STOKELEY CARMICHAEL’S SPEECH, UNC-C

Now what we want to do today is to go over some basic concepts. We don't only joke alot and laugh alot, and say how bad we are, because we know how bad we are. What we have to do today is to begin to move in a path where we can organize our people, understand very clearly what our problems are, pose those problems directly, and then fight to find the correct solution. O.K.?

Now, before I begin, so you don't get confused. Let me say very clearly that we are for revolutionary violence. Period. So we don't have to waste time. And by violence, we mean inflicting pain on an individual—from spitting in his face to dropping the hydrogen bomb on him, and whatever we have at our disposal, we intend to use that for our liberation. So don't ask me, "Does violence mean killing people?"

Yes. We are for revolutionary violence in the affirmative. And we have to understand that. Now, what happens alot of times is that the oppressed black people in this country, because we do not have the power, we are incapable of institutionalizing our violence, so that what is violence for us is the reverse, and is illegitimate. Illegitimate, or rather, illegal. Illegal because we don't have the power to make our violence legal. But now what usually happens is that the oppressor, the establishment, the powers-that-be, "white folks", have the power to make legitimate and institutionalize or legalize their violence. And they do it so well that we become accustomed to it, we accept it, and do not even think to be violent. Let me give you an example. Did you ever think that poverty is violent? But do you not think that it is violent for a little black baby to go to bed hungry, with a big stomach in the richest country in the world? Is that not violent? But because the "powers" to institutionalize poverty, they do not even think of poverty in the richest country in the world as violent. Now do you think of a policeman shooting down a man in the street as violent, because that violence has been
legitimitized, has been institutionalized, and is legal. Remember we have to understand is that when we talk about revolutionary violence, we must begin to institutionalize, we must begin to legitimitize, and to make legal in our own minds, our violence.

Now there are basically two types of violence, 'cause violence lives---there'll always be violence. There is revolutionary violence and there is counter-revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is that violence which seeks to destroy a system and to replace it with a new system which speaks to the needs and desires of the masses of the people. (I want to go over that one more time.) Revolutionary violence is violence which is used to displace one system and to put in its place another system which speaks to the needs and desires of the masses of one's people. We are for revolutionary violence. Counter-revolutionary violence is that violence used by a system which suppresses the majority of the people and this violence is used to maintain that system. Counter-revolutionary violence in this country would be violence used to maintain the status quo, the police force, that's counter-revolutionary violence. American troops in Vietnam, that's counter-revolutionary violence. 2500 American bases around the globe, that's counter-revolutionary violence. The Viet Cong--that's revolutionary violence. Police stations being dynamited, police being sniped in the ghettos of the cities, that's revolutionary violence. We are for revolutionary violence. O.K.?

Now then, we have to discuss our problem, how we find our share. Don't worry about--you see Lyndon Johnson on T.V. all the time, talking about how we're going to wipe out the Viet Cong, that's violence, isn't it? Once you accept it, it don't matter...either you're going to win or you die. You can't lose. Our people in this country are in a colonized position, that is to say, we are a colony within the United States. We are colonized. Now, we want to point out some of the characteristics of a colonized people and then begin to see how we can deal, to counter-act these characteristics.
The major characteristic of a colonized people... does anyone here know Fannom?

Nobody here's read Fannom? Well please write it down. (I wanted to be a professor--I never had my chance.) Frantz Fannom. F-R-A-N-T-Z F-A-N-N-O-M-. He's written a book entitled, "The Record of the Ape." You must read it. Mr. Fannom is a black psychiatrist, he was born in Martinique in the West Indies, educated in France at white universities, became a doctor. During the Algerian revolution, he was sent by the French government to give medical treatment to the French troops. But when he got to Algeria and he recognized he was an African and he switched sides. He joined the Algerian movement, and he has written some of the most profound revolutionary items to come out in history today. Frantz Fannom. Now, Mr. Fannom says, and I agree with him quite correctly, that the major characteristic of a colonized people is that they hate themselves. They hate themselves. I don't think we need to discuss that. I mean, we see very clearly how black people in this country, how we hate ourselves. We see examples of that all the time. For example, if you went to a "juke joint" on Friday night with your shoes shined, a brother steps on your shoe, "Nigger, wha' jew step on my shoe for?" Get ready to fight, punish. Right here in Charlotte. You walk down the street, a white man steps on your shoe--"Yassuh!" And the reason you would attack the black man for the same act that you bow to the white man is not just only because of fear, which plays an important part, but you are quick to jump on him because of the self-hatred that we have for each other. And that self-hatred is well-calculated by the powers-that-be. They want us to hate ourselves. That is why they never project a positive image of black people. All the positive images they project are of white people. So that the colonized try to identify with the oppressor. And seek not to identify with themselves. Understand? That's deep--Fannom is really deep. That's why you all should read him. In reading you understand alot of things. Now what that
means for us is that here we are trying to identify with white people, rather than with ourselves, because we hate ourselves. We are a very negative people. All colonized people are negative, everything we say about ourselves is negative. Niggers--niggers can't do nothin'. You know how niggers are--they can't do nothin' right. They can't do wrong right. Niggers. And we are taught to grow up on all of these things--all of them. And we feed on them and we begin to feel as if we are in fact, a part of it, it becomes our entire philosophy of life--these negativisms. We hate ourselves so much that we distort our very images to seek, to seek the images of the oppressor. Our hair, being of different texture than our oppressor, yet we would take time out to put a hot iron in our hair to make it look like the oppressor. Because we seek to identify with him, and because we hate ourselves. If you didn't hate yourself, you wouldn't do that to yourself. Impossible. You want to try a good thing. And your hair is alive. But we have to begin now to understand those things, and those negative things can run all through. The way to counter-act that, is that we have a concept, that we try to throw out, a concept that we must have an undying love for our people. That's very important... We must have an undying love for our people. Now that is to say that if you have an undying love for your people, if one was hurt, all was hurt. If you had an undying love for your people, if they did you wrong, you could forgive the wrong they did you, and try to help them correct the mistakes they made. Is that correct? We must have an undying love for our people. If we begin to develop that love, we will counter-act the hatred that has been inculcated in us all these years. And that hatred is deep. I mean, it is deep. They talk about black people are not violent--that's not true. We're the most violent people in this country. We cut, shoot, and kill each other every night of the week. Beat up our wives--beat up our husbands--shoot each other in the alley all the time. We are violent. The only trouble is that our violence is directed toward
us—each other, rather than toward what we call our enemy. And today we have to re-direct our violence so that it begins to become constructive revolutionary violence, being used to be directed against our enemy, rather than against ourselves. Our second concept—every negro is a potential black man! That is very important. Every negro is a potential black man. Now we have to make the differences clear between the negro and black man, because there are differences. When we were in Africa, you know we came from Africa, some people don't believe it, you know how you hear people talk, "Where are you from?" "Charlotte." "Where's your mamma from?" "Charlotte." "Where's your father from?" Greensboro." "Where's your grammama from?" "She's from Charlotte." "Where's your granfather from?" "He's from Mississippi." "Now where your great-grandmother from?" "I dunno." I know! AF-RI-CA! AFRICA. That's where you're from. And you know how they got here? They were stolen. And you know who stole them?....Sweetness and light. And you got to make the little light shine. But many people are ashamed to say their grandparents are from Africa. And I'll tell you why. When we were in Africa, before we were stolen, and we must say here that stolen as in the concept of you know, they had in the history books, "The Arabs sold you, and your brothers sold you." And we believed that. But that's not true. Our brothers did not sell us. Because with what could the white man buy us? You ever think of that? He didn't have paper money, right? This was way back—the country was not established. He didn't have cotton—we picked it for him, and there's more cotton in Africa than any place else in the world. He didn't have gold—he didn't have diamonds—he didn't have carpets—he didn't have nothin'. And he couldn't give us that junk about fire water, 'cause the best pot comes from Africa. So obviously we were never sold. But what Fannom says is that the white man has what is called a conflict, and Fannom labels it a distribution of guilt. Because the white man feels so guilty that he did all the stealing
that he said, "Wait a minute, I didn't steal." "Your brothers stole." So he distributes the guilt. So he wants everybody else to feel guilty for what he did. And that's why they say it. But they also say it for another reason. They say that our brothers sold us because they want us to distrust each other. If your brother once sold you into slavery, he might sell you again, so you're not apt to come together with him. But if you know that he never sold you and he never would, you'd have no thoughts about coming together. But now we came here from Africa--when we were in Africa, we were Africans or black men. When we got here, we became "negroes." Understand then, very clearly that "negro" and slavery is synonymous. Because when we were in Africa, we were free, we were free Africans or free blackmen. When we came to the United States, we were slaves, and then we became "negroes." If you say you're a negro, you began in slavery. If you say you're a black man or an African, you can trace yourself back before the period of slavery. That's very important. Because if you say you're a negro, you say your beginning was in slavery and the best you could hope to be is a good slave. I'd say you'd be a fool. If your parents were in slavery, then all you're gonna be, the whole generation's going to be slaves, and all you could hope to be is a good slave. There's a difference between negro history and black history. In negro history they say, "Benjamin Bannister, even though he was a slave, was working very hard for his country." And that's what they want negroes to do; they want negroes even though they are second-class citizens (whatever that is) to work very hard for their country. But you know that if you were a slave in a country, you'd have to work to tear that country down limb by limb. How could you work to build a country where your brothers were in slavery? The only type of person that could do that was someone whose mentality is near to insanity. If all of you are slaves and my brothers and sisters, how could I help this man, who is enslaving you and enslaving me to become...What would
I do if I was smart is while he's busy with the Indians and the English, I'd get him!
My chance would be better. To side down with all those other people. But when they
tell us about negro history, they want us to keep talking about doing something for
America. Because in the final analysis, white people care about America. Not about
black people. And America is the contradictory of black people. Everything that is
good for America is bad for black people. And that can certainly be proven and
documented fact by fact. Everything that has been good for this country has been bad
for us. And we must begin to understand that. But now, if we say we were black people
rather than negro, then we can trace our ancestry back beyond the Benjamin Bannister
period, back to the great warriors of Africa, like the Zulus, the..., the..., ..., Hannibal,
and we can aspire to be what these people were. If Benjamin Bannister is what you
aspire to be, why you ain't going to be nothin' but a good nigger. That's all. But
if you aspire to be captain Zulu, you could be a warrior who's fighting the white folk
for South Africa. They give you the power to fight the enemy. That's very, very
important--very, very important. And we must constantly move to make our people
black. Now we say every negro is a potential black man. And that's true. And this
must come about if we're going to have a collective body inside our community, if we're
going to have police..., we must view every negro as a potential black man. Because
too many times we end up fighting ourselves because one person thinks he is more
blacker than another person. So it leads to a more "blacker than thou" concept. Or
in many cases, in colleges and universities, we see this all the time. We see a chick
who had her hair fried and she got a natural, and one week after she got a natural she is--
you can't talk to her. And the sister who comes up with the fried hair, no one will talk
to her, she's a so-called negro. And one week ago, she was a so-called negro. Her
hair was fried. One week ago. And she would take time out for that other sister, she could
make her more black, and therefore speed up the process of bringing our people together. Now we must understand that. Because since we hate ourselves so much, and sometimes we do not even recognize how much we hate ourselves, it would be very easy for the man to divide us. Well we see that all the time. We see there's a black group becoming powerful, the... There's a power struggle between the Snicks and the Panthers. Black people start saying, "I'm for the Panthers." "I'm for Snick." And they start getting ready to fight each other. And you say every negro is a potential black man, then we don't waste time fighting each other, we concentrate on the major enemy.

The third concept is very difficult, but one we must begin to deal with, especially today. For us, black people, the question of community is not simply a question of geographical boundary, but it's a question of our people and where we are. For us, black people, the question of community is not just simply a question of geographical boundary, but it's a question of our people and where we are. Now what do we mean by that? If the black man believes that his fight is only in America, we are doomed to failure. We are Africans. who happen to be born in the United States. We had nothing to say about it. We were brought here by white people, for or by white people, not because we wanted to come. We did not come seeking a better life. We were scattered all over the Western Hemisphere by white people for their own use. And if we allow ourselves to now say that we are part of this institution, then we are going to be caught in a trap. We must understand that is, our fight must be and has to be international. And that we have to say is that wherever black people are, we fight. The black people are fighting in South Africa, we fight. If black people are fighting in Mozambique, we fight. If black people are fighting in Angola, we fight. If black people are fighting in Brazil, we fight. If black people are fighting in Santo Domingo, we fight.
If black people are fighting in the Dominican Republic, we fight. If black people are fighting in the United States, we fight. If black people are fighting in Nova Scotia, we fight. Our fight must be international, and we must decide where we fight and how we fight. And we must make our fight international, because if we close it, and make it just within the United States, we would lose. But if we make it international, our success is almost insured. And we must begin to understand the importance of internationalizing our struggle. It is the white man who has made us what we are, in terms of telling us. For example, if you go to Brazil, 50% of the people in Brazil are black, like you and me. You could not tell that they were Brazilians until they opened their mouths and began to speak Portuguese. And that you were in Brazil. But the black man calls them Brazilians, he calls us black Americans, he calls Africans who live in Puerto Rico Puerto Ricans. He calls those in Panama, Panamanians. He calls those in Cuba Cubans. He calls those in Canada, black Canadians. He calls those in the West Indies West Indians. And if we keep these labels, we'll never see ourselves as the same people. (Oh, Brazil, the United States is fighting Brazil. I'm with the United States. I'm a Brazilian.) Niggers! Niggers, that's all you are. If the United States wins, you ain't going to get nothin'. If Brazil wins, nigger, you ain't going to get nothin'. So what we have to do is say that we are first and foremost AFRICANS. Black people. And wherever our people are, we are part of that struggle. That's very important because when the United States is fighting in the Dominican Republic, they use black troops. Did you know that 65% of the Dominican Republic is black? That's right. In Puerto Rico, a few years ago, they had a big demonstration for Aba Tambu (?)... He's a black man, a great nationalist leader. The United States was afraid there would be trouble. And they brought out a whole contingent of black troops with machine guns to surround the demonstration. 60% of Puerto Rico is black. Or the white man will say
that if you are a black American, you're American. They tell the Puerto Ricans, you are Puerto Ricans. They pit brother against brother. And we fight each other for something called America. We should only fight for something called our people or Africa, nothing else. We have nothing else for which to fight. Black Africans. ...Maybe we should stop and ask questions 'cause everyone looks so scared.

(The following pages are the responses by Stokeley Carmichael and Ben Chavis to questions asked by members of the audience. Only the answers are recorded here.)

---Ben Chavis: Just before we start the questions, I'd like for some of the people in A.C.T.I.O.N. to go around and see if some of you people who have come out today have any donations for the cause. We took it upon ourselves to bring this to you today, financially, and that's our bag. You can donate if you want. Testing, testing, OK--I think we're about ready to start. I'll field the questions and brother Stokeley will answer.... This is a question and answer period, and I appreciate your comments, but we don't have the time----.

---Mr. Carmichael: We are fighting not for black people but for white people--because white people are the ones who need to be straightened out, not black people.

This is indeed a racist attitude for white people to take--he was doing this for black people, he was doing this to straighten out white America. Black people have never done wrong to America. White America has been doing wrong. It is indeed racist for a white man to assume that he is doing good for an individual. The individual must tell you if, in fact, what you are doing helps him. You don't give black people a chance to tell you how to help them. I could tell you--ask me!...

... Aren't I glad I have uneducated followers? Yes--I'm glad I have so many uneducated followers. Yes, I am, 'cause when I see "educated" people like you and
George Wallace, I'm happy I'm uneducated... On an intellectual level, we ought to
discuss education if you are capable of keeping up with me. Let's start... let us
begin--education, it is derived from the Latin word, right? Let us break it down:
"e" from "ex" means out of, right? "Duc" from duc, ducare, means to lead.
Education, then, means to lead out of. The job of education is supposed to lead us
out of the problems that one faces. Now we must ask ourselves the question, "Does
American education help black people lead themselves out of the problems they face?"
You are educated..... Frantz Fannom said that education is nothing more than the
re-establishment and the re-enforcement of values and institutions of a given society.
He is correct. I'll repeat it for you, because not only does Fannom say it, but alot
of... white historians that you read say it. Education is nothing more than the re-
enforcement and re-establishment of values and institutions of a given society. If a
society was racist, the education must be racist. Because the job of the university is to
perpetuate the political state. And you perpetuate the political state by indoctrinating
the young with principles that are going to support that political entity. If you are in
Russia, you would get the Communist ideology which would support the political state
of Russia. If you're in China, you would get the education which has a political ideology
based on the doctrines of Chairman Mao, which is going to continue to support the
institution of China. Therefore in the United States, you got a racist capitalist ideology,
which you're going to support, racism and capitalism in order for the state to
perpetuate... I am happy, therefore, that I have uneducated followers because the educated
people in this country scare me to death.

...If we succeed, we're the winners. If you succeed, you don't have to go
anywhere.... The Black Panther. No, no, no, no, no, no, I would never hurt black people.
No sir--I beg your pardon_You may not need yours.... No, no, no, no, that's very racist...
Western society is developed on what is called the legalistic aspect of developing laws. And we have from Europe the epitamy of Western philosophy for the state to restore...the individual must give up something for the benefit of the society. And those things which you give up bind you together are those which cause laws. Now it's true that western society can function on laws. But it is not true that all societies must function on laws. And if you think that, you are not only racist, you are indeed, stupid. There have been a number of societies that have functioned without laws as you know from your western society...This one won't either...

You can never tell, they last a long time, didn't they? Greece lasted for quite a while, but they tumbled; the Romans--they tumbled. And they tumbled, they tumbled from the inside. There have been societies in the East, there have been societies in Africa without laws... Formal law is what you're talking about...I didn't say that--you inferred that. Please...My ultimate goal is the complete liberation of black people, at any price necessary...I mean liberation. Liberation is the state where one can depend upon oneself, what one wants to do, and have the power to implement those decisions. If one is being stopped from doing it, one must apply force against the person who is stopping you. Isn't that a law of nature?

...Me. We would have us. I don't understand the question. We're fighting in Viet Nam. If you destroy North Viet Nam, what would you have left?...  

...And the only way you will have a democratic country is when you get rid of all the people 'cause they don't want your democracy...I beg you pardon...

Let's discuss that a while, can we? All right. I don't know what Communism is, can you define it for me please?...You told me I'm a Communist...

I want to make sure that we're speaking from the same connotation, and in order to insure that we are, I would like you to define it.
So we have a working definition, so we have a definite opp--modus opperandus from which to work. So would you please define it for us. Would you define Communism?...
No, no, you didn't ask me for my definition, you asked me was I, and I'm asking you to define it. Can you define Communism? I refuse to define Communism. You brought it up, now define it, and I'll work with it. I refuse to define it...

You are very honest, because I see what all the other questions are about... They're trying to be hostile. I think we have made it clear that we are for the liberation of our people, we have not said that we want to accept other people. Now whether or not... I keep telling you, I'll answer you publicly--you'll learn something. The Existentialist philosophers have raised the question of execution...for example, Camus played with this in...The Stranger, the novel, The Stranger. What they mean is that in society there is this relationship between the executioner and the victim. And that the trouble with society is that for the victim to reach the level of the executioner. Now, the existentialist philosophers "cop out." Because they never really answer the question of whether or not the victim seeks to become the executioner of his executioner. They never do. Fannom answered this. He said, "Yes."...no, too stupid...

If you're asking sensible questions, I'll give you some sensible answers, but I can play that game...No no, no, no, no, that's a non-separatist. It does not necessarily follow from my first statement what you said in your second statement. ...That is correct, I know...I'm sorry the rest of your colleagues are very impolite, they have no respect for you. We'll teach them some respect, continue...If you are asking all the questions, you'll give your colleagues a chance to learn something... I'm not a...I'm not a...I'm not a pacifist. All right, if you would accept the definition of a pacifist as...a person being put in a violent situation? ...If he's in Viet Nam, he's not a pacifist...No, no, that's true. Black people who live in New York are, in Harlem,
are in a violent situation, but that's a condition forced upon them. That's different from a man who goes to Viet Nam...No, no, he has...(tape switches)

...giving me money for guns...now, another black man may say something else. Right? Correct? So that if white people want to help me, I tell them they can give me money for guns, I need all the guns I can get my hands on...Well, maybe another black man could tell them...I just say to them that it's their job to organize white society so that it begins to redistribute the wealth or to organize the institutions so it is no longer racist or capitalist. And if they can do that, they can help...Would you call Thomas Jefferson or George Washington irresponsible?...

look, look, look, shall I repeat it for you? "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve."...no, I'm saying it for you because I can say the same thing because then you can't argue with me. "It becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the just powers of the earth, an equal and separate station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god...and... to the opinion of...but we should declare those reasons which impel us to the separation. We hold those truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equally, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and when any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to outlaw or to abolish it..." "...Institute a new form of government which shall have its power from the people," etcetera, etcetera, etcetera.

No, no, no, no, no, to an arbitrary satisfaction...anybody...I would like to see that upheld, so that anybody can say, "Yes, it is upheld."...of universal reformation of mankind?...Yes...

You can feel a pain. I don't think so. You can't feel it. You can try to
understand it... If I say to you, "My finger is cut." If I say to you that I have a pain in my back, anybody... My wife can say, "I have a pain in my back," and I can say, "I know, baby, you have a pain in your back." She can say, "Oooo, it hurts." I can't feel it, I can say I'm sorry it hurts... If I experience pain, yes, then I can understand it. Now the question is, how do you experience the same kind of pain we're talking about? ... Martin Luther King, Mahatma Ghandi, ... I beg your pardon? ... I don't think they did, because after Jesus Christ died, the Roman Empire crumbled; Mahatma Ghandi died and after he died, India and Pakistan went to war; Martin Luther King died and he wasn't even in the grave before the cities were on fire... Why...

... If we are fighting ten people, and you're with me and you're not fighting back, you're not doing me any good, 'cause when they get through with you, they're going to come to me. If you're helping me, kill five and I'll take the other five. If you stand back, you're not doin' ... I don't know... You might be scared of bullets... Goody for you, you know. But you're not doing me any good, you're just standing there, that's not doing me any good, I declare... You know psychiatrists today they recommend, they say that sometimes your conscience or conflicts come out of family... they have a mother and daughter, or a mother and father who cannot... and finally they have a conflict and they yell and scream at each other and everybody feels good? Now on conflict white people try to tell me is that they have decided... that confrontations will not be able to develop... In Cuba, in China, In Africa, in Viet Nam, in England, in Sweden, in France, everywhere I go I receive education. Frantz Fannom... Mao Tse Tung,... It depends on what you call a fanatic, I consider LBJ a fanatic...

... a victory's when you win, that is, you conquer, but actually you lose everything. Did you see "War and Peace," for example? Remember in "War and Peace" when Napoleon ran into Moscow and all of his troops and brought them all to the front?
And all the Russians withdrew out of Moscow, but when he got into Moscow, he conquered all of Moscow. But he declared victory because he lost so many men. Well, I believe that eleven percent of the population living within the heart of production... in an industrialized society can produce... Does that answer your question? ... Oh, no, I got formal indoctrination in school... Yes, yes, but it just doesn't stop there. If the white man did not bring the black man from Africa, he wouldn't have a country in your hands... No, no, no, that's the by-product. We... were brought here to be slaves to... for your country... The reasons for slavery were purely economic, it was a question of whether or not the industrial North or the agricultural South would move a country. The slaves had absolutely nothing to do with that fight. Lincoln himself said that if he could fight and maintain slavery, he would. He only freed the slaves, my good man, because it was a military tactic. The Civil War started in 1861, he did not write the Emancipation Proclamation issue until 1863, two years after the South was whipping the Northern boys. That's the only reason he freed the slaves because the slaves were doing the manual labor, allowing the white southern man to have the time to fight. He was making ammunition for him, preparing his food, packing his clothes, doing everything, digging his ditches, so all the white man of the South had to do was to fight. The North couldn't get white boys to enlist--that's when the first draft laws were enlisted in New York and they had the riots. That's when you had to pay $500 to get out of fighting. The North instituted the draft because they could not find enough white people of compassion...

... Freedom of speech is not really a threat to a society, until the basic contradictions of that society are... Now I ain't going to tell you that in four years, three years from now, freedom of speech will be limited in this country... I will tell you that, yes... All of these are ways to begin, slow, but beginning... People accept them and then all of a sudden you have a freeze on free speech. Free speech... If I got fifty guns to
start suppressing you, you can get up on the roof and start suppressing me. If you don't have a gun, I don't have nothing to worry about. But if you begin to get guns, that's when I'm worried...(End of tape)