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APPENDIX

Number of Utterances	Utterances	Type of Illocutionary Acts
1.	And I don't believe in fighting today on any one front, but on all fronts; in fact, I'm a Black Nationalist freedom fighter	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Suggesting
2.	I believe my religion is my personal business.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Informing
3.	Were we to come out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the out start and we could never get together.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Suggesting
4.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect:

		Suggesting
5.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: ordering
6.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: ordering
7.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Motivating
8.	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	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect:

	becoming richer and richer, and you're becoming poorer and poorer.	Complaining
9.	The community in which you live becomes a slum.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Persuading
10.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Ordering
11.	The man who is controlling the stores in our community is a man who doesn't look like we do.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Persuading
12.	So, you and I even when we try and spend our money in the block where we live in, we're spending it with a man who when the sun goes down,	Representative Direct: Asserts Indirect: Ordering

	takes that basket full of money in another part of the town.	
13.	So we're trapped, trapped, double-trapped, triple-trapped.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
14.	Any every kind of solution that someone comes up with is just another trap.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Convincing
15.	We're all in the same bag, in the same boat.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Persuading
16.	The white liberals who have been posing as our friends have failed us.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing

17.	Black nationalism is a self-help philosophy.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Convincing
18.	I'm one of the 22 million black victims of the Democrats.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Informing
19.	It is nationalism that brought about the independence of the people in Asia.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Suggesting
20.	Every nation in Asia gained its independence through the philosophy of nationalism.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Suggesting
21.	Second-class citizenship is nothing but 20th slavery.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Complaining

22.	You can't sing up on freedom, but you can swing up on some freedom	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Ordering
23.	Well, this country is a hypocrite!	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Ordering
24.	No, you're nothing but a 20th century slave.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Persuading
25.	He made a fool out of you	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
26.	So today our people are disillusioned	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
27.	You can't find them until election	Representative

	time.	Direct: Assuring Indirect: Convincing
28.	They're going to come in with false promises.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
29.	I speak as a victim of America's so-called democracy.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
30.	You and I have never seen democracy – all we've seen is hypocrisy.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Convincing
31.	This government has failed us.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Complaining
32.	Any kind of activity that takes place on the floor of the Congress or the	Representative Direct:

	Senate, that's the government.	Informing Indirect: Protesting
33.	And black nationalism is the key.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Suggesting
34.	The political philosophy of black nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Encouraging
35.	Woolworth didn't start out big like they are today, they started out with a dime store and expanded.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Ordering
36.	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	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Recommending
37.	Though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic and social	Representative Direct:

	philosophy is Black Nationalism.	Informing Indirect: Affirming
38.	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	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Motivating
39.	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.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Motivating
40.	Rev. Cleage, right here, is a Christian minister, here in Detroit, he's head of the Freedom Now Party.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Motivating
41.	all of these are Christian ministers but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters	Representative Direct: Informing

	in some other category.	Indirect: Convincing
42.	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.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Encouraging, suggesting
43.	They don't attack me because I'm a Muslim. They attack me 'cause I'm black.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Convincing
44.	So some of them stood up and said, "Liberty or death!"	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Ordering
45.	And the generation that's coming up now can see it.	Representative Direct: Asserting Indirect:

		Convincing
46.	It was the fact that you threw 80 percent of your votes behind the Democrats that put the Democrats in the White House.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Ordering
47.	You, today, are in the hands of a government of segregationists.	Representative Direct: Informing Indirect: Advocating
48.	we must understand the politics of our community and we must know what politics is supposed to produce.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Encouraging
49.	And you and I have to make a start.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Insisting
50.	So, our people not only have to be reeducated to the importance of supporting black business, but has to	Directives Direct: Advising Indirect:

	be made aware of the importance of going into business.	Ordering
51.	Today it's time to stop singing and start swinging.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Insisting
52.	You and I have been sitting long enough and it's time today for us to start doing some standing	Directives Direct: Advising Indirect: Ordering
53.	The economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that we should own and operate and control the economy of our community.	Directives Direct: Asserting Indirect: Ordering
54.	think of the image of someone sitting.	Directives Direct: Requesting Indirect: Suggesting
55.	Look at the logic that they're using.	Directives Direct: Requesting

		Indirect: Convincing
56.	Now, you take your choice.	Directives Direct: Suggesting Indirect: Ordering
57.	and let the world see that Uncle Sam is guilty	Directives Direct: Requesting Indirect: Ordering
58.	Before we can get a self-help program started, we have to have a self-help philosophy.	Directives Direct: Suggesting Indirect: Ordering
59.	The only way we are going to solve it, we got to unite.	Directives Direct: Suggesting Indirect: Ordering

60.	We need a self-help program, a do-it-yourself philosophy, a do-it-right-now philosophy, a it's-already-too-late philosophy.	Directives Direct: Suggesting Indirect: Ordering
61.	put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Suggesting
62.	Understand this, it's dangerous.	Directives Direct: Urging Indirect: Persuading
63.	So those of us whose political and economic and social philosophy is black nationalism have become involved in the civil rights struggle.	Directives Direct: Advising Indirect: Ordering
64.	You should control your own politics, economy and all the society in which you live should be under your control.	Directives Direct: Suggesting Indirect: Ordering

65.	Don't join any church where white nationalism is preached.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Protesting
66.	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.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Recommending
67.	If you see where the NAACP is preaching and practicing that which is designed to make black nationalism materialize, join the NAACP.	Directives Direct: Ordering Indirect: Recommending
68.	What's so good about it?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
69.	What goes with it?	Directives Direct: Questioning

		Indirect:
70.	what do you call second-class citizenship?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Realizing
71.	How you gonna to tell me you're a second-class citizen?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Realizing
72.	Why does it look like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
73.	what can the white man use, now, to fool us?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Convincing
74.	And if you are not ready to pay that price, don't use the word freedom in your	Directives

	vocabulary.	<p>Direct: Ordering</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Persuading</p>
75.	What do we care about odds?	<p>Directives</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Questioning</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Convincing</p>
76.	why does this loom to be such an explosive political year?	<p>Directives</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Questioning</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Insisting</p>
77.	what do you get out of it?	<p>Directives</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Questioning</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Ordering</p>
78.	What kind of alibi do you come up with?	<p>Directives</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Questioning</p> <p>Indirect:</p>

		Disagreeing
79.	What about Eastland?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
80.	Why not make him the president?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Disagreeing
81.	Why were they filibustering the civil rights legislation?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
82.	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?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
83.	You going to choose a northern dog or	Directives

	a southern dog?	Direct: Questioning Indirect: Convincing
84.	Can I prove it?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Convincing
85.	How are we going to overcome the tendency to be at each other throats that always exists in our neighborhood?	Directives Direct: Questioning Indirect: Suggesting
86.	If you are black and you are not thinking black then I'm sorry for you.	Expressive Direct: Sympathizing Indirect: Protesting
87.	I want to thank the Freedom Now Party and The Milton and Richard Henley for inviting me here this	Expressive Direct: Thanking Indirect:

	afternoon.	Appreciating
88.	This afternoon we want to talk about the ballot or the bullet.	Commissive Direct: Informing Indirect: Suggesting
89.	I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally, concerning my own personal position.	Commissive Direct: Clarifying Indirect: Assuring
90.	What we will be doing is developing a situation, wherein, we will actually be able to create employment for the people in the community.	Commissive Direct: Promising Indirect: Motivating
91.	And I'm here to tell you in case you don't know it	Commissive Direct: Informing Indirect: Persuading
92.	Well, we going to do the same thing,	Commissive

		<p>Direct:</p> <p>Informing</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Ordering</p>
93.	I'll be able to come back and let you know our African brothers and sisters feel towards us.	<p>Commissive</p> <p>Direct: Assuring</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Promising</p>
94.	I'll be on the next jet right on into the city	<p>Commissive</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Asserting</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Promising</p>
95.	But you can swing up on some freedom.	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Asserting</p> <p>Indirect:</p> <p>Motivating</p>
96.	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	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct:</p> <p>Asserting</p> <p>Indirect:</p>

	for the past 400 years.	Suggesting
97.	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.	Declarative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Suggesting
98.	And 1964 looks like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet.	Declarative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Informing
99.	And in 1964 you'll see this young black man, this new generation, asking for the ballot or the bullet.	Declarative Direct: Declaring Indirect: Motivating
100.	Twenty-two million black victims of Americanism are waking up and they are gaining a new political consciousness, becoming politically mature.	Declarative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Informing
101.	You're in a position to determine	Declarative

	<p>who'll go to the White House and who'll stay in the doghouse.</p>	<p>Direct: Asserting</p> <p>Indirect: Ordering</p>
102.	<p>You're the one who has that power.</p>	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct: Asserting</p> <p>Indirect: Motivating</p>
103.	<p>But today, as your eyes come open, and you develop political maturity, you're able to see and think for yourself</p>	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct: Informing</p> <p>Indirect: Motivating</p>
104.	<p>Historically, revolutions are bloody, oh yes, they are.</p>	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct: Asserting</p> <p>Indirect: Ordering</p>
105.	<p>The white man can never win another war on the ground.</p>	<p>Declarative</p> <p>Direct: Asserting</p>

		Indirect: Declarating
106.	So, our next move is to take entire civil rights struggle into the United Nation.	Declarative Direct: Informing Indirect: Ordering
107.	No, no more days like those!	Declarative Direct: Asserting Indirect: Declarating