more money. We made more money. We moved to a better neighborhood. When we moved to a better neighborhood, we were able to go to a better school and get a better education, and this put us into a position to know what we hadn’t been receiving up to that time. Then we began to cry a little louder than we had ever cried before. But this advancement never was out of Uncle Sam’s goodwill. We never made one step forward until world pressure put Uncle Sam on the spot. And it was when he was on the spot that he allowed us to take a couple of steps forward. It has never been out of any internal sense of morality or legality or humanism that we were allowed to advance. You have been as cold as an icicle whenever it came to the rights of the black man in this country. Excuse me for raising my voice, but I think
it’s time. As long as my voice is the only thing I raise, I don’t think you should become upset!

Because we began to cry a little louder, a new strategy was used to handle us. The strategy evolved with the Supreme Court desegregation decision, which was written in such tricky language that every crook in the country could sidestep it. The Supreme Court desegregation decision was handed down over ten years ago. It has been implemented less than ten percent in those ten years. It was a token advancement, even as we’ve been the recipients of “tokenism” in education, housing, employment, everything. But nowhere in the country during the past ten years has the black man been treated as a human being in the same context as other human beings. He’s always being patronized in a very paternalistic way, but never has he been given an opportunity to function as a human being. Actually, in one sense, it’s our own fault, but I’ll get to that later on. We have never gotten the real thing.

Heck, I’ll get to it right now. The reason we never received the real thing is that we have not displayed any tendency to do the same for ourselves which other human beings do: to protect our humanity and project our humanity. I’ll clarify what I mean. Not a single white person in America would sit idly by and let someone do to him what we black men have been letting others do to us. The white person would not remain passive, peaceful, and nonviolent. The day the black man in this country shows others that we are just as human as they in reaction to injustice, that we are willing to die just as quickly to protect our lives and property as whites have shown, only then will our people be recognized as human beings. It is inhuman, absolutely subhuman, for a man to let a dog bite him and not fight back. Let someone club him and let him not fight back, or let someone put water hoses on his women, his mother and daughter and babies and let him not fight back then he’s subhuman. The day he becomes a human being he will react as other human beings have reacted, and nobody will hold it against him.
In 1959, we saw the emergence of the Negro revolt and the collapse of European colonialism on the African continent. Our struggle, our initiative, and our militancy were in tune with the struggle and initiative and militancy of our brothers in Africa. When the colonial powers saw they couldn’t remain in Africa, they behaved as somebody playing basketball. He gets the basketball and must pass it to a teammate in the clear. The colonial powers were boxed in on the African continent. They didn’t intend to give up the ball. They just passed it to the one that was in the clear, and the one that was in the clear was the United States. The ball was passed to her, and she picked it up and has been running like mad ever since. Her presence on the African continent has replaced the imperialism and the colonialism of Europeans. But it’s still imperialism and colonialism. Americans fooled many of the Africans into thinking that they weren’t an imperialist power or colonial power until their intentions were revealed, until they hired Tshombe and put him back to kill in the Congo. Nothing America could have done would have ever awakened the Africans to her true intentions as did her dealings with this murderer named Tshombe.

America knew that Africa was waking up in ‘59. Africa was developing a higher degree of intelligence than she reflected in the past. America, for her part, knew she had to use a more intelligent approach. She used the friendly approach: the Peace Corps, Crossroads. Such philanthropic acts disguised American imperialism and colonialism with dollar-ism. America was not honest with what she was doing. I don’t mean that those in the Peace Corps weren’t honest. But the Corps was being used more for political purposes than for moral purposes. I met many white Peace Corps workers while on the African continent. Many of them were properly motivated and were making a great contribution. But the Peace Corps will never work over there until the idea has been applied over here.

Of course the Civil Rights Bill was designed supposedly to solve our problem. As soon as it was passed, however, three civil rights workers were murdered. Nothing has been done about it, and I think nothing will be done about it until the people themselves do something about it. I, for one, think the best way to stop the Ku Klux Klan is to talk to the Ku Klux Klan in the only language it understands, for you can’t talk French to someone who speaks German and communicate. Find out what language a person speaks, speak their language, and you’ll get your point across. Racists know only one language, and it is doing the black man in this country an injustice to expect him to talk the language of peace to people who don’t know peaceful language. In order to get any kind of point across our people must speak whatever language the racist speaks.
The government can’t protect us. The government has not protected us. It is time for us to do whatever is necessary by any means necessary to protect ourselves. If the government doesn’t want us running around here wild like that, then I say let the government get up off its whatever it’s on, and take care of it itself. After the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, they killed the Negro educator Pitt in Georgia. The killers were brought to court and then set free. This is the pattern in this country, and I think that white people (I use the word white people because it’s cut short; it gets right to the point) are doing us an injustice. If you expect us to be nonviolent, you yourselves aren’t. If someone came knocking on your door with a rifle, you’d walk out of the door with your rifle. Now the black man in this country is getting ready to do the same thing.

I say in conclusion that the Negro problem has ceased to be a Negro problem. It has ceased to be an American problem and has now become a world problem, a problem for all humanity. Negroes waste their time confining their struggle to civil rights: In that context the problem remains only within the jurisdiction of the United States. No allies can help Negroes without violating United States protocol.

But today the black man in America has seen his mistake and is correcting it by lifting his struggle from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. No longer does the United States government sit in an ivory tower where it can point at South Africa, point at the Portuguese, British, French, and other European colonial powers. No longer can the United States hold twenty million black people in second-class citizenship and think that the world will keep a silent mouth. No matter what the independent African states are doing in the United Nations, it is only a flicker, a glimpse, a ripple of what this country is in for in the future, unless a halt is brought to the illegal injustices which our people continue to suffer every day.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, to which I belong, is a peaceful organization based on brotherhood. Oh yes, it is peaceful. But I believe you can’t have peace until you’re ready to protect it. As you will die protecting yours, I will die protecting mine. The OAAU is trying to get our problem before the United Nations. This is one of its immediate projects on the domestic front. We will work with all existing civil rights organizations. Since there has been talk of minimizing demonstrations and of becoming involved in political action, we want to see if civil rights organizations mean it.
The OAAU will become involved in every move to secure maximum opportunity for black people to register peacefully as voters. **We believe that** along with voter registration, Afro-Americans need voter education. Our people should receive education in the science of politics so that the crooked politician cannot exploit us. We must put ourselves in a position to become active politically. **We believe that** the OAAU should provide defense units in every area of this country where workers are registering or are seeking voting rights, in every area where young students go out on the battlefront, which it actually is. Such self-defense units should have brothers who will not go out and initiate aggression, but brothers who are qualified, equipped to retaliate when anyone imposes brutally on us, whether it be in Mississippi, Massachusetts, California, or New York City. The OAAU doesn't believe it should permit civil rights workers to be murdered.

When a government can't protect civil rights workers, we believe we should do it. Even in the Christian Bible it says that he who kills with the sword shall be killed by the sword, and I’m not against it. I’m for peace, yet I believe that any man facing death should be able to go to any length to assure that whoever is trying to kill him doesn’t have a chance. The OAAU supports the plan of every civil rights group for political action, as long as it doesn’t involve compromise. **We don’t believe Afro-Americans should be victims any longer. We believe we should let the world know, the Ku Klux Klan know, that bloodshed is a twoway street, that dying is a two-way street, that killing is a two-way street.** Now I say all this in as peaceful a language as I know.

There was another man back in history whom I read about once, an old friend of mine whose name was Hamlet, who confronted, in a sense, the same thing our people are confronting here in America. **Hamlet** was debating whether “To be or not to be”—that was the question. He was trying to decide whether it was “nobler in the mind to suffer, peacefully, the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” or whether it was nobler “to take up arms” and oppose them. I think his little soliloquy answers itself. As long as you sit around suffering the slings and arrows and are afraid to use some slings and arrows yourself, you’ll continue to suffer. The OAAU has come to the conclusion that it is time to take up whatever means necessary to bring these sufferings to a halt.
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