

An Exploration of Oppression, Modern Slavery and Racism in The US through Malcom X's Last-But-Not-Delivered Speech (February 21, 1965)

Dr. Nassourou Imorou^{1*}, Edouard, L. K. Koba²

¹Assistant Lecturer, University of Parakou, Benin Republic

²Assistant Lecturer, University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin Republic

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*Corresponding author: Dr. Nassourou Imorou

Abstract

This paper has leaned on the Critical Discourse Analysis of Malcom X's speech entitled "Organization of Afro-American Unity Program (February 21, 1965). Drawing on Fairclough's (1989) Social-Discoursal Approach and Fowler and Kress' (1979) Critical Classification theory, the speech has been described, interpreted and explained. The conceptual classification has been carried through lexicalization, overlexicalisation, position of adjectives and the choice between adjectives and nouns. The critical classification being a pivotal means through which ideological orientations are deduced, the interpretative and explanatory analyses have disclosed the ideologies of oppression, racism, modern slavery, unity and freedom. On balance, Afro-Americans were fraught with slavery treatments, racist power structures and oppressive aggressors and are currently confronted with racial inequalities and discriminations which sometimes culminate in manslaughters mainly by White American policemen. This unfinished battle of Malcom X should be perpetuated to the period when criminal acts and racial injustices are eradicated in the present US under Joe Biden's administration (2020-2024) and even beyond.

Key words: Oppression, Overlexicalisation, Relexicalization, Racism, Slavery.

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INTRODUCTION

Speeches are used by leaders of marginalized communities, movements, rebel groups, protestors, political parties, religions, etc. to rally and convince a larger audience to their legal and legitimate causes and to draw the attention of their main targets to their principal claims. Leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr, Malcom X, Nelson Mandela, to name some but a few, have paid the highest price of dedication to free their community from the subjugation of oppression, racism and segregation either by their assassination or incarceration for ages. Standing as defenders of the powerless and wordless people, they endanger their life through speeches that are destined to draw the attentions of rulers to their claims and pleas. They use well-structured and tamed language to convey their messages which are carriers of ideologies. On this ground, "language functions as a means by which leaders' ideologies, values, aspirations, political, economic and social programs are voiced and implemented" (Koba, 2019:1). Dwelling upon this assumption, speeches are powerful instruments of cold warfare, peaceful fights, defenses and claims. Hence, it

can be maintained that "language is not powerful on its own; it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use powerful people make of it" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:88). So, language of leaders become as powerful as possible by the strategic control people make of it to persuade, rally, dissuade, tame and transform people's aspirations and touch their sensitivity. These speeches tackle a specific aspect and tend to heal some ailments which people have been suffering from. For Jones and Peccei (2004:36), "all issues in our age are political in the sense that politics is concerned with power, which is used to make decisions, to control other people's behavior and often to control their values". In this vein, it could be sustained that Malcom X's speech under examination addresses a topical issue that concerns all people who need to be at liberty from oppressive and racial power structures.

Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) theoretical background, this study aims at classifying the conceptual trends of this discourse and revealing the ideological orientations deduced from these concepts. To drive this linguistic

cruising, the researchers have worded a guiding research question, which reads as follows: how does the classification of concepts under umbrella words contribute to uncovering the ideological orientations of the speaker?

This study points out that the classification of concepts is a crucial means to reveal the ideological orientations behind the choice of lexical items (mainly nouns, verbs and adjectives). The descriptive classification is of significant help to sort out the hidden ideologies beyond the surface structures of the content words at issue in this analysis. It lays bare that speakers' choice of concepts are intentional and purpose-oriented in contexts.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

This section hinges on the overview of the CDA as addressed by Fairclough (1989), explores Fowler and Kress' (1979) classification theory and clears up the methodology.

1. Fairclough's (1989) Socio-Discourse Approach

Fairclough's (1989) approach to CDA oscillates between a focus on structure and a focus on action which he elaborates as text, interaction and social context as the three elements of a discourse. He draws a distinction between three stages of CDA: (i) description of text (ii) interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction (iii) explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context.

The 'description of text' or 'discourse as text' has to do with the identification and classification of linguistic features embedded in the text. Fairclough (1989) organizes text analysis around four major headings: 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure'. These are structured in ascending order in that "vocabulary deals mainly the individual words, grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences, cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together, and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of texts" (Fairclough, 1992:75).

The interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction or "discursive practices – through which texts are produced (created) and consumed (received and interpreted) – are viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 69).

Discursive practices play a significant role in social and cultural reproduction and change. The explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context or discourse as social practices "[...] can

be seen as articulations of different types of social elements. They articulate semiosis (hence language) together with other non-semiotic social elements" (Fairclough, 2004:227). The following may be considered as key elements in the composition of any social practice: "(i). Action and interaction; (ii). Social relations; (iii). Persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories, etc); (iv). The material world semiosis" (Fairclough, 2004:227). These key components of social practices contribute to understanding and interpreting speeches.

Moreover, CDA is an emancipative and a "democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society" (Huckin, 1997:1). To achieve this, CDA explains how social injustices are produced, reproduced, and legitimized as well as to understand the agencies that institutionalize and mystify them, and, above all, relate these interpretations to wider socio-cultural, political and historical contexts.

2. Fowler and Kress' (1979) Classification

According to Fowler and Kress (1979), the conduct of a critical analysis of texts encompasses the grammar of transitivity, the grammar of modality, transformation, classification, coherence, order and unity. Classification has to do with the describing or framing of the people or events involved. The choice of words in a discourse is the main representation of classification. In Halliday's linguistic theory, "vocabulary or lexis is a major determinant of ideological structure" (Fowler, 1991a: 80). "Language reflects people's thinking and it is also influenced by people's cognition and their feelings. Different attitudes to and opinions of things and events result in different choice of diction" (Zheng, 2015:50). Reah (1998: 75-77) also asserts that "lexical choice is one of the most powerful tools to construct ideology".

A large number of papers, theses or dissertations have studied metafunctions under the coverage of CDA (Wang, 2010; Alvi & Baseer, 2011; Zhang, 2014; Amoussou, 2017; Amoussou & Koba, 2018; Koba, 2019 and Koba, 2020). Studies on classifications have not been largely addressed but Zheng's (2015) paper can be quoted in this work. The classification undertaking in this paper handles lexical categorizations of parts of speech such as nouns, adjectives and verbs in that they highly reflect people's thinking, doing, appellation and depiction. In addition, under the classification arena, relexicalization, overlexicalization, adjectives and position of adjectives and the choice between adjectives and nouns in the clausal structures have drawn the heed of the researchers.

In fact, "**relexicalization** is relabeling, the provision of a new set of terms, either for the whole language or for a significant area of the language; it provides a new perspective for speakers, often in

specialized areas which are distinct from those of the larger social group” (Fowler & Kress, 1979: 210).

“**Overlexicalization** is the provision of a large number of synonymous or near-synonymous terms for communication of some specialized area of experience” (Fowler & Kress, 1979: 211). Better still, overlexicalization “points to areas of intense preoccupation in the experience and values of the group which generates it, allowing the linguists to identify peculiarities in the ideology of that group” (ibid: 212).

“**The positioning of adjectives and other modifiers** are highly revealing” (ibid). If adjectives are placed after the copula words, they tend to declare that the statement is the writer’s/speaker’s subjective judgment. If they come before the nouns, they are integrated as a kind of attributives into the nominal phrases. For instance, “The girl is beautiful” is the writer/speaker’s judgment or personal opinion, while “the beautiful girl” tends to put the girl into a kind of category. So “prenominal modification tends to indicate classification rather than evaluation” (ibid). In this case, the subjective opinions are transformed into objective descriptions. In the words of Xin (1997), what adjectives and verbs depict does not last forever. Generally, the characteristics given by adjectives and verbs are dynamic, temporary and ready to change. But, nouns tend to attach permanent features to the persons or things under discussion. The difference between “don’t be mad” and “don’t be a mad person” is palpable.

3. Language, Ideology and Hegemony

Language is a channel by which ideology is manifested or voiced. Ideology can be understood as the representations of the world in order to establish and maintain relations of power (Koba, 2019:48). Language is, thus, viewed as a vector of ideology, which is understood as “constructions of meanings that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992b: 87; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999:26). In CDA, language is an ideology carrier and is viewed as a means of leadership and control. “Hegemony is not

only dominance but also a process of negotiation out of which emerges a consensus concerning meaning” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:76). In this case, there should be dominant people who control since elements or factors that give rise to dominant discourse equip the dominated people with resources for resistance. So, hegemony contributes to the establishment and maintenance of unequal relations.

4. Methodological Perspective

This paper has adopted a descriptive, interpretative and explanatory methodological approach as pioneered by Fairclough (1989). Being a pure textual analysis, the qualitative data analysis procedure has triggered the scrutiny of the linguistic properties. The fitting implications of these linguistic resources, through the exploitation of discursive and social practices respectively at the interpretative and explanatory stages, have heavily contributed to unclocking the ideological inferences of the conceptual classifications carried out previously at the descriptive stage.

Counting 3691 words with classification as analysis focus, all the lexical items in the speech under exploration (last-but-not-delivered speech on February 21, 1965) are not individually examined for “it is unnecessary and impossible to explore all linguistic elements while doing critical discourse analysis” (Xin, 2005: 65). But, the telling concepts have been prone to an in-depth analysis. The next section has absorbed the conceptual classification of the impactful linguistic features in Malcom X’s speech.

DESCRIPTIVE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

The classification task has operated on relexicalization, overlexicalization, position of adjectives and choice of nouns and adjectives in clausal or sentential structures. In the table below, the emboldened and italicized concepts have to do with relexicalization whereas the others are related to overlexicalisation.

Table-1: Classification and ideology

Word class	The white American community (victimizers/perpetrators)			The Afro-American community (victims/sufferers)	
	Oppression	Racism	Modern Slavery	Unity	Fight and determination for freedom
Noun phrases	Oppressors Murderers Brutality Ruthlessness Humiliation Torture Castration Murder Violence	Racist power structure Racist educational system Ethnic discrimination Vicious racists Savage racists Racist aggressors	Slave government Racist enslavers Enslavers State of slavery Slave masters Economic slavery Ethnic Discrimination Evil deeds Criminal	Afro-American Unity Grand alliance Homogeneous Ethnic group Common origin Common group Mutual cooperation Mutual benefit	Meaningful action Determination Confidence Resolve Independence Freedom Free people Active participation Larger world struggle of oppressed peoples

			institution Crime en masse Crimes against God and humanity Subhuman ex- slave	Ethnic intermingling	Liberation schools Emancipation Inalienable rights Cultural revolution
Adjectives	Oppressed Subjugated Terrorized Brutalized Suppressed Oppressive	Horrible Racial Negro Black White	Terrible Kidnapped Dehumanized Murdered Lynched	United	Strategic Well-informed Confident
Verb or verbal phrases	To keep us divided and oppressed To prevent	Abuse Misuse	To enslave Keep us enslaved	To unite To come together To join hands and hearts To strengthen our common bond To strive toward one goal	Conquer To reeducate To become alert To change To encourage To write and publish the text books To defend To insure the survival of the Afro-American To free To restore Liberate the minds Dedicate (their) ideas, skills, and lives To contribute to our freedom

1. Relexicalization

Relexicalization addresses oppression, racism, modern slavery, unity and freedom from oppression.

1.1. Oppression

Malcom X views oppression as **“brutality”**, **“ruthlessness”** and **“humiliation”**. He termed the deeds of their oppressors as deployment of brutality because the oppressed people are brutalized and terrorized by the oppressive government whose main aim was to hamper any rise of emancipation. Any claim of inalienable and fundamental rights should be vehemently and tyrannically repelled. This extreme deployment of brutality is a crystal manifestation of cruelty to maintain the Afro-Americans in a state of dominance, dependence and extreme poverty. These brutalization acts are performed by the police under of the control and instructions of the police hierarchy. But, “the slave [oppressed person] who is incapable of assuming his revolt does not deserve to be pitied. This slave will respond alone to his misfortune if he deludes himself about the suspect condescension of a master who claims to set him free. Only struggle liberates” (former President Thomas Sankara, Burkina Faso) during his speech at the UN meeting on October 4, 1984).

The use of the term **“ruthlessness”** is in keeping with the different acts of the oppressive government in the sense that it instructs the performers of crimes to be merciless. In fact, the perpetrators are enlivened by feelings of extreme heartlessness in order to be able to accomplish their national and republican

missions. The succinct implementation of **“brutality”** and **“ruthlessness”** aims at **“humiliating”** the Afro-Americans. The oppressors inflicted savage treatments to a Black community which committed no criminal acts but its desire to free itself from oppression. It is deducible that the freedom from the oppression of the White community will not be given like the icing on the cake.

Malcom used the past participle **“subjugated”** to relabel the Afro-Americans’ in-depth oppression. The state of subjugation is more severe than that of oppression since the intensive use of intimidations and acts of terror deepens the cruel hole in which the Black community was. The end-product is to force Afro-Americans to subdue in their march for freedom.

1.2. Racism

At its very essence, racism is “an ideology of racial domination” (Wilson, 1999:14) which presumes that a racial or some racial groups are intellectually, culturally, biologically and wealthily superior to another race or other races. Dealing with racialization in the US, Malcom X relabels the so-called “citadel of democracy”: **“racist power structure”**. The beacon of democracy is turned to a racist government which ill-treats colored people and makes them undergo the most terrible sufferings both physically and psychologically. In the words of Clair & Denis (1995:858), “the racist ideology served as justification for land appropriation and colonial violence toward indigenous peoples as well as the enslavement of Africans starting in the sixteenth century”. Also, the wrong feeling of

superiority of White people over Black people is symptomatic of the legitimization of the White race and the deligitimation of the Black race. This complex of superiority has been transmitted from generations to generations and the fights of Frederick Douglass, Rosa Park, Malcom X and Martin Luther King Jr. are still of date and stands as unfinished long-lasting battle.

The activist made use of the noun phrases **“vicious racists”** and **“savage racists”** to name the types of racisms which were in use in the US. These viciousness and savagery characterized the criminal acts of the White race over the Black one. In their bellicose stance, Malcom X named them **“racist aggressors”**. The racist power structure is much more enraged when they observe any move from the Black community.

The use of **“horrible”** in this speech emphasizes the atrocious and shocking acts which the Black community was and is victim of. The use of this modifier describes the factual and actual state in which Afro-Americans experienced life. That horrifying treatment and overuse of power have been formal by the **“misuse”** of authority and power given to policemen in the performance of their duty under the **“racist power structure”**. In short, Malcom X wants his readers to have an insight of what the US is actually doing on its territory though it stands as the pioneer of the enactment of civil rights and protector of universal rights.

1.3. Modern Slavery

For centuries and from generations to generations, slave masters wanted to keep slaves in an everlasting domination and extreme paucity despite the 13th Amendment ratified by Congress on December 6, 1865 abolishing slavery, which reads as follows: “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery). This evil willpower has led to the establishment of a “slave government,” which formalized the abuse of ex-slaves by ex-slave masters. It is deducible that the perpetrators of criminal acts are protected by a government that legitimated and legalized modern slavery through criminal laws and criminal judicial systems.

The judicial power allows injustices to be perpetrated right because victimizers are protected by laws and any claims by a victim, who is denied absolute rights, can be tricked by the judicial power. In the criminal data, colored people and other minorities are more sentenced than White Americans. “Today, African Americans and Latinos comprise approximately 60 percent of imprisoned individuals” (www.naACP.org/pages/criminal-justice-fact-sheet, accessed on 2 January 2021). In addition, these jailbirds live in the worst conditions. A conducted study for the National Institute

of Justice concluded that “Black and Hispanic offenders sentenced in State and Federal courts face significantly greater odds of incarceration than similarly situated White offenders” (Cassia, 2000). On this ground, Martin Luther King Jr. said “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice anywhere”. In its segregationist stance, the Jim Crow Law legacy has made it possible for Americans to keep on modern slavery. In this breath, Clair & Denis (1995: 858) maintain that “racial ideology was used to justify the state-sanctioned social, economic, and symbolic violence directed at Blacks and other minorities under Jim Crow laws”.

Furthermore, the great support of the slave government, which empowered racist enslavers, has pushed them to perpetrate **“evil deeds”**. The activist made use of the aforementioned concept to name the atrocity of their acts. Jumping in the same boat, the racist enslavers have committed **“crimes against God and humanity”** and **“crime en masse”**. In a xenophobic stance, the past participle **“dehumanized”** used as an adjective by the activist pinpoints that the White domination led to the ‘objectification’ of Afro-Americans as they are regarded as sub-humans. Albeit the era of slavery is past, its legacy persisted. It is simply criminal and unfair for a human being to consider his/her counterpart like a thing.

1.4. Unity

Malcom X saw the necessity of unity that will give them strength to overthrow the slave government and to fully rehabilitate their multiple rights (vote, fair education and equal opportunities). The divisive government set up a politics to dismantle all rises of movement aiming at uniting all the Afro-Americans. In answer to this, Malcom X launches a continental union of Afro-Americans to establish themselves in the US as full and complete citizens having the same rights as White people. This will be substantiated by this quote of his: “There can be no Black-White unity until there is first some black unity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves (Malcom X’s quote)”.

On this premise, he made use of the noun phrase **“grand alliance”**. The coverage area of this coalition is not only the Afro-Americans within the US borders but also all the Africans wherever they are on the planet. They should enroll in the collective fight because their opponent is of a huge power (minority versus majority); and ergo, they need much more unity to be highly powerful. Malcom X’s momentum is to call upon all the Afro-Americans **“to join hands and hearts”** in order **“to strive toward one goal”**: freedom. The enrollment in this long battle needs an inner drive and real actions, the actions of which will resist all potential defections or surrenders thanks to a **“heartily resolve”**.

1.5. Fight for Freedom from Oppression

In the dynamics of overthrowing the racist enslavers, Malcom X called for the **“fight for freedom from oppression”**. The activist made use of **“resolve”** which invites all the Afro-Americans to be armored with caliber of determination, perseverance, endurance and unshakable commitment to fight for freedom. To galvanize his followers, Malcom X stated that **“power in defense of freedom is greater than power on behalf of tyranny, because the power of a just cause is based on conviction, and leads to resolute and uncompromising action”** (Malcom X’s quote).

Malcom X used the verbal phrase **“to become alert”** in order to point out that the enemy can attack at any time. Thus, they should be attentive and cautious. The activist indicated that Afro-Americans are **“to liberate their minds”** from the state of oppressed people and be invested with unshakable determination in the move toward liberation and full settlement in the US as part and parcel of their legacy. This march toward freedom from oppression has experienced some difficulties on its way going and despite some of the progress made. However, the individual racists have continued to perpetrate criminal acts, which led to the birth of **“Black Lives Matter”** in today’s US.

2. Overlexicalisation

Overlexicalisation has tackled oppression, racism, modern slavery, unity and fight for freedom from oppression.

2.1. Oppression

Starting with the first level of classification having to do with ‘oppression’, Malcom X brought to fore **“torture”** and **“violence”** which have been an area of focus in this discourse. These words show the intensification of the Americans’ oppressive policy and the deployment autocratic measures to discourage any growing resistance. In a regime of subjugation, a human being is worthless and such had been the case of Afro-Americans who had been murdered despite the Civil Right Law. This is rightly why **“murder”** had been the modus operandi of the tyrannical power.

The speaker revealed some of the mistreatments through past participles working as adjectives to describe their state in the ‘Citadel of Democracy’. The following concepts **“terrorized”**, **“suppressed”** and **“oppressive”** are meticulously used to depict Afro-Americans who combatted against ‘oppression’ and who willed to live both psychologically and substantially as a free people in a country where they can feel fulfilled and bloomed. Such verbal locutions as **“to keep us divided and oppressed”** and **“to prevent”** represent the White Americans’ oppressive response to the Black community’s fight against oppression.

2.2. Racism

Dealing with **“racism”**, Malcom X used near synonyms to describe the racist power structure established by the racist oppressors. The frequent mention of **“racist educational system”** and **“ethnic discrimination”** shows the true manifestation racism in the US. The area of intense preoccupation is between Afro-Americans and White Americans. In fact, there is a memorable instance on the segregationist transportation. On December 1, 1955 Rosa Park was asked to give up her seat on the bus so a white man could sit down. Parks refused and was arrested. Parks arrest triggered a 381 day boycott initiated by the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA).

Moreover, the racist educational system separated the Black community education from that of the White one. **“Today, two-thirds of Black students still attend schools where the majority of students are not White. Segregated schools reinforce segregated housing patterns, and segregated housing patterns reinforce segregated schools”** (Feagin, 1999:84). Feagin (1999:84) insists by putting that **“racial tracking and other forms of racial discrimination still persist within urban school systems”**. This persistence relays that many more discriminations are observed in state and private offices, hospitals, markets, housings and churches.

In their segregationist stance, such adjectives as **“racial”** **“negro”** **“black”** and **“white”** are exploited to reveal two diametrically distanced communities whose destinies are unfortunately bound to collaborate and live side by side. The term **“negro”** especially is highly pejorative, demeaning and insulting. This **“degrading terminology”** is always employed by the racist power structure to exteriorize their **Negrophobia**. The term ‘negro’ is **“a badge of slavery** and helps to prolong and perpetuate oppression and discrimination” (Malcom X’s speech under analysis).

2.3. Modern Slavery

The third area of focus in this overlexicalization classification is christened **“modern slavery”**. The speaker has enriched this lexicalization stance with such terms as **“enslavers”**, **“state of slavery”**, **“slave masters”**, **“economic slavery”**, and **“subhuman ex-slave”**. These are used to substantiate the evidence of a modern slavery. As history can somehow be repeated, today’s Americans are willing to eternize the deeds of their ancestors, and still behold Afro-Americans as **“subhuman ex-slave”**. This envy of having Afro-Americans in modern bondage finds the riposte of the victims who oppose fight and resistance. This sometimes led to the creation of what Malcom X named a **“criminal institution”** which is practically employed to torture, terrorize, brutalize and massacre the Black community. The description of their acts of barbarism has been made audible by the following adjectives (some being past participles): **“terrible”**,

“kidnapped” and **“murdered”**. However, it must be reminded that the right to life is inalienable and fundamental.

2.4. Unity

The concept of unity of actions has been promoted by Malcom X. He has been the advocate of **“Afro-American unity”**, **“homogeneous ethnic group”**, **“common origin”**, **“common group”**, **“mutual cooperation mutual benefit”** and **“ethnic intermingling”**. His exploitation of these concepts aims at using cooperative and communal strategies to defeat the racist enslavers and successive oppressive governments. Seeing the threat of this minority, the savage racists used a divisive politics to crush and annihilate the project of uniting strategies to be more active and liberate the whole Black community and have equal rights and opportunities.

The verbs **“to unite”**, **“to come together”**, and **“to strengthen”** are exemplifications of the necessity for Afro-Americans to join their energy and intellect to free themselves from oppression and modern slavery. This appeal and plea are deemed necessary for the efficient conduct of the actions against oppression and modern slavery.

2.5. Fight and Determination for Freedom

Addressing the need for fight and determination for freedom, the concepts of **“determination”** and **“confidence”** are used to buttress and enhance the horde’s morale. In this long lasting battle, determination and confidence should be their watchwords to reach the goal of **“free people”**, **“freedom”** and **“independence”**. As a leader, Malcom X is in the know that **“meaningful action”**, **“active participation”** and **“cultural revolution”** through a **“larger world struggle of oppressed peoples”** can be their soft weapons to claim their rights. Malcom X used such adjectives as **“strategic”**, **“well-informed”** and **“confident”** to characterize the atmosphere of the fight. In fact, the leaders and people should develop strategic action plans, be well-informed of the potential raids, and assure the troop so that it can enlist in the struggle for freedom.

A variety of near synonymous verbs such as **“to conquer”**, **“to defend”**, **“to insure”**, **“to restore”** and **“to free”** are eloquently used to state that Afro-Americans’ actions should be converted into a meaningful fight. To convert intents into actions, the troops need some knowledge and prerequisites to defeat a powerful government having all military and police forces at its disposal. Owing to this, the speaker articulated such verbs as **“to reeducate”** and **“to write and publish”**, which are pivotal since ignorance is the worst mistake of any fight. In short, Malcom has **“to encourage”** his people **“to change”** their destiny in an arena where the common enemy is “oppression” and the shared goal is “freedom”.

3. Position of Adjectives and Choice of Nouns and Adjectives in Clause Structures

The current speech is technically crafted towards describing objectively and subjectively the two sides of conflictual situations. Prenominal adjectives and post-nominal adjectives are used by the speaker to depict the state of affairs at that particular period in the timeline story of the US. As it can be grasped, prenominal adjectives are massively used to give a label, a badge or an attribute to noun phrases in sequences. In instances such as **“racist oppressors”**, **“racist aggressors”**, **“racial society”**, **“ethnic discrimination”** **“white and nonwhite people”**, the adjectives are exploited to not only give an attribute pre-modifying the nouns but also and mainly to pigeonhole White Americans, who are against the emancipation of Afro-Americans. In the same strain, prenominal adjectives in noun phrases such as **“tragic institutions”**, **“criminal deeds”**, **“horrible commitments”** and **“terrible effects”** are not only used to describe the deeds of the oppressive government and modern slavery power structure but also to classify the United States in a circle of criminal nations violating the basic **“human rights”** and **“inalienable rights”** of the Black community. All in all, these premodifying adjectives have been skillfully used to objectively reveal the true face of the so-called ‘Citadel of Democracy’ and country of freedom in which only White people are free and Nonwhite ones are damned.

Dealing with the post modifying or predicative adjectives used after the copulative verbs and in connection with the subject, they are used to identify and express the speaker’s subjective perspective of the state of affairs in the US. Peculiarly, the speaker has provided some bad opinions about the Americans’ deeds so far as they are seen as racist aggressors. By placing the adjective after the copulative verbs in such constructions as **“strategic points are deemed basic and fundamental”**, **“it was necessary”**, **“I found it very difficult”**, **“we (are) becoming well-informed”** and **“we Afro-Americans feel receptive”** are intentionally used by the speaker to externalize his perspectives on all the strategies put in place to conquer the Afro-Americans’ freedom. The predicate adjectives, though describing state of affairs, are first and foremost subjective as they may be biased and influenced by the addresser’s personal standpoints on questions. These evaluations are really justified one way or another but the fact remains that they are idiosyncratic. All things considered, it can be contended that the speaker is much more inclined to the usage of prenominal factitive and relational adjectives to efficiently depict the wrongdoings of White Americans.

The speaker has much more used “nouns” than verbs and adjectives to operate the categorization of Americans in the sense that they (nouns) are more likely recommended to designate acts and can remain

so, for nouns are static since they do not change overnight but adjectives and verbs are dynamic.

INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION OF FINDINGS

The classification of dominant concepts has yielded five categories of ideologies. This assumption means that word categories are resources through which ideologies can be encrypted and decrypted. Actually, ideologies are conveyed or promoted by means of words which carry them to reach their target audience. Simpson (1993:6) is of the belief that “language can be used by powerful groups to reinforce their dominant ideology”. In light of the descriptive and evocative scrutiny carried out so far, “the oppressive ideology”, “racist ideology”, “modern slavery ideology”, “unity ideology” and “freedom ideology” have been made out and deciphered in Malcom X’s speech. In this speech, two entities are confronting and are antagonizing: the Afro-Americans or victims and the Americans or perpetrators of criminal acts.

1. Oppressive Ideology

Americans have been enhanced by the “orientation of oppression” in order to be domineering over the Black community. The contribution of the US administration has helped to set up a legal oppressive power which creased and scattered all claims aiming at

Modern racism is substantially the consequence of slavery and its system of legal segregation. Slavery, segregation, and modern racism give Whites major material and cultural advantages they do not deserve. Clear processes of social transmission have helped Whites pass material, cultural, and symbolic capital from one generation to the next, beginning at the time of slavery and continuing to the present day.

The mere oppression turned to racist oppression because only Afro-Americans were terrorized. In this speech under scrutiny, Malcom X argued that “recently our women and children, more and more, are becoming the victims of savage racists whose appetite for blood increases daily and whose deeds of depravity seem to be openly encouraged by all law enforcement agencies”. As it can be deduced, the evil deeds are endorsed and stage-managed by the States. With respect to chronology, “after enslaving us, the slave masters developed a racist educational system which justified to its posterity the evil deeds that had been committed against the African people and their descendants (Malcom X’s speech under analysis)”. It is, therefore, the transmission of the slavery legacy by the White ancestors to their descendants that perpetuated racism. In a racist educational system, only discrimination, isolation and split-up are the nubs of all the activities. According to Mahoney (1995), the lived experience of people in a segregated society links the perceived natural quality of the world we inhabit with its racialized characteristics giving the social construction of race a quality that seems both natural and inevitable. This historical background paves the way for the perpetual development of the complex of superiority and white supremacy. In short, Feagin

demanding just a little more freedom and equal rights. As Malcom X puts it in this speech under scrutiny “our struggle is part of a larger world struggle of oppressed peoples against all forms of oppression”. The reaction to any initiatives by Afro-Americans claiming more civil rights and justice is quenched by criminal acts, evil deeds, crime against humanity and God. These crimes are most of the time left unpunished since violence against Afro-Americans was a State policy. For Malcom X in this speech under scrutiny, “in order to enslave a people and keep them subjugated, their right to self-defense must be denied”. In this deny of rights, the fight of the oppressed people is legitimate because no one will set them free and only fights will be their paying alternatives. All in all, “any time you beg another man to set you free, you will never be free. Freedom is something that you have to do for yourselves (Malcom X’s quote).”

2. Racist Ideology

Afro-Americans are found out in a place where the major community is White. From this postulate, the White and Nonwhite are called upon to collaborate in a multicultural context. The historical backgrounds of the Black community and the slavery legacy have always impacted negatively them and have created tense climate of segregation and discrimination because of their skin color. Feagin (1999:79) states that:

(1999: 84) infers that “racial superiority and inferiority are graphically and geographically manifested through the exclusion of African-Americans.”

3. Modern Slavery Ideology

Despite the formal abolition of slavery in the US, the concept of white supremacy led to the modernization of bondage. The objective is “to keep Afro-Americans in a state of slavery for the profit of a system conceived in slavery, built by slaves and dedicated to keeping us enslaved in order to maintain itself” (Malcom X’s speech under analysis). That modern form of slavery does not sell, own, brutalize and massacre people but it aims at keeping Afro-Americans under a permanent state of dependence and powerlessness. “The system of slavery changed from chattel slavery to wage slavery” (Malcom X’s speech under analysis). This change of system has not transformed the state of dominance and authority but it has kept the former slave descendants in the poorest and harshest working conditions. So, someone who does not have the financial power is deprived of the socio-political power and consequently has to fight for liberation from economic bondage. Once again, Malcom X tried to uncover the devilish plan of the former slave masters when he asserted in the speech

under analysis that: “racists in this government developed techniques that would keep the Afro-American people economically dependent upon the

slave masters—economically slaves, twentieth century slaves—”. In the same vein, Feagin (1999: 86) unveils that:

Slavery, segregation, and modern racism give Whites huge and undeserved material advantages as well as a process to transmit material and cultural capital across many generations. Once the unjust enrichment of the Whites and unjust impoverishment of the Blacks were created by slavery, the White leadership of this Nation, strongly supported by most rank-and-file Whites, used segregative and discriminatory means to perpetuate this enrichment and impoverishment from one White generation to the next.

The power of transgenerational historical legacy has logically impacted Nonwhite Americans, the Black community of which particularly continues to suffer humiliation, homicide and torture. The unfinished fight of Malcom X and Martin Luther King Jr. has not yet experienced any end owing to recent events in the US namely George Floyd’s death on 25 May, 2020. He was shown in a video clip in Minneapolis (Minnesota) agonizing and pleading with the White police officer (identified as Derek Chauvin) to get up because the White police officer knelt on his neck. George Floyd died minutes later and this crapulous death sparked “a butterfly effect” whereby thousands of people in London, Berlin and New Zealand, African capital cities, etc. in solidarity with Afro-Americans protested against that police harassment and voluntary homicide. This collective protest march of the Black community in May 2020 sustained by former President Barack Obama (2008-2016) and some White people disclosed that a lot more need to be done in this twenty-first century when there are still flagrant cases of modern slavery and oppressive treatments by policemen. But, a tweet by former President Donald Trump (2016-2020) contradicted the seekers of justice when he said: “when the looting starts, the shooting starts”. He overtly accused the protestors of stealing people’s stuffs, though he drew their attention to the escalation of the protest. President Trump further intimidated the demonstrators by warning that he will deploy the Federal U.S. military to cities to stifle any rise of violent grievances.

In May 2020, Derek Chauvin was charged with a third-degree murder which carries a maximum 25 years in prison in the Minnesota judicial system. However, Judge Peter Cahill dropped the third-degree murder charge and upheld a charge of second-degree murder as well as manslaughter charge against Mr. Derek Chauvin, who was released on a bail of \$1 million in October 2020 (nytimes.com). But on April 20, 2021, a jury from the Minnesota Department of Corrections found him guilty on all counts in his trial for second-degree murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter.

4. Unity and Freedom Ideology

Observing the state of affairs, the legitimate initiative to defeat the powerful oppressive power is through unity of the minor Black community to acquire some unshakable strength in order to challenge the

racist aggressors. This speech actually represents a call for all slave descendants to combine tactics and strategies to act peacefully to reconquer their place and violated civil rights. This call for a team spirit resolve exempt from traitors can really shake or frighten the opponent.

Taking into cognizance the enemy power, the level of riposte must be at least tantamount to its power otherwise the initiative is planned to fail. This assumption has sparked the noble initiative of Malcom’s leadership and christened his speech “Organization of Afro-American Unity Program (February 21, 1965).” Seeing the plausible success of this largest movement, the racist power structure and slave government bombed Malcom X’s house and assassinated him on February 15, 1965. In short, criminal governments succeeded in defeating movements’ leaders in order for their followers to stop all geniuses to claim equal rights, justice and same social and economic treatments. This unfinished battle was kept on by other leaders who shared the same cause and who were aware of their fight from freedom, mainly because the phoenix always rises from its ashes.

CONCLUSION

This paper has revolved around the critical scrutiny of Malcom X’s speech (February 21, 1965). The classifications of dominant umbrella words through overlexicalization, relexicalization, emplacement of adjectives and the choice between nouns and adjectives have been the working pillars of this paper. So, Malcom X used more technical and uncommon words to make blatant the racist and oppressive government’s ill-doings. In their objective stance, attributive adjectives have displayed a true and fair view of White Americans’ deeds. In judgmental and subjective postures, he expressed his opinions on the state of the nation through predicate adjectives. Malcom X longed for nouns to reveal that yesterday’s fight still has some nurseries which sprang out and caused deadly consequences.

These classifications have contributed to lay bare the ideologies of oppression, racism, modern slavery, unity and freedom. Indeed, the Afro-American populace under the leadership of Malcom X decided to put their powers, techniques and liberation strategies together in a momentum of determination, commitment, faith and courage to finish off the job needed for

freedom. This legitimate fight and large united movement have been crushed by the assassination of Malcom X. But, the death of a leader is not the end of a legitimate fight. Indeed, a godly endowed personality always originates from the population to keep the incomplete fight up. So, the Black community has been claiming justice and equality in the US through the today's 'Black Lives Matter' and other eminent Afro-American organizations.

It is expected that President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris (Afro-American) set up more room for freedom and equality in their policy so as to establish a more equitable and secure life for all Americans. As of 26 January, 2021, President Joe Biden signed four executive actions aiming at advancing racial equity as part of his push to use the powers of the presidency to implement parts of his agenda (nbcnews.com). This signature of these executive actions entails that racial inequalities in the US are still topical and that 56 years (1965-2021) after Malcom X's assassination, they resist time and space and challenge all administrations, even that of Barack Obama.

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