Minister Louis Farrakhan, the controversial leader of the Nation of Islam, met for two and a half hours yesterday with editors and reporters of The Washington Times. The following are excerpts from that interview.

ON PROBES OF BLACKS . . .

I would think that along with things that have been done and are being done to black elected leaders across this nation, we believe that there is racially motivated moves to weaken black elected officials, to discover witnesses and even to encourage witnesses in order to break these strong advocates, particularly the strongest ones who advocate justice for our people.

Now with the case of Mayor Barry specifically, it is unfortunate that he gave those who may have been racially motivated something with which to do him harm. And it has left the city of Washington like a ship without a rudder.

ON RACE RELATIONS . . .

If you are a maker of soup, you're a cook, and there's one element in the makeup of it that seemed to be overpowering the other elements. The question is, how do you tone down that one element? You have to bring something else into it that balances that thing that is standing out. . . . And I think what we're talking about here is bringing to the table that which is just and fair to the people who are crying out for justice.
... The honorable Elijah Muhammad said to us many years ago that separation will ultimately solve the problem between the races. This was not separation out of hatred, but it was separation out of the recognition of certain facts that were not going to go away, but would get increasingly worse by a failure to look at the facts and assess them properly.

Fact #1: We have an ever-increasing population. There is no future prepared for our millions of unemployed and millions of unemployable. And the social scientists and the writers, some of whom may be in this room, have talked about blacks as a permanent underclass, which says to us that there is either no will on the part of the policymakers to correct this or there are no resources to correct it or a combination of both.

Now, as John Kennedy was the president that really pushed for integration, trying to make America work as a pluralistic society, this kind of integration led to the break-up of black economic development in the South that we had gained through segregation.

... Now the rhetoric of persons like myself or Jesse [Jackson] or others on the other side of this question is pointing to the Supreme Court that is cutting back on the gains that is made by the civil rights movement, the widening of the gap between those who have and those who have not who are black, the weakening of the judicial system where justice is concerned for our people - all of these things do not portend good for the future of our people.

On the other side of that you have whites of this nation who actually feel that the government has gone too far in this idea of pluralism. So you have the growth of a conservative mentality among whites manifested not only in the conservative policies of a Ronald Reagan, and possibly George Bush, but manifested again not only in an increasingly conservative Supreme Court but manifested in the rise of the mentality of the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Brotherhood and the Skinheads.

And for America and those who write to condemn the Skinheads, say, who represent the extreme of the white right, what do they really say? They are saying no more than the founding fathers of this country said when they set it up. The words of the Constitution are beautiful, but they never were meant to include blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, Arabs, Asians. When they said "We the people," it didn't mean us.

I have watched television put black and white together in sitcoms and soap operas and we're together in movies in love scenes and we're in boardrooms now and in bedrooms, all of these things are being done to foster integration. Yet polarization is taking place. I think we're going to have to ultimately see that there's a greater power at work here than the power that is being used to foster that which you call pluralism.
And that which you call pluralism. And the answer ultimately is going to be separation. That's the trend, and that's what ultimately it's going to be because America is not providing a future for 30 to 40 million people. We have to be allowed to provide that future for ourselves.

And we're saying that separation to us, with us, is like Nelson Mandela's armed struggle. It's like a last resort if all that we have here in America does not work to produce justice for all, then we as a people have to think about what is best for the future of us as a people. And so we think that the answer to that is separation.

**ON INTEGRATION . . .**

You're talking about let's all get together, but you're not doing anything to affect that. . . . Do you realize what it actually takes to bring about what you're talking about? Have you given that some depth of thought? Or really do you care? Or do you just care when I come?

. . . To talk about integration is a serious, serious dialogue. . . . It is ugly on the white side and the black side because most white students and white people have been deprived of the true knowledge of the people who were brought into this country to serve as slaves. We have been deprived. It is a crime of omission as well as a crime of commission and that crime of omission and the crime of an attitude of white supremacy; that you are better because you are white. That you are the ones that have advanced civilization. That you are the goose that laid the golden egg and the converse is that these black people are subhuman, that they came out of the jungles of Africa, they never contributed anything to civilization.

So what effect has that had on our pysche? Why have we been in this country longer than most of you and your fathers and have less to show for it in terms of economic development?

**ON BLACKS . . .**

You have an education and religious system that supports what was done to our fathers in dehumanizing us . . . and to this very day, our people - I'm talking about in the mass, not this sister or this brother in this audience, but I'm talking about the youngsters that are out there that don't want to go to school, that have no real future.

. . . Those in this room who are black, who have evolved beyond the ghetto mentality - I'm talking about the black middle class . . . does not want to integrate with those brothers and sisters of theirs in the ghetto that they have to walk by every day to get here or ride on public transportation with and feel embarrassed by the language that we speak, the way we act, the way we dress.

. . . All of us as black people who have one step up above where our people live
don't feel like reaching back and pulling a brother or sister out. Maybe you do [to the questioner] . . . but that as a rule is not the case. If it were, we as an entity would be doing more to prepare a future for our people rather than laying at the foot of America, begging white people to do for us what we could unite and do for ourselves.

ON EMPOWERMENT . . .

We were brought to this country for economic purposes and slavery advanced the country economically and the economic exploitation and oppression has continued to this day with a $240 or $250 billion purchasing power among black people. We have enough wherewithall in our hands to help government to correct the intolerable condition of black people. . . . The problem is we don't provide enough goods and services for ourselves and those of us that do . . . think that if you set up a practice as a doctor and I set up a practice as a doctor, that because you are white, your medical practice must be better because in some way we equate whiteness with superiority.

And, unfortunately, sir, if we are going to come together we have to see each other as human beings. And if we're going to come together as human beings, then we have to recognize that the mind of white supremacy has to be broken up and the mind of black inferiority has to be broken up.

ON WELFARE . . .

You know the same goal system that is here is in the Philippines, it's in Africa, it's in Australia. Everywhere that whites have gone and set up power for themselves, they give things to the natives to keep them weak and powerless and accepting the dole, so that generation after generation after generation is in that weakened state financially, economically because they're in a weakened and depressed state morally and spiritually.

ON REPARATIONS . . .

Now, the Jews who were slaughtered under Hitler are now being paid reparations by West Germany to try to repair the damage. East Germany had a talk recently with the leaders of Israel, and one of the things that they had to do in order to better the relationship is to recognize that a wrong was done. . . . The government of the United States recently recognized that a wrong was done to the Japanese-Americans and some form of reparations are being given to the Japanese-Americans. What can we do to correct the wrong that was done to millions of blacks that has been perpetuated year after year, generation after generation?

ON NATION OF ISLAM . . .

We look different than any other black people you've ever met. We act differently and you know, then, that we are not the students of this system. We have
an entirely different teacher. And when we approach you, we don't approach you scratching. We don't itch. We don't bend. We don't bow. We look you straight in the eye.

... We could go into the worst high school that you have, nobody can get any discipline, and we'll go in and within 10 or 15 minutes, they'll be some discipline there. Like my brother [referring to a fellow Muslim] went into Mayfair Mansions and at first it was said that we were vigilantes. And it's not that ... at all. And suddenly, if that were the case, three years after the fact, Mayfair and Paradise Manor, whatever it's called, are relatively crime- and drug-free.

What is it about what we teach that has that profound effect on the minds of those who hear. You can take us to the very young, you can take us to the gangs, you walk with us into the prisons, you can go with us into universities, the result is the same. ... If you really want to make America work, not just for blacks, if you want to make it work for all American people, there's got to be some serious introspection and some serious overhauling of this whole thing called the United States of America. And in that regard, I believe, that we as Muslims, have a genuine solution.

ON WHITES . . .

This is part of the process of breaking up the mind of white supremacy and black inferiority. Mendel said ... dark skin is dominant, white skin is recessive. Dark eyes are dominant, light eyes are recessive. You can get the recessive from the dominant but you can't get the dominant from the recessive. Anthropologist Leakey said ... all human beings originated in Africa. ... And now, recently, your scientists, certainly not ours, have taken the DNA of all human beings and they say that all human beings have been derived from the black woman. Now, that's white scholarship.

... That does not make one superior to another but that is a fact. Now, if white people are not natives anywhere: you don't refer to yourselves as native Americans, native Alaskans, native Central Americans, native South Americans, native Australians, native New Zealanders, native South Africans, native to Palestine, native to Arabia, well then, if you're not native, then what is your origin?

... I cannot say that whites have acted humanly. I would rather say that whites have the potential, as we all do, to become human beings. But white supremacy has stopped that process of evolution among the majority of white people. You have not, listen to me carefully now, you have not yet evolved to that state ... by depriving us, as a people, of our humanity, you deprive yourself of your own. ... The people whom you have conquered have shown more humanity than you, the conqueror.

ON SEPARATE NATION . . .

If we found that honest, sincere working to solve the problem did not work and
separation of the two people rather than seeing us kill each other might be best, then we would have to have, as part of reparations, land . . . on which to build a new reality. That shouldn't seem so farfetched. Here are Jews suffering all over the world. And Jews and other whites, gentiles, got together and took land from the Palestinians and gave it to the Jews and called it a new state. The state of Israel, supported by England, France and America.

. . . Now look again, now, at black people. If we can't make it here, this is not the only place on the Earth. But . . . we helped you build this [nation] . . . we fought, bled and died for this nation. You have not even offered us the tiniest state - Rhode Island.

. . . There cannot be separation in a hostile spirit. If we agree that separation is best, how can we go for ourselves without the help of this that we have helped to build? We can't do it by ourselves. There has to be an agreement. . . . We have to, as a nation, cooperate with all the other sister nations of the Earth. We're not going to go off in isolation under a tree somewhere. We want to do trade and commerce like every other independent nation.

. . . Here we are the natural kith and kin of Africa, 400 years removed, an entirely new entity but we have a right to Africa as well as to America. . . . In Africa, there are tens of thousands of square miles of land that is undeveloped, uncultivated. Look at the blessing that we have received by getting education, technical education and other kinds of education in this society. . . . What good is it doing?

Now, look at the prisons. Today's paper said 25 percent of our youth are either in prison, under court supervision, under parole. That says something. And then it said a whole generation of black men is just about lost. The prisons filled with young blacks, you don't have a solution for this. . . . Now look at our rate of reform. We take people who are criminals, murderers, whatever and clean them up, make them better. We prove that we can reform our people.

. . . Go back and look at the historical precedent of this country . . . some of the prisons were emptied out and those persons who had no hope but to stay in jail had a chance to help to build a new reality.

. . . I'm not going to point out an area in Africa, but just say that through the [Organization of African Unity], through our own brothers and sisters there, we struck an arrangement and we drew off some of our young prison population and took some of our scholars and with the help of this government, put them to work building a new reality. You would be surprised how many blacks would welcome the opportunity to build a new reality rather than lay fallow in the streets of America, doing nothing.
... We are thinking along those lines and we've made some beginning steps [talking to unnamed African countries].

ON RACIAL VIOLENCE . . .

I don't think you have a lot of time, to be very honest with you. . . . If something is not done either to separate potential combatants or to put something in the mix that would tone down that which is leading towards this, then unfortunately, we may not have 15 or 20 years to talk about this.

You have in this country young black people, young white people, young Hispanic people. It is the strangest generation we've ever seen. It is the most violent and the most brutal generation we've ever seen. And it is without a doubt, if these conditions are not corrected, we will have race war.

And I firmly believe this is why whites in this nation fear black youths to the point where drugs are flowing into the black community.

It is not accidental that in 1985, when I made my speech in Madison Square Garden, in spite of all the propaganda - there were about 30,000 people in the garden and we counted maybe 15,000 on the outside trying to get in - and it so alarmed those that fear the rise of any black man that had the ear of the masses of our people. Right after that crack started to flood into Harlem, and there's a recent edition of one of these weekly magazines that says 'crack babies soon to enter the schools.' Meaning this is now five years, 1990, and crack has spread throughout the black community.

Now if you look in Los Angeles, you find young blacks - not only in L.A., Chicago and other places across this country - with Uzis. We don't make them. AK-47s. We don't make them.

... What I'm suggesting, sir, is that there is a mindset in black America growing - and you people know it . . . that if justice is not done, this people will absolutely rise up against their oppressors. . . . People can only take so much. You look at Eastern Europe and one day Ceaucescu was in power, and the next day . . . he was gone.

There's a movement among the people today. They are not waiting on leaders. They are being led by a spirit that is bigger than all the leaders put together. And that's why the leaders themselves did not and could not calculate the movement in Eastern Europe. . . . And most of the black leaders you recognize, they're running to catch up to the movement of black people.

ON 'THE PLAN' . . .

Is there a plan [to keep blacks down]? . . . It certainly has been a plan of the United States government to deprive us of leadership, to deprive us of the ability to
organize, to keep our strong leaders from ever getting funding, and that plan is in operation today.

... What is this, is this a plan? Where do the drugs come from? We don't make them. Where are the guns coming from? We don't make them. Somebody is inspiring the black people to kill off each other. Who is it? Who is the unseen hand? We respectfully believe it's the government of the United States of America.

... When the civil rights movement was at its height, a purer form of heroin was released into the ghettos of America. All of these things can be substantiated. ... Here are infants born in Harlem and the infant mortality rate in Harlem is higher than one of the poorest Third World countries, Bangladesh. ... How could we be dying at this rate unless there is a plan?

... I say we are victims of society and mismanagemnt. ... And I'm suggesting if this is the plan ... I would appeal to Mr. Bush ... [to] be very careful because you're not dealing with just these black people. You're dealing with God today. And God will punish America for your evil mistreatment of this people who have suffered in this country for 400 years and the suffering still goes unabated.

****BOX

FARRAKHAN ON THE JEWISH CONTROVERSY

"I had just come back from overseas, from the Muslim world, and I made a speech in Boston at a white church, and I made this statement in Boston and again in our own building in Chicago.

"Here's my statement: I said that the state of Israel has not had peace and she will not have peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, murder and using God's name as a shield for your dirty religion. Those are my exact words.

"... Now I have explained this over and over again. I've been speaking for 36 years and ... never in my history have I attacked Judaism.

"... What God revealed to Moses was pure truth and it was designed to purify Israel ... Israel's actions against the word of God are not clean. If I'm wrong, straighten me out. But don't call me anti-Semitic, as though I have some plan in my heart to kill Jewish babies and put them in ovens like Hitler did. This is an awful characterization of a man.

"Not only have Jews practiced unclean religion, but [so have] Muslims and Christians."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Minister Louis Farrakhan (right), leader of the Nation of Islam,
is accompanied by advisers during a luncheon at The Washington Times yesterday in which he outlined a plan to move American blacks to an unspecified African nation., By Bert V. Goulait/The Washington Times; Box, FARRAKHAN ON THE JEWISH CONTROVERSY