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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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"We Are Rising From the Dead Since We Heard Messenger Muhammad Speak"

Moslem Minister Explains Philosophy of Islam and Its Impact on America

EDITOR'S NOTE: For the past several years great numbers of Americans have embraced the Moslem faith. On the other hand, the majority of people who are members of Western faiths do not understand the philosophy of Islam and its teachings. Basically, Islam teaches that all men are equal and no color differences exist among Moslems. The author of this article, Malcolm X, is a Moslem minister. He explains his faith from the point of view of a Moslem in the Western world.

By MALCOLM X,
Minister Temple No. 7, New York City

"I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death."

—Revelation 1:18.

BEFORE we heard the teachings of MESSENGER MUHAMMAD, we Americans (so-called Negroes) were in the grave of ignorance. We had been taught by our Christian Slavemaster, as well as by our own ignorant religious leaders that God had cursed us black and sentenced us to a lifetime on earth of servitude to the Christian white race.

The same Slavemaster's Christian religion taught us (or promised us) that we so-called Negroes would sprout wings after death and mount up into the sky where God would have a place especially prepared for us. Since we poor "cursed slaves" were not to get anything on earth while we were alive.

WE SOON learned to expect it only after death, up in the sky. Therefore, this earth and all its vast riches, which we ourselves originally owned, was left to the deceitful maneuverings of the white race, to build for themselves a heaven on earth while they yet live.

Such religious teachings were designed to make us feel inferior to the white Christian Slavemaster, and he soon was successful in making us fear him, obey him and worship him, instead of Almighty God Allah, the True Supreme Being, the God of our Own Foreparents.

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has taught us how we so-called Negroes soon became like the beggar, Lazarus, of the Bible: our condition became sickening (very sore). We sat here amid the rubbish of the Western World, at the rich white Christians' feet (or gate) begging for something from their table . . . but from this same Slavemaster whom our own forefathers had made rich, by giving him freely of their slave labor for 400 years, we received only the roughest jobs at the lowest wages, the poorest houses in the slum areas at the highest rent and the worst food and clothing at the highest prices. Our schools were like shacks, and were staffed by teachers who knew and could teach only what the Slavemaster dictated to them.

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has taught us how we so-called Negroes were KIDNAPED "from the East" by the white Christian Slavemaster, brought here in chains and robbed of OUR OWN RELIGION, robbed of OUR OWN language, robbed of OUR OWN culture, robbed of OUR OWN God, robbed of OUR OWN flag, robbed of OUR OWN names and robbed even of OUR OWN NATIONALITY . . . and after robbing us of all

that we originally could proudly call OUR OWN, then the Slavemaster taught us to call ourselves "Negroes," telling us that this was so because he had brought us from along the banks of the Niger River.

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD asks us today when does one receive one's nationality from a river? The same wicked Slavemaster also taught us that "Negro" means black in Spanish. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD again asks us why then don't all of the dark, Spanish-speaking people of Spain, South and Central America accept it (Negro) as their NATIONALITY, too?

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says that we too should get our NATIONALITY from the NATION which our foreparents originated from (as do all other recognized peoples).

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MESSENGER MUHAMMAD teaches us how the Bible says we were purposely cut off from OUR OWN KIND after being robbed of our identity by the cruel Christian Slavemaster (Ezekiel 37:11; Psalms 83:4; Psalms 137:1-9). MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says the Slavemaster took our own names, language and religion from us so that we would then have to accept his, obey him and worship him (Daniel 1:6-7).

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has given us many scriptures to prove that his teachings to us are true and in accord with the prophecies of the Bible. He says it is we so-called Negroes in America who were robbed deaf, dumb and blind to the knowledge of OUR OWN God and OUR OWN SELVES, so that today we are like DRY BONES IN THE VALLEY (spiritually dead, in the GRAVE OF IGNORANCE). We are now only able to speak the Slavemaster's language, and we are even yet called the same slaves names given us by the Slavemaster to our fathers during slaverytime; names such as Jones, Smith, Bunche, Powell, Dawson, Diggs, etc.

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NAMES OF the very same Slavemaster who has shown characteristics of his BEAST-LIKE nature in his treatment of us (Revelation 15:2). The original names of our FATHERS were cut off from us, kept secret from us by the beast, and thus we knew them not.

All other people have their own religion and believe in a God whom they can associate themselves with, a GOD WHO LOOKS LIKE ONE OF THEIR OWN KIND. But we so-called Negroes, after 400 years of masterful brainwashing by the Slavemaster, pictured our "God" with the same blond hair, pallid skin and cold blue eyes of our murderous Slavemaster.

His Christian religion teaches us that "black" is a curse, thus we who accepted the Slavemaster's religion found ourselves loving and respecting everything and everyone except black and we could picture God as being anything else EXCEPT BLACK. In fact, many of us would rather believe that God is an INVISIBLE (Colorless) SPIRIT than to admit to even the possibility of His being black. Even Daniel saw him with kinky hair (like lamb's wool) in the seventh chapter, ninth verse. How grossly misled and deceived we have been.

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MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says that the teachers and religious leaders of our own kind here in America were as blind to the REAL TRUTH as we, therefore, they themselves were not qualified to lead us beyond what the Slavemaster would allow them. How can the blind lead the blind? Thus we remained in the ditch (the grave of spiritual ignorance and mental bondage which was dug for us to fall into by our white Christian Slavemaster.

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Not only did our own preachers and educators here fail to give us the truth, even our darker brothers who were born in the East, came here from the East and neglected to convert us back to the original religion (ISLAM) of our foreparents. Our brothers from the East even failed to recognize us as their long-lost brother who had been kidnaped from the nation of Islam 400 years ago and made to dwell here in this strange land among people not of our own kind or of our own choice (Genesis 15:13).

Our brothers from the East passed us by, and instead tried to lecture on Islam to our Slavemaster, so foolishly thinking they would be successful in turning the Slavemaster into a righteous Moslem . . . knowing all the time that the same slavemaster was the one who has kidnaped, robbed, enslaved and lynched (murdered) their long-lost true brother. Yes. Our brothers from the East came here and seemed to be apologists of Islam, instead of rightly spreading it, or defending it from the sly insults of the unbelieving Slavemaster.

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD teaches us that Almighty God Allah is all-powerful and independent. Allah needs no one to apologize for Him. Islam, His true religion, is not a religion of compromise.

Islam is truth, life itself. It has been kept a secret from us.

For 400 years we so-called Negroes were deprived of Islam (life) by our white Slavemaster, who in turn indoctrinated us with his religion of Christianity . . . and like the Biblical Lazarus we soon became so dead mentally and spiritually that our disposition (attitude) became offensive (stunk) in the nostrils of the intelligent and civilized world. Our own kind in the East refused to recognize us as their long-lost brother. They soon forgot us completely, and we too forgot our blood-ties with them.

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But Almighty God Allah forgets not. As he predicted in the Old Testament (Malachi 4:5) that He would send Elijah to the lost sheep (so-called Negroes of America) in the "last days" (of the white men's world) to teach us the truth that would free us from our white Slavemaster, and turn our hearts and minds back toward our own kind (our fathers) in the East, and also in that last day the hearts of our people of the East would be turned again toward us (Isaiah 43:5).

We who have been raised by Elijah from the "grave" that had been dug for us by the Slavemaster, bear witness that this same Elijah who was predicted to come has been raised up in our midst today and is even now with us in the person of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. Indeed, he is "the First Begotten" of we so-called Negroes who have long been a dead people. Yes, he is one of the "first fruits" of we who slept, and has been raised from our midst by Almighty God Allah himself.

■

EXAMINE HIS works among us, for his WORK is sufficient to testify to His IDENTITY. Only a fool, or an envious person would fail to see the greatness of this man after examining his work. We who have ourselves been raised by him, bear witness to his work.

In such short time, MESSENGER MUHAMMAD is accomplishing what our educators and religious leaders here failed to do for 100 years, and what our brothers from the East neglected to do. MESSENGER MUHAMMED has brought our minds out of the sky (where the ignorant preachers had sent it), and has made us able to face the reality of living. He has restored life (truth) back to our long-lost dead people. Who else other than Almighty Allah could have given this meek and humble little man power to do what all others have failed to do?

" . . . and Allah sends down WATER from above, and therewith gives life to the dead earth after its death. Surely there is a SIGN in this for a people who listen . . . (Holy Quran 16:65)."

Praise be to Almighty Allah. Who would have believed it? This little unlearned man, an ex-slave himself (a man like Moses . . . Deut. 18:18) to whom Allah has given sufficient power to stand up and speak the truth so boldly here in the land of our bondage, facing not only the wrath of the wicked Slavemaster (modern Pharoah), but also the wrath of his own kind who are ignorant to the truth and therefore too blind to see what is good for them, plus those who are jealous and envious of his wisdom and his divine mission.

(Conclusion Next Week)

INTEREST IN MOVEMENT—Proof that the Moslem faith has caught the attention of many thousands of people in America is this photo of a street corner meeting in New York. These meetings always draw large crowds to hear the message of Muhammad.

MALCOLM X is minister of Temple Number Seven in New York. Malcolm travels many miles across the country carrying the message of Muhammad.

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Mr. Nichols
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We Have Risen From the Dead

Malcolm Little

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By MALCOLM X
Minister Temple 7, New York City

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MESSENGER Muhammad's teachings have really inspired us with a thirst in this day for truth. We who follow him actually are filled with a craving to wear the crown of life, the jewels of which are: wisdom, knowledge, understanding, freedom, judgment, equality, food, clothing, shelter, love, peace, happiness. He teaches us that these must be enjoyed while we are living.

These are the very essentials of life, and they adorn the crown of life which we shall wear in Allah's paradise (the Kingdom of God) which will soon be set up on this earth for us to enjoy while we are living. Almighty God Allah has a religion of life (not of death), that teaches us to live and how to live, and the importance of living. Allah is God of the living, not the God of the dead.

All praise is due to Allah. We who once followed foolishly and blindly after the slavemaster's plurality of gods (Trinity), and sought to have our heaven (the necessities of life) up in the sky after we die, are today no longer fooled by the Slavemaster's lie. Today we know that there is but one God. There is no God but Almighty Allah, and we bear witness that the Hon. Elijah Muhammad is His last and greatest messenger to us here in North America. Yes, we who were once dead (spiritually, mentally, politically, socially and economically), lying at the rich white men's feet here in the grave of ignorance, are being raised from this "death" today, being made upright, perpendicular, by the words of this noble messenger of Almighty God, Allah, who has the message of life for 17,000,000 so-called Negroes here in America . . . "The people (so-called Negroes) that walked in darkness (ignorance) have seen a great light (Islam): they that dwell in the land (of bondage) in the shadow of death (the cross), upon them has the light (of Islam) shined . . . (Isaiah 9:2).

EXAMINE our previous condition, then judge Messenger Muhammad according to his work on us. We who are striving to carry his teachings into practice, today are well on the road to spiritual, intellectual, and economic independence. Thanks to his message we are today well aware of the importance of freedom, justice, equality, wisdom, knowledge, understanding, food, clothing, shelter, love, peace, happiness, in sufficient quantity and quality while we are living. This great teacher has filled us with the desire to rest not until we have our own righteous nation, united together under one God Allah, wherein brotherhood is a living and practiced reality, instead of a "future dream" or a "far away promise" as it is in the religion of our Slavemaster.

Even you must bear witness that this man, Messenger Muhammad, is without question the most fearless and uncompromising representative of Almighty God Allah and his religion of Islam. He does not offer any apology to this wick

ed race (nor to the fearful and unbelieving Uncle Toms of our own kind) for the condemnation of the wicked that his message from God warns of.

He says (as Noah did) that you can take it or leave it. So you who say you believe in Almighty God Allah, but who hesitate to teach naked truth for fear of hurting the "tender feelings" of this wicked white race . . . since you are filled with fear of the beast (Revelation 21:8) instead of standing in the way holding up progress, hardening your hearts with envy, jealousy and unbelief, step out of His way so that He can prove to the world that indeed there is no God but Allah, and that this great God Allah has come to redeem His long-lost people (the so-called Negroes of America) . . . Revelation 7:2.

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YOU MUST bear witness that according to the Bible, destruction of the Slavemaster by Almighty God cannot be avoided nor longer delayed. And, oh how well the Slavemaster (modern Pharaoh) is aware of it. Yes, this Government which was founded upon the slavery and sufferings of God's chosen people, is quite upset today because of the teachings of Messenger Muhammad (modern Moses) as was the Bible's Pharaoh.

Government agents have often visited me and questioned me so thoroughly and persistently that I spent many a sleepless night wondering what it is about the presence of this little meek and humble man that has them so terribly concerned and upset.

YES, THEY have visited and questioned many of his followers, but the more they visit and question us the more clearly we are able to see and know that this is indeed a divine man, God-sent to us poor slaves (Exodus 3:6 to 10), with truth that frees us from fear forever of this modern Pharaoh.

This little man has not been to college; his formal education in the Slavemaster's school system is very limited, and he is not eloquent in his speech (Exodus 4:10), whereas these Government agents who question us are highly trained and well-schooled in all of the modern sciences of life. They are well-learned yet the teachings of this little unlearned man has them confused and upset. The average unlearned person cannot upset a learned person . . . unless he has been given something by the most learned one (the all-knowing one), Almight God Allah himself.

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ALL PRAISE is due to Allah: How well has He enabled us to see that this little meek and humble man is he of whom the Bible says: "How knoweth this man letters (such great wisdom) having never learned (being unlearned) . . . John 7:15 . . . No man in history has ever fit such prophetic picture more perfectly than this little unlearned man who is teaching us today with such great authority. Yes, he may be unlearned according to the educational

standard of the Slavemaster, but he has been well schooled by Almighty God Allah himself . . . and he tells us constantly that his doctrine (message) is not his own but was authored by the one God Allah who sent him (John 7:15).

All praise is due to Allah. Think of this. This man, born in Georgia, mentally blind, deaf and dumb, and as ignorant as all the rest of us. But we see him today upsetting the Slavemaster's health just as Moses did in his day to the Slavemaster of that day, (Exodus 5:2) simply by stating God's plan to give to poor slaves (so-called Negroes) a land of our own wherein we won't have to beg any Slavemaster any more for civil rights, for we shall then have in our own land a righteous government wherein freedom, justice, equality and all the other essentials of life will be natural products flowing to us and for us . . . like milk and honey.

We thank Allah for directing us to this verse in the Holy Quran:

"He it is who raised up from among the illiterates a messenger from among themselves, who writes to them His messages and purifies them, and teaching them the book and the wisdom . . . although they were before in manifest error (62:2).

Also:

"Those who follow the messenger-prophet, the illiterate one, whom they find in the Torah and the Gospel. He enjoins them good, forbids them evil, and makes lawful to them good things and prohibits for them impure things, and removes for them their burden and the shackles which were on them. So those who believe in Him, and help Him . . . these are the successful (7:157).

I, MYSELF, being one who was lost and dead, buried here in the rubbish of the West in the thickest darkness of sin and ignorance, am able to stand upright today, on the square with my God and my own kind, able for the first time in 400 years to see and hear. I bear witness that Almighty God Allah is the finder of the lost sheep and life-giver to the dead. He has come in the flesh. He is the only Saviour for the so-called Negroes . . . and I bear witness that Messenger Muhammad has been taught (raised) by this Great God Allah, and in turn today Messenger Muhammad is teaching us (raising us from the dead level of ignorance).

In closing, if you want further knowledge and understanding of his message, visit and hear him every Sunday at 2 P. M., 5335 South Greenwood Ave. (at 54th St.) Chicago, Ill. Or write to him. If you live in New York City vicinity, come to Muhammad's Temple of Islam on Sundays at 2 P. M. We are located at 102 W. 116th St., corner of Lenox, 3rd floor, or visit one of our many other temples in the major cities throughout the land, both in the North and South.

Also, Messenger Muhammad has a weekly column in this paper, The Pittsburgh Courier, each week. Read "Mr. Muhammad Speaks." You who are far from his temples, if you are seeking knowledge, if you crave further light on what you already have "Mr. Muhammad Speaks" will provide you with a wealth of academic as well as religious education.

As-Salaam-Alaikum:

(Peace be unto you).

Holds Interest—This Moslem speaker holds a big crowd rapt with his talk on Islam. The Moslem movement has spread all over the United States. These people are quiet, thrifty, and do not smoke or drink, in strict observance of the Moslem creed.

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Malcolm X Married!

LANSING, Mich.—Malcolm X, widely known minister and leader of the New York Temple of Islam 7 of the Moslem movement, was

MALCOLM X

married in a surprise wedding ceremony here last week. The bride is Betty X, a New York medical student, and a member of the Harlem Temple over which her husband presides.

Attending Malcolm X were his two brothers, Philbert X, minister of Temple 16 here in Lansing, and Wilfred X, minister of Temple 1 in Detroit, Mich. The wedding was attended by a few close friends and relatives of the couple.

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Pittsburgh, Pa.
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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

But history teaches us that it is difficult for a downtrodden people to accept LIVING LEADERS. The downtrodden have us-

MR. MALCOLM X

ually been so thoroughly robbed, deceived and BRAINWASHED (well indoctrinated) by their masters that their ignorant and superstitious minds seems incapable of seeing that a GREAT MAN has come to help them until after that man is dead and gone. Thus, the down-trodden always end up idolizing and paying tribute after he is dead, to the very same one whom they reject, condemn and persecute while he is living.

Will we never learn from the foolish mistakes of others? HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF; thus its historic WARNINGS should keep us on guard today.

The late Mr. Garvey came to this country awakening the downtrodden so-called Negroes to the importance of SELF, and trying to instill a Black Nationalistic spirit into us, but most of us were busy worshipping the "dead leaders" of the past, and some of us were IGNORANTLY waiting for these "dead leaders" to return from the grave, therefore we rejected the late Mr. Garvey and helped our white christian slavemasters plot his downfall.

Now that Mr. Garvey is dead, again HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF. Many who were Mr. Garvey's greatest enemies are today his strongest advocates and defenders.

Tribute is still being paid to a DEAD Moses. Worship is being wasted on a DEAD Jesus. Millions honor a DEAD Muhammad. And, many respect and revere a DEAD Mr. Garvey.

All of these "followers" are seemingly sincere and are supposed to be intelligent. Yet, all are so busy whooping and hollering over THE DEAD, like others in history they are failing to see the greatest LIVING EMANCIPATOR and TRUTH BEARER that the world has ever known, who is right here in America today in the person of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

This is the one whom Moses, Jesus and Muhammad all spoke of who would be here in America in the "last days" of the "white world" with a Divine Message of NAKED TRUTH which would give "life" (ISLAM) back to the long lost so-called Negroes, set us FREE from the clutches of our enemies and restore us back among Our Own Kind.

Did not Mr. Garvey declare that a "greater than he" was coming to carry Mr. Garvey's uncompleted work into completion? Must we who were faithful followers of the late Mr. Garvey make the same mistake of the others in history, and wait until after this great man, MESSENGER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, is gone before we too recognize him fearlessly and uncompromisingly by his works that HE IS FOR US?

Why must we always worship DEAD men? Why must we always follow DEAD leaders? It is because our ignorance has slowed our thinking ability so much that our minds can't keep up with events, and by the time we realize what is happening the EMANCIPATOR is here and gone before we are mentally capable of recognizing him.

We should show forth greater wisdom TODAY. Let us forget the DEAD past and start concentrating all efforts on the LIVING PRESENT. "Let the DEAD bury the DEAD".

(Continued Next Week)

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
Feb. 13, 1958

Mr. Malcolm X [redacted]

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

(ED. NOTE—A number of readers have written and telephoned the HERALD DISPATCH requesting information concerning the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Mr. Malcolm X had this to say in answer to the many inquiries.)

MR. MALCOLM X

"UP, YOU MIGHTY NATION. YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL!" . . . says Messenger Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. Elijah Muhammad, "The Messenger of Allah," Spiritual Leader of the Moslems in the United States, and one of the greatest Wise Men of the Century, is a man who believes the Black Man in America has a rendezvous with destiny.

For more than 30 years he has been passionately concerned with justice and freedom for the American Negro. For he long ago learned, and learned well, the lesson taught that no one individual can rise above the condition of his race.

He frequently says, "The lash of race hatred cuts deeply and equally." The Messenger has been a solitary man fighting for his ideas and principles. But he has never become discouraged or embittered. For his eloquence, wisdoms and inspirations are derived from the triumphant teachings of Allah.

Today he stands alone as the acclaimed leader of the American Negro. For even though there are truths in his insights, some people seem afraid of the brilliance of his visions and wisdoms, and many are even shocked by his candor.

Yet in those who know him intimately he has inspired loyalty, given meaning to their lives, and articulated their aspirations for a "United Front of Black Men." To them, as a consequence, he has become the Anointed Leader.

The Messenger is a remarkable man, though he is the most self-effacing and modest of public men. He has lived and suffered in the midst of the hurly-burly of the American Negro's problems, and knows the hopes and aspirations of his people exceedingly well.

Free from scheming or duplicity, honest to enemy and friend alike, he has nonetheless achieved a position of great strategic importance at a crucial moment in the history of Black Men, and this is forging the instruments of their deliverance.

Let us all unite into ONE FOLD immediately. It is TIME: It is later than we realize. WRITE IMMEDIATELY to Mr. Elijah Muhammad, 5335 So. Greenwood Ave, Chicago 15, Illinois.

(Continued Next Week)

Malcolm Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
Feb. 20, 1958

Mr. Malcolm X

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Malcolm Little

BUILD HEAVEN ON EARTH, MALCOLM X TELLS NEGRO

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
March 27, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam
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Out Spoken Moslem Leader

Moslem Leader Scores Preachers As Misleaders

"Negroes in American must learn the one important guiding rule of conduct for a successful life of peace and economic freedom, which is Brotherhood and Unity, or be destroyed," Malcolm X, dynamic young follower of Mr. Elijah Muhammad The Messenger of Allah and spiritual leaders of the Moslems in the United States, told an enthusiastic audience last Sunday. Speaking to a capacity crowd of Moslems and Non-Moslems, Minister Malcolm X, discussed the principals of Islam, as outlined by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad at the afternoon lecture held in the Normandie Hall, 1480 West Jefferson Boulevard.

Declaring that a wise man can wisely **imitate a fool, but a fool**, under no circumstances, **can imitate a wise man**, the spiritual young follower of Elijah Muhammad launched into a bitter denunciation of misleading **Negro preachers, crooked politicians**, and **bankrupted Negro leadership**. Warming to his subject, he said the seventeen million Negroes in America are a pitiful sight in their effort to imitate the white man by pretending to be **free**; pretending to be **educated**; pretending to be **united**; pretending to be **rich**; pretending to be **Christians**, and above all, desiring to be white. They are under the leadership of a group of **white people who use the Negro to fight their own battle**. Which is the wise man—which is the fool?"

The Negro preachers are pre-

(Continued on Page 3)

"Build Heaven on Earth"

(Continued from Page 1)

tending to lead—he is the greatest pretender of all—pretending to lead you. He is leading you deeper into economic slavery. In fact, he is leading you deeper into the pit of Hell. And, above all, he prepares you to die. The Negro preacher, he told his attentive audience, is teaching you to look for a better life after death. This theory keeps you disunited and diverts your attention and hinders your development, economically, politically and spiritually. The Negro preacher teaches you to love your enemy. To turn the other cheek, to love him even when he spits in your face or the face of your children."

The Negro Preacher in this community alone, control approximately 80 million dollars in building funds, credit unions, sick fund, and church real estate. This untaxable money is in white banks, used by white bankers who discriminate against you, loaned to white builders to build Jim-Crow housing, while you face, and indeed most of you are, unemployed—or are on county relief.

In slow, precise speach, taking chapters from King James Version of the Bible, Minister X, refuted the teachings of the Negro preacher. He declared that some Negro Preachers are the leaders of a Great Conspiracy, which block the economic development of the Negro people, by telling them that Heaven is in the Sky, while he, the preacher, enjoys his heaven here on earth.

Minister X said, "We do not condemn the Preachers as an individual but we condemned what they teach." We urge that the Preachers teach the truth, to teach our people the one important guiding rule of conduct—unity of purpose. This is the rule which the white man has used for generations, to oppress us—to deny us our rights as men—create disunity among us and thus rule us. Its the Negro preacher who keeps us disunited. To support his charges Mr. X quoted Jeremiah 23 chapter first verse, "Woe be unto the Pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture, said the Lord." And Isaiah 56 chapter, verse 11, "Yes they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that can not understand; they all look to his own way—every one for his own gain."

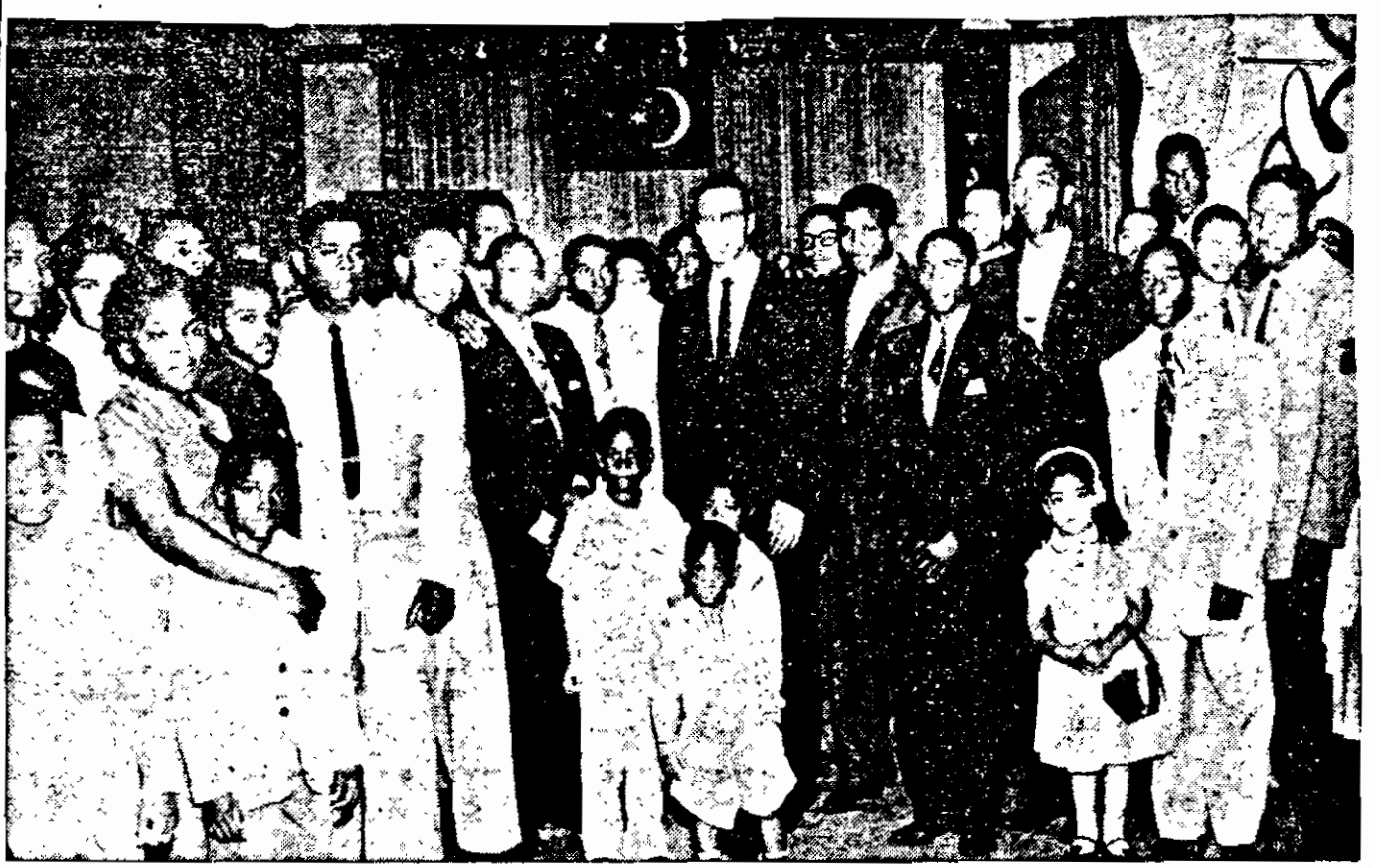
Islam Unites Us

Malcolm X, repetitious in his declaration of the principles of Islam said again and again that Islam, as taught by The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, UNITES THE BLACK MAN; teaches dignity, discipline, the recognition of authority among black men which guarantees unity of purpose — the first necessity for our success in America.

Malcolm X who was assigned by The Messenger to establish Temples of Islam on the Pacific Coast, will give a series of lectures in Los Angeles every Friday evening at 8 p.m. and Sundays at 2 p.m., at Normandie Hall, 1480 West Jefferson Blvd., until further notice. The public is welcomed.

Mr. X maintains offices at 1431 West Jefferson Blvd. He invites Moslems and Non-Moslems to confer with him on Islam, which, as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, dignifies the Black Man; teaches them to love and respect each other; teaches unity—unites the Black Man, which enables him to create a Heaven for himself here on earth as enjoyed by the Negro preachers and most white men. Islam, unites us; the Honorable Elijah Muhammad organizes us, and Allah (God) will guide us. The aim of Islam is peace and a better life here on earth. To secure this peace, we must become independent of our slave masters, control our destiny — co-operate with our brothers and sisters all over the world," he said.

The problems of our brothers in Africa, Asia, Middle and Far East concern us as much as those of our brothers in Mississippi, he concluded.



MALCOLM X (center), surrounded by a throng of admirers, Muslims and non-Muslims, including local Muslim Minister Henry X, Taft Harris and Mr. Thomas, after meeting at Normandie Hall last Sunday, at which a large crowd turned out to hear the dynamic Muslim leader discuss the pressing problems of the Negro people in jim-crow America. At that meeting Malcolm X denounced the venality and servility of Negro preachers. Malcolm X, one of the outstanding disciples of Messenger Elijah Muhamed, is doing an excellent job organizing the Muslim movement on the Pacific Coast. He speaks again at Normandie Hall this Sunday, March 30.

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MALCOLM X, REV. DAVIS CLASH ON NEGRO MUHAMMAD

[redacted] b7C Malcolm Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
April 3, 1958

Malcolm X calls Elijah Muhammad modern Moses of Negro people

Nation of Islam
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Moslem Leader Lashes Out At Venal Preachers

Continuing his stinging denouncation of local bankrupt Negro leadership and mis-leading Negro Preachers, Malcolm X, disciple of Messenger Elijah Muhammad, last Sunday told a capacity audience of standing room only, Moslems and non-Moslems, that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad "is the Moses of the Negro people." He said:

"Too many Negro preachers are posing as the "modern Moses," without studying the type of task ancient Moses performed. These preachers should

MALCOLM X

study Moses' WORKS before they call themselves his modern counterpart.

"Moses represented a people who were slaves, strangers in a land that was not theirs. They were born in that land, but never treated as one of its citizens. Yet, these poor, ignorant people believed in the same false religion and false gods as their slavemaster.

"Moses came to them representing the God of their ancient fathers, the God of THEIR OWN KIND. His entire message was against the religion and the gods of the Slave Master. The God of the slaves was angry at The Slave Master because of the way the Slave Master had abused and mistreated God's people.

"Moses never compromised with the Slave Master. He never taught his poor, downtrodden people to love the Slave Master or to INTEGRATE with them. He taught them to get something OF THEIR OWN. His job was to SEPARATE his people from the Slave Master so God could come and repay him according to the seeds he

(Continued on Page 3)

Malcolm X, Rev. Davis Clash on 'Negro Moses'

(Continued from Page 1)
had sown; reward the Slave Master for his crimes and the crimes of his people against God's people. God had chosen the slaves as His People!

"Moses was wise and fearless becaue he knew GOD WAS WITH HIM, and was against the Slave Master. Pharaoh himselfwas helpless against Moses, so he ORDAINED magicians to work against Moses and fool the slaves with their "false tales" and make it look like Moses was a "madman."

"These ORDAINED magicians worked hard in Pharaoh's behalf. What they advocated and practiced looked like the real thing, but it was only magic, falsehood. Moses had the REAL THING.

"For their work against Moses in Pharaoh's behalf, that evil Slave Master set his ORDAINED Magacians in high places and gave them special TAX-FREE privileges and favors, because they were his Chief Weapons in refuting Moses, and to keep Moses from setting God's people free, and leading them to a LAND OF THEIR OWN. Pharaoh didn't want to part with his slaves. He secretly hated them, but feared that if he let them go they would build up a strong country of THEIR OWN and come back and REPAY him.

"The land that we today know as Egypt has the oldest recorded history on earth. Yet, in its ancient records there is no mention of "The Hebrew Bondage," nor of a man named Moses leading them out of bondage. Then why is this story told? Why is it so prominent in both the Bible and the Holy Quran? Messenger Muhammad today makes this clear to the world for the first time. His WORK among us is THE ANSWER.

"This bible story is a symbol, painting a prophetic picture of what will take place here in America at the END of the "white man's world."

"America is the symbolic land of bondage mentioned in bible prophesy. Today God's people (the so called Negroes in America) are moaning and groaning under the yoke of bondage, persecutions, inequalities, and injustices. Every Pharaoh pretends to be interested in our plight while they are running for office, but after they are elected, and our Rights are being trampled upon they turn deaf ears. The present day Pharaoh is too busy playing golf, vacationing . . . fiddling, while Negroes burn!

"These slaves have asked only to be treated as MEN, and to enjoy the rights of men which every man, by nature is entitled to. But, wise men know the first law of nature is SELF PRESERVATION, and this modern Pharaoh knows he can't give his slaves equality without hurting himself and his own kind.

In the audience were several Negro Christian Ministers, angered by Mr. X's attack last week. However, Rev. Morris Davis, Pastor of a Baptist Church in the 7600 block of South Central, was the only one who attempted to refute his charges. Rev. Davis said in answer to Minister X's labeling Negro Preachers as Pharaoh's Magicians, "There is a difference between a minister and he who professes to be one and a difference between a prophet and those that profess to be prophets.

"We find," he said, "in Kings 18-18-26, where the true definition of a prophet is given. Not by word alone but by evidence ofaction combines. Which Jesus says, 'you shall know the truth by the fruit it bears.' Matthew 7-16-20.

"Solomon, the wise king also known as a preacher, acknowledged that the silver cord be loosened or the golden bowl be broken, or the picture be broken at the fountain or the wheel be broken at the cistern. Then shall the dust return unto God who gave it. Ecclesiastics 12-6-7.

"The first Moses demonstrated miraculous powers that proved that he was a magician of God. And not a magician of Pharaoh, which is man. Exodus 7-9-12".

Agreeing with Minister X, Rev. Davis said, "If the powers that embondaged the colored people are caucasions, by whose authority was Egypt embondaged? And by whose consent? And by what nationality were the people of Ethiopia attached? Were not all of these people of the Caucasian race?"

Mr. X allowed Rev. Davis to speak despite some protest

(Continued on Page 4)

Malcolm X

(Continued from Page 3)
from the audience which was clearly pro-Moslem. He invited other Ministers to come in and join, organize and work with the Moslem Temple he is establishing in Los Angeles.

Following Rev. Davis' speech, he continued outlining Messenger Muhammad's program, "The Blueprint For The Black Man's Future," which he clains is the same as Moses' "for he is the one whom Moses represented. The Messenger says, we must build our own businesses. We must be economically independent. We must be the producers of what we consume. We must have our own land, our own government, our own schools, our own religion and our own God.

"We must study the science of BUSINESS, set up our own businesses, and teach our people how to patronize OUR OWN. In short, he is here to show us how to get OUR OWN. All we have to do is unite, organize.

"Remember, he is not condemning the preachers; only what they represent and what they preach. If they will accept the TRUTH, unite with each other on the side of the TRUTH, and teach this NAKED TRUTH to our people, then God will forgive them for their past misdeeds against our people. But if these Negro preachers continue to oppose this MAN of GOD, the Modern Moses . . . they will be washed away with Pharaoh in the roaring waters of the Red Sea."

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

The Messenger of Allah, writes a column called "MR. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS" in the Pittsburgh Courier. Read it. Examine his teachings. Compare his work with what Moses did, and with what Moses taught. He is warning Pharaoh every day: LET MY PEOPLE GO!

He is not trying to INTEGRATE us with the Slave Master. Like ancient Moses he is trying to SEPARATE us. He is representing to us the God of our forefathers. He says that we are the fulfillment of that prophetic picture painted by the ancient "Hebrews." This is the House of Bondage. God wants us to SEPARATE ourselves from this wicked people, and then HE HIMSELF will show us how to DO something FOR OURSELVES right here on this good earth.

A land **OF OUR OWN** is heaven indeed! The God of our foreparents, Almighty ALLAH, is promising this to us; our own nation, wherein we will have Divine Freedom, justice and equality; sufficient food, clothing and shelter; peace and happiness, BY BEING AMONG OUR OWN KIND.

Pharaoh can't afford to let us go to our own God and our own land. He has called in his helpers, ORDAINED MAGICIANS, to refute and oppose Moses. THESE ORDAINED MAGICIANS ARE THE NEGRO PREACHERS!

The story they tell is a deliberately concocted "white lie," white man's LIE! Only the white man and these Negro preachers benefit from what the Negro preacher preaches to our people. The Slave Master does not want us to control our own government, or our own economy (food, clothing, shelter, and our own businesses) here on earth, so he has the preacher tell us we will have all of this UP IN THE SKY, after we die. Be satisfied with rags now, and later on we'll die and put on white robes. Starve now, but later on we

MR. MALCOLM X

will be fed on milk and honey, up in the sky. Imagine! A city in the sky with golden streets. If this isn't MAGIC, what else is it? And seventeen million Negroes are fooled by it, by these Negro preachers! He has kept our minds up in the sky, worrying so much about how to get up there after we die, it has blinded us to the crimes committed against us by this wicked white race.

We are the economic slave of the socalled white Jew; the political football for the socalled white gentile; and a religious fool for the white-minded Negro preacher.

Look how the Negroes here in Los Angeles are living. It is an absolute disgrace that over a quarter million Negroes in this city, spending over one hundred million dollars a year on food alone, and they do not own a single supermarket of their own. They find themselves in the ridiculous position of picketing the white man, begging him for a job. This, mind you, when he himself has millions lying around in his treasury, controlled by these misleading Negro preachers.

The Negro in America spends 17 Billion dollars a year, from which everyone makes a profit and benefits except the Negro in America. This is **HELL!**

Mr. X is in LA—lectures at 1480 W. Jefferson every Friday evening and Sunday afternoon.

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MALCOLM LITTLE

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
April 3, 1958

Malcolm X

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MALCOLM LITTLE

'Negro An African' Malcolm X Says

'You, the so-called American Negro, are dead,' thus spoke Malcolm X, in a simple direct statement which electrified a capacity audience of Moslems and non-Moslems last Sunday, at Normandie Hall. 'A man who lacks complete knowledge of his historical background, lacks knowledge of his beginnings, is a dead man—the walking dead — a zombie,' spoke the disciple of The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, The Messenger of Allah, in the fourth series of lectures, designed to establish a Temple for the followers of Mr. Muhammad in Los Angeles.

In outlining the Blueprint for the Black Man's future, which was created by Mr. Muham-

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Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
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Malcolm X

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'Negro An African' Says Malcolm X

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mad, the Spiritual leader of Black America, Mr. X told his audience he intended to prove that the black man is dead, and offers The Messenger's solution for his awakening.

Secret Origin of White Race

Today, he told his audience, we shall discuss the origin of the word Negro, and next week, we shall discuss the origin of the white man as taught to us by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. **The origin of the white man is a secret, which has been carefully kept hidden from the world for more than 6,000 years.**

Kidnaped and Robbed by White Man

You are dead, he said, politically, economically, mentally and businesswise, because you were taken forcefully from your native land more than 400 years ago. At that time you were stripped of everything you possessed, all knowledge of yourself, your cultural background, history and taught to be ashamed of your native land. You were taught that your people were cannibals, savages, you were given a Hollywood conception of our people, and unfortunately most of you believe it. First, you were stripped of your tongue, your native language; second, you were denied knowledge of the oldest culture man knows; third, you were re-named 'NEGRO'. You were re-named Negro by the same man, the white man, who had kidnapped and robbed you of your own culture.

Why Negro?

Let us discuss this word Negro. What does it mean. The white man tells us that it is taken from the Latin word Nigra, which means black. Let's pursue this thought further, he said, the white man teaches us that we are called Negroes because we were brought from the Niger River in Africa. Thus, on what basis are we identified by a river while other peoples are identified by Nations from which they come.

Negro Not A Nationality

Let's be specific, he said, the Germans come from Germany, the French from France, English from England, Egyptians from Egypt, Canadians from Canada, Greeks from Greece, Chinese from China, Japanese from Japan, Irish from Ireland, Phillippino from the Phillippines. Then, who are the Negroes?

Negro Language?

Let's be specific, he said, the Germans come from Germany, the French from France, English from England, Egyptians from Egypt, Canadians from Canada, Greeks from Greece, Chinese from China, Japanese from Japan, Irish from Ireland, the Filipinos from the Phillippines. Then, who are the Negroes. If these other nationalities have their own language, then what is the language of a Negro.

In America, the American of German descent is referred to as a German American, French referred to as French American, Japanese referred to as Japanese American, Chinese American, but you are referred to as an American-Negro. And, because you fail to know and recognize yourself, has caused your disqualification in securing respect, and recognition other nationalities receive. **Your failure ot receive your just respect, or the respect other nationalities have is not due to the fact that you are black, but because you are branded as a Negro.**

Denied Citizenship

For example, he said, the word Negro denies you your rights as a first-class citizen and the stigma places you in an intolerable economical position. To follow this point, a black Cuban American is recognized as a first-class citizen. A black African is also recognized as a first-class citizen. This fact acknowledged because the Cuban comes from Cuba which is a nation, the Japanese comes from Japan which is a nation, a Chinese comes from China which is a nation. But the Negro—what is his nation. The Black man representing the Ghana government had breakfast with the President of the United States. He was not considered because of his color, but because he was representing a Nation, the nation of Ghana. The insult he received from a white restaurant owner in Maryland, caused the United States embarrassment. Negroes are lynched, hanged, discriminated against, segregated and there is not the slightest embarassment felt by the Government in Washington, he concluded.

What is the solution, just what should we do to eliminate this condition. **We the so-called American Negro must UNITE OR DIE.**

Muhammad's Solution

The so-called American Negro's only hope for survival is among his own kind, is for unity. The mass unemployment in this country, the deepening depression, which will continue to worsen, it must according to economic determination. Hence, since the black man in America represents the largest of the minority group, he must of necessity be the most exploited. His strength thus lies in unity with his own kind. Your first step in that direction is to learn of your origin, follow Mr. Elijah Muhammad, who is the only man in America bold enough and wise enough to teach us the things necessary for our liberation of the white man's theory of white supremacy.

Mr. X speaks every Friday Evening 8 p.m., Sundays 2 p.m. 1480 W. Jefferson Blvd. No admission.

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Says Many Misleading Followers

Malcolm X Hurls Challenge at Negro Preachers

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LOS ANGELES — Is the Negro preacher in the United States hampering economic development of his millions of followers?

Malcolm X, fiery follower of Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of the Moslems in the United States, told an audience here last week that the Negro preacher in this country is "the greatest pretender of them all."

■

IN A VEHEMENT sermon the young minister said the Moslems condemn the teachings of the Negro preacher.

"We do not condemn the preachers as individuals," Malcolm X informed his audience, "but we cannot condone what they teach.

"Many Negro preachers are leaders of a great conspiracy which blocks the development of their people. While he tells his followers that Heaven is in the sky, he, the Negro preacher, enjoys his heaven right here on earth."

Using the Los Angeles community as an example, Malcolm X declared that Negro churches control over $80 million in assets. "Yet while many Negroes are unemployed or on relief, this untaxable money is in white banks, used by white bankers who discriminate against you and loan to white builders who erect jim-crow housing."

During his speech, Malcolm X urged the Negro preacher to teach his followers the truth. "The most important rule of conduct for success is unity of purpose. This is the rule the white man has used for generations to oppress us, deny us our rights, create disunity among us and thus rule us."

MALCOLM X

67C

Negro Preachers Walk Out on Malcolm X

Men of Cloth Retreat Under Deadly Fire of Malcolm X

Three Negro preachers, unable to withstand the sharp, deliberate denunciation of them by Minister Malcolm X, fled from the premises of Normandie Hall Sunday. The brilliant young follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad set aside his planned lecture to continue his stinging attack against the actions of Negro preachers.

The standing-room-only audience roared its approval, as Malcolm X placed the blame for the Negro's miserable economic condition in the lap of the Negro preachers for "failing to prepare their followers to face life by teaching them the importance of ECONOMIC STABILITY."

Then the young Minister of Islam proceeded, with pointer, chalk, and blackboard, to outline the Negro's miserable condition, and to demonstrate his Economic instability. With figures which have been proven accurate, he compared the more than 90 million dollars spent annually right here in Los Angeles by Negroes for upkeep of preachers and churches with 60 million spent for houses and the furniture combined. Many times, he pointed out, the houses and the furniture are repossessed, with the furniture being sold again to our people as new.

"The American Negro spends $15 billion a year," said the fiery disciple of the Messenger of Allah. "This is more than Canada spends. Thus, his purchasing power alone makes the Negro a nation within a nation.

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MALCOLM LITTLE

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April 17, 1958

Negro preachers walk out on Malcolm X

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But everyone else profits and benefits from what the Negro spends except the Negro himself."

The lost money, according to Malcolm X, is stacked away in white banks, as part of church funds, so that only the white man and the preacher can profit from it.

"This same money," stated

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)

the impassioned orator, "which is dead capital as far as you're concerned, is used to build jim crow housing, and loaned to the same white businessmen who discriminate against you in jobs. But this Negro Preacher is thinking only of himself, isterested only in his own welfare."

Malcolm X pleaded with the Negro preachers present to go back into their churches and put their members' money to work for the members, instead of for the preacher and the white man. He suggested to them that instead of churches, which benefit only themselves, they build factories and supermarkets, which would benefit them and their congregations. Supermarkets, he pointed out, could not only feed them, but employ them as well. He stressed the importance of this double function by reminding the clergymen that **we are the last to prosper during good times, and the first to suffer during hard times.**

Malcolm X concluded his lecture by saying:

"Mr. Muhammad is teaching us how to build a heaven (ECONOMIC SECURITY) for ourselves here on this earth. His teachings are awakening Negroes in America by the thousands. They now are beginning to see that there is to be no heaven 'in the sky', and if the Negro preacher is not ready to start making IMMEDIATE AMENDS by showing them how to get some heaven right here on earth, then the Negro preacher will soon find himself left in the Negro church preaching only to himself."

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

"He that walks with the wise man shall be wise: but a companion of fools shall be destroyed." Proverbs 13:20.

At the Moslem headquarters in Chicago today, the followers of Mr. Elijah Muhammad are recognized as the best organized and disciplined community among the so-called Negroes in America. They are taught and guided by "The Messenger of ALLAH," Mr. Elijah Muhammad, whose word among them is DIVINE LAW.

The Moslems are so well disciplined and controlled by "The Messenger" that many Chicagoans consider them equivalent to a "city within a city."

They own and operate their own businesses, thus controlling their own economy. They believe strongly in providing jobs, food, clothing and shelter for their own kind. Their platform is known to be profoundly PRO-BLACK.

Through Mr. Muhammad's patient guidance, the Moslems have developed and encouraged many skilfull craftsmen and tradesmen from among themselves. These eager young followers of Mr. Elijah Muhammad are out to built a HEAVEN ON EARTH for themselves and their OWN KIND, and are fast becoming known for their shrewd business ability in the field of trade and commerce. They are very outstanding in the field of national and international relations.

Mr. Elijah Muhammad has given his followers their own private school, the University of Islam. The classes reach from the kindergarden to the college level. It is completely independent of "white influence." Here the Moslems are taught how to recognize and cherish the "right type of education," and to seek knowledge, wisdom and understanding. They are taught the importance of organization, obedience to authority, and discipline . . . which are essential ingredients in any move toward PROGRESS.

MR. MALCOLM X

The deep respect Moslem children have for their parents makes juvenile delinquency unknown among Mr. Muhammad's followers. Their high standard of morals enables them to make friends in all walks of life; they are accepted and function smoothly into all the higher forms of society.

These great accomplishments have all been made under the Divine Leadership of Mr. Elijah Muhammad despite desperate opposition from whites, as well as from his own people, the so-called Negroes, whose ignorance prevented them from accepting his entire platform and program as 100% for their betterment.

(Continued Next Week)

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April 24, 1958

Malcolm X

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Guest

MR. MALCOLM X, Spiritual leader from New York City, representing the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Leader of the Moslems in the United States, will be a guest at the affair. Mr. X conducts weekly lectures at 1480 W. Jefferson Blvd. every Friday and Sunday. Mr. X interprets the Bible as taught by Mr. Muhammad.

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
April 24, 1958

Malcolm X

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

(Continued from Last Week)

Years ago he told his followers who were then few in number, that although he looks insignificant in the eyes of the world, if they would follow him and do as he advised them, he would make them independent and put them on top. His promise has manifested itself into a living reality beyond the wildest expectation or imagination of his followers. Today the followers of Mr. Elijah Muhammad are respected even by his enemies, and considered to be the most progressive, intelligent, dignified, fearless group of Black People in America today.

Mr. Muhammad has taken ORDINARY people from among the so-called Negroes and taught them how to unite together and perform for themselves an EXTRA-ORDINARY task. They are now recognized in all walks of life, on all social and economic levels. Not only are they now admired and courted by visiting representatives and dignitaries of African-Asian nations, but even the white man himself respects them above the "uncle tom" Negroes.

Mr. Muhammad has kept his promise. He has made his followers qualified to be recognized as a "nation within a nation." Yet, he claims that this miraculous achievement is only a small-scale example of his over all BLUEPRINT for the 17 million so-called Negroes in in America. If these 17 million so-called Negroes would unite behind Mr. Elijah Muhammad,

MR. MALCOLM X

even his enemies agree that he would have all of them free, and molded into an independent nation of their own overnight.

As Mr. William Nunn, Sr., wrote in the Pittsburgh Courier recently: "Any religious faith which goes to the fundamentals of living . . . which gets the ultimate out of its earning power; provides jobs and training opportunities for its young people; which teaches proper eating habits, non-smoking, non-drinking, non-swearing, MUST MAKE AN IMPACT."

Be sure and read MR. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS which appears in the Pittsburgh Courier. And wherever you are, all over America, take out subscriptions to this HERALD-DISPATCH. It is 100% for the BLACK MAN. Don't chance missing one issue. Then pass it on to your friends.

Our lectures here in Los Angeles are at Normandie Hall, 1480 W. Jefferson Blvd., Fridays at 8 p.m., Sundays at 2 p.m.

MALCOM LITTLE

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
May 1, 1958

Malcolm X

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

ED. NOTE: This is the continuation of a speech made by Mr. X—at the Baptist Institute on Wednesday, April 23. Mr. X urges Negro Christian and Moslems to unite.

(Continued from Last Week)

But, let us turn closer to home; let us look at America. Out of 170 million Americans around 20 million are called Negroes. The white people of America are also divided into many different groups and factions, and have many points of disagreement. But they too can all agree on at least one thing: KEEP THE NEGRO DIVIDED; AND KEEP THE NEGRO DOWN.

They sow discord among us to keep us divided and disunited. It pleases them to see us dispute and fight among ourselves, for they know that only they can benefit from our disunity. Many means and methods are used by them to accomplish this . . . from many different sources and in many different forms . . . but all is directed AGAINST THE NEGRO.

With such an ingenius, united, determined opposition scheming and working night and day against the Negroes to keep us down, we must put forth seven times more effort to be in unity with each other if we wish to survive today. With such terrific odds against us, we can't afford the costly luxury of disagreement, dispute,

MR. MALCOLM X

decension, division and disunity.

Whites Outnumbered

Mr. Muhammad teaches us that the darker peoples of earth OUTNUMBER the whites eleven to one . . . but here in America, which is the last outpost of WHITE SUPREMACY, this white government has a QUOTA-system which greatly limits the number of incoming colored people from Africa and Asia. Yet whites can come in from all parts of the world, even from Russia and other communists countries. . . . (Most of the Hungarians that came here from Communist Hungary are at this moment working in places that will not employ you and me.) Because the entry of the colored peoples from Asia and Africa is communist countries . . . whites is unlimited, you see all of these white people and think that they outnumber you.

Not so! All of the earth's white peoples COMBINED could easily be drowned in this SEA of DARK PEOPLES . . . once the Dark peoples are united together in true solidarity (just as Pharaoh and his people were drowned in the Red Sea, once Moses had succeeded in uniting his people together in unity under his Divine Leadership.

(Mr. X continues next week)

Malcolm O Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
May 15, 1958

Malcolm X

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Claim Police Fired Into Church Property

Moslems Charge False Arrests in N. Y.

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Malcolm Little

Pittsburgh Pa
PRESS
SUN-TELEGRAPH
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COURIER ✓

Date 5-24-58
Edition New York
Page 7
Column 1 thru 5
Author of Article

Editor (on editorials

Title of Case
Nation of Islam
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59 JUN 24 1958

LONG ISLAND, N. Y.—New York Moslems, followers of Minister Elijah Muhammad, have circled May 23, this Friday, on their calendars as "D-Day," at which time they will descend upon Ridgewood Felony Court to attend a hearing into the matter of the "false" arrest of five of their members.

The Moslems contend their five members were arrested falsely and without cause by police who "invaded" the Long Island home of Moslem Minister Malcolm X in search of one "Margaret Dorsey."

■

MINISTER MALCOLM X, New York leader of the Moslems, lives on the second floor of the building visited by the officers.

The Moslems contend that the officers broke into and shot into church property and then arrested five of their members falsely.

They made it clear that they have never known a "Margaret Dorsey."

It seems as though a postal inspector and a pair of white detectives had come to the downstairs apartment looking for a "Mrs. Margaret Dorsey," who, according to the residents, was unknown at that address.

■

YVONNE X MOLLETT, 27, was asked by the officers if they could come in and look around. She told them that they could not without a warrant, whereupon the three men sought to force their way into the house.

Miss Mollett was then joined at the door by her sister, Audrey X Rice, 13, and a younger sister, and this trio kept the men from entering. They left with threats that they would return with help. However, by the time the sleuths put in their reappearance, John X Mollett, 28, the owner, had returned. The officers came to the back door, and Mr. Mollett stepped outside to ask them whether they had a search warrant and to identify themselves.

One of the detectives, Joseph Kiernan, is reported to have become enraged at the delay. He sought to brush Mollett aside and force his way into the house.

WHEN THIS happened, pent-up feelings broke loose and when the melee was over, Kiernan and his partner, Mike Bonura, were in St. John's Hospital nursing in

juries. The Moslems claimed Kiernan had fired shots at the 13-year-old girl, doors had been kicked down, windows had been broken, a barrage of soda bottles had been showered upon the officers, and an army of police had been rushed into the neighborhood.

In addition, the Moslems put up a picket line which marched silently in front of the 114th Precinct at Astoria, to the amazement of the police, who were shocked at the speed with which the Moslems had tossed up a picket line.

Malcolm X, who had flown in from Boston after the disturbance, ripped the "gestapo tactics of white police who patrol the black belts" and compared police in ghettos to "occupation forces in occupied territory."

He said, "Where else and under what circumstance could you find situations where police can freely invade private homes, bust up furniture, break down doors, threaten to beat pregnant women, and even try to shoot a 13-year-old girl . . . but right here in American Negro neighborhoods where the 'occupying army' is in the disguise of police officers."

Minister Malcolm X insisted that police fired shots into a hallway of his home and declared the shots endangered lives of Moslem women and children.

He said the shots were fired through a door.

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NEW YORK MOSLEMS REPULSE FASCISTS ATTACK

b7C [redacted] Barbara Gardner

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Malcolm Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
May 29, 1958

"We Moslems Protect our Women"
says Malcolm X

Nation of Islam
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59 JUN 24 1958

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44 JUN 23 1958

'We Moslems Protect Our Women', Says Malcolm X

QUEENS, LONG ISLAND, New York, May 24—Aware of the unity and militancy of American Moslems, officials of Ridgewood Felony Courthouse had all the tense aspects Friday, May 23rd, of a movie thriller, with the fearless young followers of Moslem Spiritual Leader Elijah Muhammad holding the spotlight.

The courtroom was packed to overflow capacity with silent, white-robed Moslem women and clean-cut, young Moslem men who had come "from far and near" to see that fellow-members of their Islamic faith received "true justice."

The Moslem defendants in the court hearing were to be John X. Mollette, 26, his wife, Yvonne X. Mollette, 27, and her sister Audrey X. Rice, 17 (whose husband, Adam D. X. is now teaching at Muhammad's Temple of Islam in nearby San Diego).

The Moslem trio were being charged by police with felonious assault against two white detectives whom the Moslems claim "invaded" their East Elmhurst home "unlawfully," and in the ensuing melee the two white detectives ended up in the hospital nursing injuries inflicted by the Moslems. The Moslems claimed the white officers had no legal right to enter their home without a search warrant.

The Moslems charged that the white cops fired wildly into their homes, endangering the lives of Moslem women, children and babies. And the office of minister Malcolm X and secretary John 11X of Muhammad's New York Temple of Islam, was broken into by the

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)
white officers who also threatened and endangered the lives of their wives.

Warned that the Moslems were incensed over the incident, and receiving word they were to descend upon the courthouse "en masse," an army of uniformed police, plainclothesmen, and federal officers were on hand at the Courthouse in anticipation of what could well be an "explosive" situation.

The Moslems turned out in such large numbers they soon packed the courtroom, the courthouse corridors, and overflowed into the street. Court officers, newsmen, and bystanders were amazed and admittedly impressed by the SOLIDARITY and open fearlessness displayed by the zealous followers of Elijah Muhammed.

Television cameras focused upon the white robed Moslem women, and their clean-cut, militant young men, who displayed "uncanny discipline." Their every move seemed to be under the expert "invisible" conttrol of their own "officers" who moved about silently in their midst.

At the arrival of Attorney Edward W. Jacko, Jr., the lawyer for the Moslems, the deadly silence around the Queens Courthouse deepened. The atmosphere grew heavy, throbbing with suspense. The white faces seemed to be trying to figure what would the Moslems do if the court decision went against them. The Moslem faces were expressionless, their emotions well controlled and concealed.

But, within five minutes after their attorney's arrival, the court moved that the public hearing be postponed until June 5th. As this news passed through the crowd, bystanders were again amazed as the Moslems, seemingly moved by a SINGLE VOICE, silently, orderly, but swiftly, dispersed and disappeared into nowhere.

Later the same day, in a surprise "maneuver" by the police, it was announced that the Moslems' case would be put before the Grand Jury at once, May 27th, without any preliminary "public" hearing. Also, in another surprise "maneuver" the police moved to re-arrest the wives of Malcolm X and John 11X, whose release the Moslems had secured the night of the incident with menacing picket lines around the 114th Astoria Precinct. Assistant District Attorney, Bernard Patten refused to grant the police request for the arrest of the two Moslem women, but did permit the police to name both of the women as defendants in the case, and to be summoned before the Grand Jury Tuesday, too.

TOP POLICE OFFICIALS HAVE ADMITTED THAT THE TWO DETECTIVES INVOLVED NEVER AT ANY TIME POSSESSED A SEARCH WARRANT!

The Moslem followers of Elijah Muhammad are considered by many to be one of the best liked, and most influential groups in New York. Representatives of African-Asian nations and their press attaches have been besieging the Moslems for "more details" of the case. With unrest already all over the Dark World, and their suspicious eyes already turned toward America with ever-increasing hostility . . . one foreign official who refused to be named implied that this unfortunate incident has "potential implications" of becoming another "international hot potato" for America throughout the Dark World.

Malcolm X, the Spiritual leader of the New York Moslem Temple of Islam, who is scheduled to return to Los Angeles Temple on Friday, May 30th, sent the following letter to Mayor Robert Wagner, condemning the vicious police invasion of privacy of American citizens:

102 W. 116th Street
New York, New York
May 23, 1958

Hon. Mayor Robert Wagner
Gra— Mansion
New York, New York
Honorable Mayor:

The outraged Moslems of the African-Asian World join us in calling for an immediate investigation by your office into the insane conduct of irresponsible white police officers who seem to have thought their white faces were sufficient "badge" to force their way into the private homes of innocent, law-abiding, darker citizens, under the false pretense that they were looking for an (unknown, unidentified) party called "Margaret Dorsey."

The officers of the New York Police force shot wildly and without just or sane cause into our private home, which at the time was occupied by Moslem women, children and babies . . . a religious home where no crime had ever been committed. Only ALLAH prevented their innocent lives from being snuffed out by the wild shooting of these white detectives, who were acting more like "mad dogs" than law officers. (There were five Moslem women, one man, and six babies in the line of fire at the time of the shooting, on the first floor.)

The white "officers of the law" were not satisfied invading and endangering the home and lives of the first floor occupants. Instead of searching downstairs where their "professed suspect" was supposed to be, they dashed up the back stairs and smashed their way into the upstairs apartment too, which is the home of Malcolm X, the religious leader of the New York Moslems; and John 11X, secretary of Muhammad's New York Temple of Islam.

They battered down the door to my private apartment, shattering glass throughout my residence. In their frenzy, the white maniacs, representing the New York Police force, endangered the lives of our wives, babies and children, who had locked themselves into my private bedroom to escape the uncontrollable wrath of the inhuman white cops who were tearing up our home like ferocious wild beasts. Your New York Police officers threatened to break down by bedroom door if my pregnant wife did not unlock it and let them in, and then to throw her down the back stairs because she wasn't moving fast enough to suit them.

These same New York Police, brutally man-handling our innocent Moslem women and girls, lined them up against a wall in the alley before the

wildered, inquiring eyes of our neighbors, ~~to await~~ the arrival of the police van. They were made to stand shivering in the cold like animals, not being allowed any coats or outside clothing.

We beseech you to show just cause why an unknown woman was being sought at this particular house, in our home . . . to give these insane cops an

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page 3)

excuse to shoot up our homes, endangering the lives of our innocent Moslem women, children and babies. It appears that your police officers were using a fictitious person as an excuse to unlawfully invade religious property.

This is the second time your New York Police have unjustly and unlawfully mistreated members of our ancient Moslem faith. Is this policy and practice a plot by the New York Police to belittle and ridicule the religion of Islam in a propoganda move to throw discredit upon, and turn public opinion against, the entire Moslem World . . . by attacking, harrassing, embarrassing, and humiliating its leadership here in America?

The Darker people of Africa, Asia and South America know that racial bias runs rampant in America. But, religious persecution was supposedly outlawed hundreds of years ago, thus this form of it can hardly be explained or justified in America today under any circumstances.

The actions of the New York Police are being scrutinized today by billions of Dark People throughout Africa, Asia and South America. Your constant attacks against the Black Moslems of New York marks America as the Citadel of racial and religious persecution in its most savage form.

The Black Belt in Greater New York has become like "occupied territory," a conquered community. The brutal, inhuman, savage soldiers that comprise this "occupying army" are disguised as white police officers.

They have no respect for the rights, property and lives of the Darker people in this area. If these acts are not being planned and perpetuated with your knowledge and consent, then we call upon you to make a complete investigation of this entire incident, and weed out the guilty ones who are bringing shame, hostility and the wrath of the entire Dark World down upon America and the New York Police Department.

Sincerely,
MALCOLM X
Muhammad's Temple
of Islam

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MALCOLM LITTLE

God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

ED. NOTE: Mr. X is in Chicago, consulting with the Leader and Teacher of Moslems in America, The Honorable Mr. Elijah Muhammad. Scheduled to return before now, Minister Malcolm was delayed when savage white members of the New York Police Force invaded the privacy of his residence, and sought to abuse the forbidden fruit (Black Women) of Islam. The fiery Moslem leader arrived in New York by plane to find the policemen in the hospital and a cold, quiet, deadly Holy War shaping up between the followers of the Messenger of Allah and New York's "finest." Things are still all "shook up," and the polished, but fierce, young lions who believe in the One God are only a word away from read-testing the New York Police Force, to find out if it really is "the finest."

MR. MALCOLM X

Mr. X's column will return Friday, May 30.

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
May 29, 1958

Malcolm X

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167 JUN 26 1958

66 JUN 24 1958

Malcolm X Protests to N. Y. Mayor

Elijah Muhammad's chief disciple, Malcolm X, has authored a letter of protest to Mayor Wagner which reads as follows:

102 W. 116th St.
New York, N. Y.
May 23, 1958

Hon. Mayor Robert Wagner
Gracie Mansion
New York, N. Y.
Honorable Mayor:

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The officers of the New York police force shot wildly and without just or sane cause into our private home, which at the time was occupied by Moslem women, children and babies . . . a religious home where no crime had ever been committed. Only Allah prevented their innocent lives from being snuffed out by the wild shooting of these white detectives, who were acting more like "mad dogs" than law officers. (There were five Moslem women, one man and six babies in the line of fire at the time of the shooting, on the first floor.)

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They battered down the door to my private apartment, shattering glass throughout my residence. In their frenzy, the white maniacs, representing the New York police force, endangered the lives of our wives, babies and

MAlcolm

Little

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Pittsburgh, Pa.
PRESS
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POST-GAZETTE
COURIER ✓

Date 6-14-58
Edition New York
Page Sec 2 1
Column 1, 2 + 3
Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

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children who had locked themselves into my private bedroom to escape the uncontrollable wrath of the inhuman white cops who were tearing up our home like ferocious wild beasts. Your New York police officers threatened to break down my bedroom door if my pregnant wife did not unlock it and let them in, and then to throw her down the back stairs because she wasn't moving fast enough to suit them.

These same New York police brutally manhandling our innocent Moslem women and girls, lined them up against a wall in the alley before the bewildered, inquiring eyes of our neighbors, to await the arrival of the police van. They were made to stand shivering in the cold like animals, not being allowed any coats or outside clothing.

We beseech you to show just cause why an unknown woman was being sought at this particular house, in our home . . . to give these insane cops an excuse to shoot up our homes, endangering the lives of our innocent Moslem women, children and babies. It appears that your police officers were using a fictitious person as an excuse to unlawfully invade religious property.

This is the second time your New York police have unjustly and unlawfully mistreated members of our ancient Moslem faith. Is this policy and practice a plot by the New York police to belittle and ridicule the religion of Islam in a propaganda move to throw discredit upon, and turn public opinion against, the entire Moslem world . . . by attacking, harassing, embarrassing and humiliating its leadership here in America?

The darker people of Africa, Asia and South America know that racial bias runs rampant in America. But religious persecution was supposedly outlawed hundreds of years ago, thus this form of it can hardly be explained or justified in America today under any circumstances.

The actions of the New York police are being scrutinized today by billions of dark people throughout Africa, Asia and South America. Your constant attacks against the black Moslems of New York marks America as the citadel of racial and religious persecution in its most savage form.

The Black Belt in Greater New York has become like "occupied territory," a conquered community. The brutal, inhuman, savage soldiers that comprise this "occupying army" are disguised as white police officers.

They have no respect for the rights, property and lives of the darker people in this area. If these acts are not being planned and perpetuated with your knowledge and consent, then we call upon you to make a complete investigation of this entire incident, and weed out the guilty ones who are bringing shame, hostility and the wrath of the entire dark world down upon America and the New York Police Department.

Sincerely,
MALCOLM X,
Muhammad's Temple
of Islam

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Moslem Case Postponed

Until June 18 After Five

Indictments

MALCOLM LITTLE [redacted] b7C

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Date 6-14-58
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Page Sec 2 1
Column 3
Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

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Nation of Islam
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A New York Queens County all-white grand jury has returned an indictment against five Harlem Moslems. Included in the indictment was Betty X, 24-year-old wife of New York Moslem leader Malcolm X.

The indictment charges the Moslem with second-degree assault against two white detectives, Joseph Kiernan and Michael Bonura, whom the Moslems claim tried to force their way into the religious home without a search warrant.

■

ALSO INDICTED were John X Mollette, 26; his wife, Yvonne X, 28; her sister, Audrey X Rice, 17; Minnie X Simmons, 25 (wife of the secretary of the New York Moslems).

All are followers of Messenger Elijah Muhammad, spiritual head of the largest block of Moslems among Negroes in America.

The Moslem quintet appeared with their lawyer, Edward W. Jacko Jr., at Astoria's 114th Precinct, where they were quietly booked. Attorney Jacko would not allow the Moslems to enter a plea until the indictment against them could be thoroughly studied.

The incomplete arraignment was postponed until June 18. The Moslems are free under bail.

■

OBSERVERS FEEL that certain aspects of the Moslem case deeply involve violation of their constitutional rights.

Harlemites are claiming that the all-white grand jury completely ignored the constitutional rights of the Moslems, disregarded all testimony of the Moslems, and sided with the police officers 100 per cent.

The episode began when the detectives sought to enter a Moslem home without a warrant. In the melee that followed, several shots were fired by the police into the midst of the Moslem women, children and babies.

Also, in the confusion the second-floor apartment of Moslem religious leader Malcolm X was broken into and the life of his pregnant wife was allegedly threatened by the officers.

SPEAKING BEFORE a capacity crowd at Normandie Hall in Los Angeles Sunday, Malcolm X told them that there is no difference between New York, Mississippi or California. It is all America. "Negroes must be made to see this."

The outspoken Moslem leader declared: "Moslems are not surprised when an all-white New York grand jury openly sides with guilty white cops against these innocent black people who were trying to protect their lives and property against unjust and illegal invasion by those white beasts, who tried to camouflage their gestapo tactics while breaking their own laws, by posing as officers of the law."

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Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
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10 JUL 24 1958

50 JUL 25 1958

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

"THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD"

ISLAM, the natural religion of Black Mankind, is sweeping through and resurrecting Black America like a "flame of fire," under the Divine Guidance of MESSENGER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The unwise try to ignore facts, but wise men must face facts to remain wise. The unwise refuse to change their silly ways and beliefs. But, the mental powers of the wise man enable him to keep an OPEN MIND. It gives him the ability to re-adjust himself, whenever it becomes necessary for a CHANGE. As fast as added "light" increases the wise man's ability to understand, he then changes his "course" and his "pace" according to the newly revealed facts before him. The unwise, however, just blunder on, blindly, heedless of the ever-changing "conditions" on the "road" over which they must travel . . . thus, the BLIND DRIVERS and their "cars" usually end up in THE DITCH.

In the past, the "religious roads" leading through Black America presented smooth sailing for the "Old Touring Cars" (Churches) of Christianity. They met few obstacles and had little opposition or competition. The "drivers" (preachers) had it easy. Their "course" was never challenged. They ruled supreme on the religious roads of Black America.

However, today, time is making a great CHANGE. The religious roads of Black America, have suddenly become blocked by a ROCKY BARRIER, and all the black and white preachers COMBINED are incapable of removing it. The firm, down-to-earth, thought provoking, teachnigs of the religion of ISLAM, are now obstructing this path over which it was once easy sailing for these preachers of white man's Christianity.

MR. MALCOLM X

Los Angeles Herald-Dispat
July 3, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam
IS - NOI

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Islam is the Resurrecting Power. Thousands of so-called Negroes are beginning, for the first time, to think for themselves. They are turning daily away from the Segregated Christian Church, and rejoining the ranks of their Black Brothers and Sisters of the East. Their age-old faith is the religion of ISLAM, the true religion of Black Mankind (the religion of their foreparents). The Spirtual Leader and Teacher of the many thousands of "New Believers" here in Black America is MESSENGER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. You must hear him.

Before we heard the teachings of MESSENGER MUHAMMAD, we—(American so-called Negroes) were in the grave of ignorance. We had been taught by our Christian Slavemaster, as well as by our own ignorant religious leaders, that God had cursed us, Black, and sentenced us to a lifetime on earth of servitude to the Christian white race. The same Slavemaster's Christian religion taught us, (or promised us), that we so-called Negroes, would sprout wings after death and fly up into the sky where God would have a place especially prepared for us.

Since we poor "cursed" slaves were not to get anything on earth while we were alive, we soon learned to expect it only after death, "up in the sky." Therefore, this earth and all its vast riches, which we ourselves originally owned, was left to the deceitful maneuverings of the wicked white race, for them to build a heaven for THEMSELVES on earth while they live. Such religious teachings were designed to make us feel inferior to the white Christian Slavemaster. Soon, he was successful in making us fear him, obey him, and worship him, instead of the True Supreme Being, the God of our own foreparents, Almighty ALLAH. (Will continue next week).

Put your name in the lamb's Book of Life. Write immediately to Mr. Elijah Muhammad, 5335 So. Greenwood Ave., Chicago 15, Illinois.

MAlcolm °Little

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God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

MR. MALCOLM X

"The Resurrection of the Dead"

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has taught us how we (so-called Negroes) eventually became like the Beggar, Lazarus, of the Bible (Luke 16:20): Our condition became sickening (very sore). We sat here amid the rubbish of the Western World, at the feet (or gate) of the rich white Christians begging for something (civil rights) to fall from their table. But from this same Slavemaster whom are foreparents had made rich (by giving him freely of their slave labor for nearly 400 years . . . Gen. 15:13), we received only the hardest and dirtiest jobs at the lowest wages; the poorest houses in the slum areas at the highest rent; te poorest food and clothing at the highest prices. Our schools weer like shacks, and were staffed by teachers who knew and could teach only that which the Slavemaster dictated to them.

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has taught us how we (so-called Negroes) were KIDNAPPED from the East by the white Christian Slavemaster, brought to America in chains and robbed! Robbed of our own God, and His Teachings—our language — culture — flag — Holy names — and nationality. After robbing us of all these we could originally call our own, then the Slavemaster taught us to call ourselves "Negroes." Telling us that this was so because he had brought us from along the banks of the Niger River. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD asks us today: "Since when does one's nationality originate from a river?" This same wicked Slavemaster taught us that "Negro" means "black" in Spanish. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD again asks us, "Why is it that all of the dark, Spanish speaking people in Spain, South and Central America do not accept it (Negro) as their nationality, too?" MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says that we, too, should get our NATIONALITY from the NATION of which our foreparents originated—as do all other recognized peoples. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD teaches us how the Bible says we were purposely cut off from our own kind after being robbed of our identity by the cruel Christian Slavemaster (Ezek. 37.11; Psalms 83.4, Psalms 137:1-9). MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says the Slavemaster took our own names, language and religion from us, so that we would then have to accept his, obey him, and worship him. (Daniel 1:6-7).

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has given us many scriptures to prove that his teachings to us are true and in accord with the prophecies of the Bible. He says it is we (so called Negroes) in America who were robbed and made deaf, dumb and blind to the knowledge of our own God and of our own selves; so that today — we are like DRY BONES IN THE VALLEY (spiritually dead, in the grave of ignorance). We are now able to speak only the Slavemaster's tongue, and are still being called the same "slave names," given by the Slavemaster to our fathers, during slavery time . . . names

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
July 10, 1958

Malcolm X

Best Copy Available

such as Jones, Smith, Powell, King, Bunche, Diggs, Dawson, etc.

These are SLAVE NAMES, — names of the very same Slavemaster who has shown characteristics of his devilish nature in his treatment of us (Rev. 15:2). The original names of our forefathers were cut off from them, kept secret from us by the devil, and therefore today we do not know what our real names should be. We have really been Robbed!

All other people have their own religion, which teaches them of a God with whom they themselves can associate. A God, who at least looks like one of their own kind. But, we so-called Negroes, after 400 years of masterful brainwashing by the Slavemaster, picture "Our God" with the same blond hair, pale skin, and cold eyes of our murderous Slavemaster.

His Christian religion teaches us that black is a curse. Thus, we who accept the Slavemaster's religion, find ourselves loving and respecting everything and everyone except black, and can picture God as being anything else but BLACK. In fact, many of us would rather believe that God is an INVISIBLE (colorless) "spirit," than to admit even the possibility of His being black. Yet, Daniel saw Him with kinky hair (like lamb's wool) in the seventh chapter of Daniel, ninth verse. How grossly deceived and misled we have been! (Will continue next week).

Put your name in the Lamb's Book of Life. Write immediately to Mr. Elijah Muhammad, 5335 So. Greenwood Ave., Chicago 15, Illinois.

Malcolm Little

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'Freedom Heaven, Slavery Hell' Malcolm X Tells Radio Audience

NEW YORK, July 13—Malcolm X told a New York radio audience that "the white man's Christianity" has made American Negroes "walking fools," and that today they have become "satisfied, sanctified beggars."

The young leader of the New York Moslems, after skilfully defending Mr. Elijah Muhammad's teachings over Harlem Radio Station WLIB, on the "Editor Speaks" program July 5th, bounced right back over Station WHBI on the **"Voice of Radio Free Africa,"** with an onslaught against **"false religions"** that are used to **"brainwash and deceive"** the Negroes in America.

The outspoken young Moslem leader told his radio audience

(Continued from Page 1)

that Mr. Muhamad's teachings refute **"all the religious lies taught in the devil's churches."** He stated emphatically, **"there is no heaven in the sky or hell in the ground to be enjoyed or dreaded after death."**

"Freedom is heaven, and slavery is hell! God is the author of freedom, and the devil is the author of slavery," declared Malcolm X.

Mr. X declared that "Mr. Elijah Muhammad has been divinely missioned by the Supreme Being to show the Negroes in America how to unite and build their own heaven "with our own kind, among own kind . . . right here on this good earth . . . to be enjoyed not after death, but while we are living."

A deluge of letters has already begun to come in. Not only the radio audience, but also the station's engineers were left "impressed" by the dynamic Moslem Minister.

MR. MALCOLM X

Mr. X is due back on the Voice of Radio Free Africa Sunday, July 20th, to refute the **"uncle tom"** charges that Mr. Muhammad teaches hate.

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch
July 17, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam
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MALCOLM X HITS NEGRO PREACHERS IN RADIO TALK

Malcolm X on Harlem Radio Blasts Corrupt Negro Preachers

NEW YORK, July 20—Malcolm X again has Harlem buzzing and everyone is "ALL SHOOK UP." Appearing over Station WHBI on the "Voice of Radio Free Africa," Mr. X charged that the greedy Negro preachers have become "PARROTS" for the white man and are allowing themselves to be used as "WILLING TOOLS" to refute Messenger Elijah Muhammad's teachings in order to keep the Negroes in America blind to the truth.

Lies

The fiery leader of the Harlem Moslems told his New York radio audience that Mr. Muhammad's teachings refute "all the lies the white man has taught us in the disguise of religion."

"These Negro preachers, says Mr. Muhammad, are teaching us a poisonous message of hatred that is more harmful to us than good only because they have not first examined the miraculous results it has produced among those Negroes who accept it," stated Mr. X.

Others Have Failed

Malcolm X explained to his radio audience that after 400 years of mistreatment, the Negroes in America are in an extremely wretched condition and that many great black men have attempted to rectify or heal their miserable plight . . . "but all have failed."

He staetd emphatically that Mr. Muhammad is now accomplishing that which all others have failed to do, because Almighty Allah has given him a divine formula, a special kind of medicine; the only type of teaching that will cure the hopeless condition of the Negroes, and also expose and forever remove the very "cause" of all their troubles.

Ignorant, Greedy Preachers

"The ignorant, greedy Negro preachers are foremost in accusing Mr. Muhammad of teaching hate," declared the dynamic young Moslem to his radio audience. "The greedy Negro preachers are the willing tools of the very white man who is responsible for our downtrodden people's wretched condition, and it hurts the preachers to see Mr. Muham-

"HERALD DISPATCH"
Los Angeles, Calif.,
July 24, 1958

"NATION OF ISLAM,
IS - NOI"

BUFILE 25-330971
CHICAGO: 25-20607

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MALCOLM X (100-8999)

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167 SEP 2 1958

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mad exposing the guilty slave-master whom they have grown to trust, love and idolize.

The outspoken Malcolm X told how the black people of the East were living in palaces along the banks of the Nile River, wearing long silken robes, cooking and seasoning their food . . . while the white man was crawling on his all-fours up in the caves and hillsides of Europe, going naked or wearing animal skins to cover their hairy bodies, eating raw meat like the other ferocious wild beasts.

He explained that the Black people of Egypt had mastered the sciences of mathematics and astronomy before the white race had yet even suspected that the earth was not flat.

Yardstick

"Hearing the white scientists admit that the Nile River that runs through the heart of Africa is the Yardstick of Civilization, how can the Negroes in America continue to believe they were savages before the white man kidnapped them and brought them here to be made slaves?" queried Mr. X.

He spoke of how the white man brags about how he stole this country from the Indians. "If it is not hate to say how the white man stole this country from the Indians, then why is it hate to teach our people how this same white man kidnapped us from the East, brought us here in chains, stripped us of our ancient culture, robbed us of all knowledge concerning our glorious history and then made us his slaves?

The white man lynched, murdered, slaughtered our fathers and brothers; he raped and ravished our helpless women at will . . . and then trained these ignorant, greedy Negro preachers to "parrot" his religious lies to us, a "pacifying religion" that wis skilfully designed to brainwash us and keep us in "our place."

Naked Truth

"No, Mr. Muhamad is not teaching hate," cried the fiery Mr. X, "he is teaching the naked truth that these Negroes need to know; a truth so plain that only a fool would dispute it . . . and the Negro preachers are quickest to prove themselves to be the biggest fools."

A flood of mail has already begun to rain down upon Station WHBI, as Harlemites anticipate the replies the Negro preachers are certain to make in defense of the heated barrage Mr. X has turned loose against them.

Defends Muhammad's Teachings

MALCOLM LITTLE

Malcolm X Blasts Negro Ministers!

Pittsburgh, Pa.
PRESS
SUN-TELEGRAPH
POST-GAZETTE
COURIER ✓

Date 8-2-58
Edition Pittsburgh
Page 14
Column 1 2 + 3
Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

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NEW YORK—Malcolm X told a New York radio audience that "white man's Christianity" has made American Negroes "walking fools," and today they have become "satisfied, sanctified beggars."

The young New York Moslem leader, after defending Messenger Elijah Muhammad's teachings over Harlem radio station WLIB, on the "Editor Speaks" program, bounced right back over station WHBI as guest speaker on the "Voice of Radio Free Africa" with a vicious verbal onslaught against "false religions that are used to brainwash and deceive Negroes in America."

The fiery minister of the Harlem Moslems told his radio audiences that Mr. Muhammad's teachings refute "all the religious lies taught in the churches."

Malcolm

"It is the ignorant Negro preachers who falsely charge Mr. Muhammad with teaching us a poisonous message of hatred, because these preachers have not first examined the miraculous results his message has produced in those Negroes who accept it," stated Mr. X.

He explained to his audience that after 400 years of mistreatment, the Negro's condition in America is extremely wretched, and that many black men have attempted to rectify or heal the miserable plight . . . "but all have failed."

"Mr. Muhammad is now accomplishing that which all others have failed to do, because Allah has given him a divine formula, a special medicine; the only type of teaching that will cure the hopeless condition of the Negroes, and expose and forever remove even the very cause of all their troubles," said Malcolm X.

"The ignorant Negro preachers are foremost in accusing Mr. Muhammad of teaching hate," declared the speaker to his radio audience. "These greedy preachers are the willing tools of the

very one who is responsible for our people's miserable plight, and it hurts them to see Mr. Muhammad exposing the guilty one whom they have grown to trust, love, and idolize."

■

MALCOLM X explained that the white man himself brags about stealing this country from the Indians. "If it is not hate to say this, then why is it hate to teach how the same white man kidnapped us from the East, brought us here in chains, stripped us of all knowledge concerning ourselves, made us his slaves, while murdering our men and ravishing our helpless women at will?"

"He has now trained these ignorant, greedy Negro preachers to parrot his religious lies to us, a pacifying religion that was skillfully designed to brainwash us and keep us in 'our place'"

"No, Mr. Muhammad is not teaching hate," cried the fiery Mr. X. "He is teaching the naked truth that these Negroes need to know; a truth so plain that only a fool would dispute it . . . And the Negro preachers are quickest to prove themselves to be the biggest fools."

— Join the NAACP NOW! —

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Arabs Send Warm Greetings to 'Our Brothers' of Color in U. S. A.

MALCOLM X FLIES HOME—Back in the United States, after a whirlwind aerial tour that touched Saudi Arabia, the Lower Nile Valley in Egypt, and the Upper Nile, at Khartoun, in The Sudan, Malcolm X warns that America's race problem is widening, year by year, the chasm between East and West, in favor of alien ideologies.

57 SEP 24 1959

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

Date 8/15/59

Edition New York

Author of Article

Editor P.L. Prattis

Title of Case and Character
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Pittsburgh Division

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Malcolm X Finds Africans, Arabs Fret More About Us Than Selves

EDITOR'S NOTE—This feature represents an arrangement in which Malcolm X, son of the leader of an American movement in the Islamic faith, has communicated with the national desk of The Pittsburgh Courier. Impressions of Africa and the area east of Suez as interpreted by Malcolm X are herewith presented.

KANDARAH PALACE HOTEL, Saudi Arabia—The people of Arabia are just like our people in America in facial appearance. They are of many differing shades, ranging from regal black to rich brown, but none are white. It is a safe postulation to say that 99 per cent of them would be jim-crowed in the United States of America.

The people of Arabia know more about the color problem, and seem even more concerned and angered by the injustices our people receive in America than the so-called Negroes themselves.

The predominant religion of Southwest Asia, Arabia and Africa, of course, is Islam. Since the Pittsburgh Courier is the first newspaper in America to carry Mr. Muhammad's column, it is the most widely read of the American journals. News about the rapid increase of Moslems in America, plus other extensive news items on Africa and Asia, make your sheet very important for Arabians.

The majority of this Arabian population cannot be distinguished from the people of Africa. In fact, the darkest Arabs I have yet seen are right here on the Arabian peninsular. Most of these people would be right at home in Harlem. And all of them refer warmly to our people in America as their "brothers of color."

There is no color prejudice among Moslems, for Islam teaches that all mortals are equal and brothers. Whereas the white Christians in the Western world teach this same thing without practicing it. Here in the Moslem world not only is it taught, it is actually "a way of life."

Even the white Christians are forced to admit, in this area, that Moslems have the truest (and most intelligently conceived) form of devotion to the One True God—the Supreme Being, whose proper name is Allah.

I AM LEAVING Arabia without visiting the Holy City, Mecca; an experience which would break the average Moslem's heart; but if it is Allah's will, I shall return with Mr. Elijah Muhammad, spiritual head of the American Moslems when he comes to this area during the fall.

Something I ate just before leaving Cairo gave me a serious seige of upset stomach (diarrhea), a bacillary exposure which made it imposible for me to travel 60 miles into the desert, through 110-degree temperatures, beneath a pitiless sun.

Bad plane connections from Jeddah, to my regret, mean that if I miss my plane this morning, I will have to cancel my tour to Africa.

So, I am postponing my journey to Mecca, cancelling my stay in Asmara (Eritrea) and Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), and going southwards, straight to Khartoum (Sudan) and Lagos (Nigeria).

I regret the fact, because I should have felt the pulse of as many of the African masses as possible before returning to the United States.

AFRICA IS THE LAND of the future . . . definitely the land of tomorrow, and the African is the man of tomorrow. Only yesterday, America was the New World, a world with a future—but now, we suddenly realize Africa is the New World — the world with the brightest future — a future in which the so-called American Negroes are destined to play a key role.

Traveling in these lands, seeing and speaking with our people here, I, myself, am getting an even broader vista of "things yet to come." One can even more fully appreciate the vital role being played by Mr. Elijah Muhammad and his work among our people in America.

Sincerely,
MALCOLM X

Message From Khartoum

GRAND HOTEL, KHARTOUM, Sudan—Racial disturbances in faraway New York City, U.S.A., occupied prominent space on the front page of the newspapers here in the Sudan and other parts of Africa yesterday.

As I discovered among the Arabs, the Africans are also more concerned about the condition of our U.S. people of pigmentation than with their own status right here in Africa.

Many are aware that for the industrial development of future Africa, foreign and economic and technical assistance will be necessary. Yet, having long suffered European exploitation at the hands of whites, all Africans are suspicious of the white man's motives when he extends the "helping hand."

LIKE THE ASIANS, all Africans consider America's treatment of Negro Americans the best yardstick by which to measure the sincerity of America's offers on this continent. Many of them note that what America practices at home does not coincide with what she practices in North America.

The increasing hordes of intelligent Africans find it difficult to understand why a land that advocates equality under law, twenty million of its taxed and armed forces conscripted citizens are without that loudly boasted equality, without real freedom, without public school rights and, above all, relegated to slums, ghettoes and other social imprisonments in a nation which is giving billions of dollars to alien peoples.

The veil of global diplomatic art does not obscure the vision of African thinkers when abuse of black Americans still obtains. The chief instrument by which East and West are being divided, day by day, is resentment in Africa and Asia for administrative jim-crow in the United States. It seems as if Uncle Sam is letting the haters of pigmented peoples thus tighten a self-created Bamgor's rope around his own neck.

I'll be heading homeward very shortly, to join in the feast which celebrates the work of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, our beloved and inspiring leader and teacher.

MALCOLM X

FELLAH — Described by the famous Adams family as being the world's most physically persistent and permanently exploited peasant type, the man above has come into better days. He is one of the Fellahin which gained status and citizenship under both Naguib and Nasser.

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117 FEB 17 1960

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CLIPPING

53 FEB 19 1960 Herald Dispatch

FILE AND INITIALED

Negroes Near Boiling Point— In Harlem, Stooges Worried

NEW YORK.—In the January 25th issue of the New York Times, Michael Clark staff writer calls attention to the increasing (racial tension in Harlem) which Clark said is causing grave concern among many of the more 'moderate Negro leaders.' The article claimed that the visit of President Sekou Toure, of the New African Republic of Guinea, sparked the antagonism which exists among the various religious and civic groups here.

The incident which accord-

MIN. MALCOLM X

ing to Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Group, which caused disturbance among the so-called white liberals, and self-styled leaders of the Negro people was due to the fact that a Negro representative of the NAACP was booed off the platform. The booing of the representative of the NAACP does not reflect upon the the representative himself, Mr. X said, but reflects the opposition of the Negro people in

(Continued on Page 3)

Race Tension

(Continued from Page 1)

Harlem to self-styled white leadership.

The second incident which caused whites to become apprehensive was due to the fact that a white woman was assigned as an interpreter for Madam Toure and because she was white she was denied entrance to the affair.

This writer is at a loss to understand the attitude of the white people who have for the past four hundred years denied Negroes the right to enter their meetings and, the fact that Negroes are now returning the compliment, has disturbed them to such an extent that they have to go to the radio, television, and national magazines to call the Negroes all sort of names. For 400 years Negroes have not protested too much about not being allowed to enter white meetings, hotels, etc. However, today they are demanding a right to use all public facilities as tax-paying citizens.

The New York Times article within itself is slanderous and the HERALD DISPATCH plans to rerun the entire article in next week's issue, since the article chose to slander the Negro people generally using the usual stooges, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the national NAACP, Martin Luther King, Lover Boy of the reactionary trade union leaders and Jackie Robinson whose greatness as a baseball player has diminished because of his ownership by the Zionist elements in America.

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Los Angeles
"Herald - Dispatch"
January 28, 1960

MALCOLM X (LITTLE)-NY

Nation of Islam

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Submitted by LA

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Callahan
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C.Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

Malcolm X and Barry Gray Tangle On WMCA

NEW YORK CITY, March 13 — Moslem minister Malcolm X, leader of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, 102 W. 116th Street, continued his series of successful public debates with an appearance on the Barry Gray show on radio station WMCA (New York City) last Thursday night.

The appearance of the young Moslem minister was scheduled to last for fifteen minutes but the exchange between the Moslem leader and radio personality became so heated that it was extended beyond one hour.

Most of Minister Malcolm's efforts were devoted to answering expertly the sharp criticism of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual head of the "fastest growing group of Moslems in the Western World." Barry Gray charged

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Muhammad with inaccuracy, if not disloyalty, because Mr. Muhammad has asserted that Negroes are not considered American citizens.

"The civil rights debate now raging in Washington is proof that Mr. Muhammad is right." Malcolm X replied. "It would hardly be necessary to keep the august Senate in continuous, 'round-the-clock sessions to give voting rights to people who are already citizens."

Gray countered by quoting NAACP officials Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins as saying that the Muslim movement is no different than the KU KLUX KLAN. Malcolm X refused to speak against the two NAACP officials.

"We black men are having a hard enough time in our struggles for justice, and already have enough enemies as it is, to make the drastic mistake of attacking each other and adding only more weight to an already unbearable load."

BAUMGARDNER

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HERALD-DISPATCH

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Date MAR 17 1960

Chicago, Illinois

Page 1 Cy. 5

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Editor F.P.ALEXANDER

CHICAGO OFFICE

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NEW YORK MOSLEM MINISTER MALCOLM X in a 3-hour radio debate on Boston's popular Jerry Williams Show defied critics of Mr. Elijah Muhammad to prove Negroes in America are "citizens." He charged that the "entire 20 million Negroes" do not enjoy complete rights which the constitution allegedly guarantees "all citizens." Tremendous comment and controversy has been raging in Boston over Malcolm X's outspoken declarations on Station WMEX.
(Taylor Photo)

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NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
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EDITOR ON EDITORIALS:
OLIVER W. BROWN

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SUBMITTING OFFICE: NEWARK, N.J.

Malcolm X. Little

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NAACP Chapter Fails to Get Hall For Black Muslim

An invitation to an anti-white Negro leader to speak to a Howard University group has been withdrawn.

The university student chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had asked Malcolm X Little, leader of Elijah Muhammad's Temple of Islam, a Harlem Black Muslim group, to speak on the campus tonight.

A university spokesman, however, said the faculty Committee on Student Organizations and Activities, which must approve student programs, did not have enough time to meet and consider the invitation.

The chapter then decided to hold the session in a downtown church but changed its mind because of too little space. The university spokesman said he does not know whether or not the chapter will refile an application for a future date.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A-6 (Final)
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date 2/14/61

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117 FEB 16 1961

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EDUCATION

Muslim Malcolm X Out as Howard U. History Speaker

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Howard University student chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had to withdraw its invitation for Malcolm X, New York leader of the Black Muslims, to address the students on the campus during Negro History Week.

The students originally planned Mr. X's appearance on the campus for Tuesday, Feb. 14, for Negro History Week, but when the Howard University officials learned that the guest speaker was to be the "controversial" Mr. X, the students were immediately notified that Malcolm X's appearance had not, as prescribed, been registered in advance with the Student Activities Office."

School officials "explained" that the faculty Committee on Student Organizations and Activities must approve in advance all student programs.

Officials then pointed out that the committee "did not have time" to meet and decide whether to clear the program in time for Mr. X's scheduled appearance.

■

THE STUDENT chapter then obtained the use of New Bethel Baptist Church, Ninth and S Sts., NW, but Douglas Jones, program chairman of the chapter, decided to cancel the program completely because "the church was not large enough for the many students planning to attend."

Minister Malcolm X, New York representative of Muslim spiritual leader Elijah Muhammad, has lectured and debated at some of the nation's leading educational institutions, including Yale and Boston Universities, and Hunter, Queens, Clark and Morehouse Colleges.

He also has an invitation to address the Harvard Law School Forum this spring.

Mr. Jones said the NAACP students' chapter still hopes to bring Malcolm X to the Howard campus, and Carl Anderson, director of student activities, said his office and the committee would consider the proposal when it is properly presented.

"We don't try to tell the students whom to invite or not to invite," Anderson said. "If we feel that what the speaker will have to say is pertinent to American life, we certainly permit the invitation."

Meanwhile, the unperturbed Malcolm X has been invited by the New York City College students chapter of the NAACP to debate "Islam vs Christianity" with Rev. C. Lawrence on the CCNY campus at noon, March 2.

The Muslim minister is scheduled to debate TV-writer Louis E. Lomax on "Separation or Integration" over Radio WINS on March 10, and has also been invited to Clark College in Atlanta on March 17 to debate Rev. Samuel Williams, famed Morehouse theology and philosophy professor.

—More for Your Money in The Courier—

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Editor P.L. Prattis

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Malcolm K. Little

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In City College Debate

Muslims' Malcolm X and NAACP's Wright Clash

CITY COLLEGE, N. Y.—Muslim Minister Malcolm X of Messenger Elijah Muhammad's Temple of Islam told students here yesterday that the United States will not be able to integrate if it tries for a thousand years.

In a debate with Herbert Wright, National Youth Secretary of the NAACP, Mr. X, in the Aronow Auditorium, introduced as the right-hand man of Messenger Elijah Muhammad and minister of the "gastest-rising group of black Muslims in the Western hemisphere," argued that self-imposed separation should be the Negro's answer to unsuccessful integration.

The debate was sponsored by the student chapter of the NAACP.

"All over the world, dark people are rejecting integration with their former oppressors," said the man whose unusual surname ("X") results from his refusal to accept the one given him by slavemasters.

About 300 people, 75 of them Negroes, heard the extremist reject Mr. Wright's contention that integration is working, and propose that the American Negro set up his own nation "somewhere along the seaboard" with land and money grants from the Federal Government.

Minister X said the United States Government still owes back pay to the Negro for 310 years of slave labor.

"It'll take more than a cup of tea in a white restaurant to make us happy," he said.

Mr. Wright contended that the Muslim's separation plan is a "bigger and better form of segregation" to which most Negroes would be opposed. He said that "a great deal of progress" had been made in the South in view of the short time the NAACP had been working towards integration.

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Editor P.L. Prattis

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Muslim Movement: Prayers of Hate

CAPITAL REPORT: BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

WASHINGTON, June 19.—Mere hours after the tragic Paris crash which killed 130 two weeks ago, a leader of the Black Muslim movement told cheering comrades that it was the divine work of God.

He was Malcolm X, one of the chief lieutenants of and the "front man" for Elijah Muhammad, who heads up the so-called Nation of Islam. Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty recently played taped excerpts from that speech:

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that happened. As you know, we have been praying to Allah. We have been praying that He would in some way let us know that He has the power to execute justice upon the heads of those who are responsible for the lynching of Ronald Stokes on April 27 (killed by police in a Black Muslim riot).

"And I got a wire from God today."

At this point Malcolm X was interrupted by wild laughter.

"Wait! All right! Well, somebody came and told me that He really had answered our prayers over in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over a hundred and twenty white people on it, because Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Frenzied cheering then broke out.

"He gets rid of 120 of them in one whoop . . . But thanks to God, or Jehovah, or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky . . ."

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
Date

Place in 100-399321 (Little)

50 JUN 9 1962

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123 JUL 5 1962

JUN 20 1962

What is the Nation of Islam? It is a nationwide society of American Negroes, founded in 1933 by one W. D. Fard, an ex-convict who had served three years in San Quentin for a narcotics violation. It was taken over soon after by a Georgia-born Negro, Elijah Poole, who dubbed himself Elijah Muhammad and who runs the show to this day.

Estimates of Black Muslim strength run to upwards of 100,000 members. Security officials peg the true figure much lower—5,500 persons in 80 temples or mosques throughout the United States.

•

NOI MEMBERS claim to follow the teachings of Allah as interpreted by Muhammad, and they assert that they owe allegiance only to Islam. It is a semi-religious organization motivated by an intense hatred of the white race.

Any law that conflicts with NOI teachings should not be obeyed, according to Muhammad. Disrespect for the American flag and civil authorities is taught.

Muhammad and other members of his cult have served prison sentences for violating the Selective Service laws in their refusal to register for military service. Wallace Muhammad, son of Elijah Muhammad, is presently serving a three-year sentence for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1948. He has been regarded as the eventual successor to his father's position.

Only last month, the chief of the Phoenix, Ariz., Police Intelligence Unit said that Muhammad, a local resident, is leader "of the most dangerous black nationalist movement in the country." Lieutenant Gordon Selby told of Muhammad's prediction of annihilation for the white race.

He told of the Fruit of Islam, a select group, trained in goon squad tactics, the use of judo and firearms and gang fighting. Police in major cities have had first hand experience with the "Fruit."

Mayor Yorty has asked Attorney General Kennedy to classify the Black Muslims as a subversive organization. He feels such a listing would enable the police to take better measures against the Muslims.

(© 1962, by King Features Syndicate)

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
'An eye for an eye'

b7C

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'We're Not Subversive' -Malcolm X

NEW YORK—Demands for an investigation into the Black Muslim movement by the House Un-American Activities Committee was interpreted by Minister Malcolm X, New York leader of the Muslims, as "just another attempt to frighten Negroes." Minister Malcolm was confident that "they're not going to investigate us."

He based his belief partly on an FBI report, recently issued, that neither it nor the Department of Justice has found the Black Muslims subversive since they began watching the movement at its start in Detroit more than 30 years ago.

More recently, according to a story in the Washington Post, "an FBI spokesman said that Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.) charged that the Black Muslims teach violence is untrue; the Black Muslim ministers demand strict discipline from their followers and enjoin them not to attack others unless they are first attacked."

The story quoted the FBI spokesman as saying further that "there are, of course some elements among the sect who cannot maintain this discipline," pointing out that some Muslims have run into cause of draft dodging and resisting arrest."

A bitter denunciation by Mr. Rivers followed a riot at Lorton Youth Reformatory, Lorton, Va., 16 miles south of Washington. Present officials said at the time that members of the "sect" instigated the riot.

While demanding an investigation of the Black Muslims, Mr. Rivers charged that they were dedicated to "murder, naked violence, hatred, mugging and yoking."

"If the Muslims are subversive," Minister Malcolm said in New York, "then the Freedom Riders are subversive. Rivers and people like him know that the Hon. Elijah Muhammad is waking up the Negroes of America. This threatened investigation is aimed at trying to frighten black people away from Mr. Muhammad. But what they don't realize is that we don't scare like we used to. Not even non-Muslims."

Meanwhile, the House Committee has a number of obstacles to hurdle before they begin a full-scale investigation. First, in July, Federal Court Judge Burnita S. Matthews ruled the Black Muslims are a religious sect. Although religious status would not bar a committee probe, embarrassments might rise in the future if, as a result of committee action, cases reached the Supreme Court and were defended on religious grounds.

Another problem might be whether the anti-white literature distributed by Muslims is actually subversive. It must also be determined whether the Muslims' demand for a separate state or states for Negroes, from which whites would be barred, could be considered as a threat or conspiracy against the existing government.

Malcolm K. Little

100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED
176 SEP 25 1962

62 SEP 26 1962

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

23 The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Date: 9/1/62
Edition: New York
Author:
Editor: William G. Nunn
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Pittsburgh

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-

0-19 (Rev. 3-2-62)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
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Evans
Malone
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Holmes
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Muslim Minister Rips 'Token Integration'

Cites Difference Between Segregation, Separation

By MINISTER MALCOLM X

TOKEN-integration, which is all "forced" integration can ever amount to, is too hypocritical to solve America's serious race problem.

Only a few handpicked Negroes benefit from TOKEN-integration, and usually these Negroes are the type who take great pride in being among the "chosen few" who are allowed to be around the whites. Oftimes this type of "integration-happy" Negro is so white-minded, he is more anti-black than the white man, and not caring to be around too many Negroes himself, he sees the "narrow" doors opened by TOKEN-integration as a chance for him to escape. . . because in TOKEN-integration the black masses must continue to live in the ghettoes and slums.

For the past thirty-two years the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has been teaching us that we will never solve our problems by forcing ourselves upon the white man. He teaches us that we should get maximum results and benefits out of what we already have, before we beg whites to let us integrate into what they have.

Complete Separation

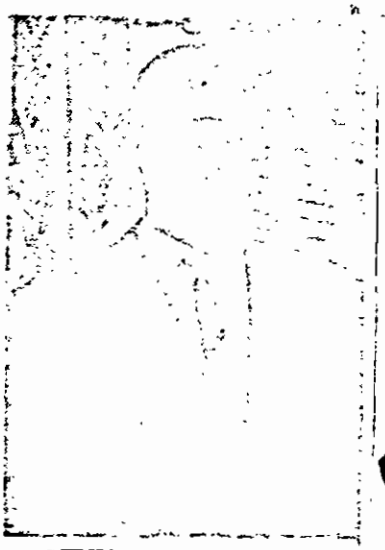
We who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad firmly believe that complete SEPARATION is the only solution to our problem. But many of you misunderstand us, and think we are advocating continued segregation.

No! We are as much against segregation as you are. We reject segregation even more militantly than you do. We want SEPARATION, but not segregation.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that segregation is when your life and liberty is controlled (regulated) by someone else. Segregate means to regulate or to control. To be segregated means to be controlled by others. (Segregation is that which is forced upon inferiors by superiors; but SEPARATION IS THAT WHICH IS DONE VOLUNTARILY).

Authority To Segregate

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that as long as our people here in America are dependent upon the white man, we will always be begging him for jobs: food, clothing and shelter. . . and he will continue to control us, regulate our lives, and have the authority to segregate us.



MINISTER MALCOM X

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer

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Date Sept. 15, 1962
Muhammad Speaks
Page 14

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63 SEP 17 1962

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SEP 14 1962

For example: as long as my son lives in my house and depends upon me for sustenance, I can regulate his life; I can segregate him. As long as he is dependent upon me for food, clothing and shelter I can tell him what time to come in, what room to sleep in, and who his friends should be.

As long as he is dependent upon me I can control his life, limit his movement, his liberty, his very behavior. . . as well as his choice of friends. This is a form of segregation.

Become Independent

But as soon as my son grows up and begins to think he has become a man, HE SEPARATES FROM ME! This doesn't mean he is anti-father (or anti-me) . . . but his mental maturity makes him realize he can't stay in my house DEPENDANT UPON ME, and expect me to accept him as my equal. He leaves my house and sets up a SEPARATE house for himself. He starts a family for himself, and by being able to provide the necessities of life for himself and his family, he proves that he is independent of me. His ability to make himself independent of me proves that he is a man.

Whereas I once had to care for him, he now cares for himself. He can do for himself and his family what I have done for mine. He is now qualified to come and go as he wishes, and free to choose his own friends. I am forced to recognize him.

His SEPARATION and DEPARTURE from my home have placed him out of my jurisdiction; by his own initiative he has become independent.

Lived Like Children

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that for 400 years our people, 20 million EX-SLAVES, have been living like "children" here in the white man's house. We have waited for the white "father" of this house to supply us with our every need: jobs, food, clothing, shelter. . . even schools. . . and yet we have nerve enough to resent it when the one we regard as the "father" treats us like children by segregating us; telling us where to eat, sleep, work or play.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that if we have become mature, and if we think we are now equal to the "great white father" who has been caring for us up to now. . . then we should prove it by SEPARATING from the white man; by leaving his house, and by setting up housekeeping now for ourselves.

Economic Future

There can never be any such thing as equal JOB-OPPORTUNITIES unless the blacks own some factories just like the whites.

White people came here poor, uneducated immigrants just fifty years ago, and some only ten years ago. They set up small factories and small businesses; WHITE economic structure that they developed this into the is the America of today. Those whites provided an economic future for their children.

Our people have been here in America for over 400 years. We have been so-called "free" for 100 years, and today the government economists say the purchasing power of our people is over $20 billion per year.

Why then are the masses of our people still jobless and

homeless? Why are we still the last hired and the first fired? It can't be entirely the white man's fault, because our buying power is over $20 billion per year income received from him.

Leaders Failed

The anemic Negro "leaders" have failed to use their education and their so-called "leadership ability" to show our people how to channel our wealth ($20 billion) . . . and set up farms, factories and other big businesses.

The Negro "leaders" have failed to show us how to set up an industry to create our own job opportunities for our own, like the white leaders have done for their own. And now this anemic Negro "leadership" is trying to camouflage its own inabilities and failures by accusing the white man of practicing discrimination and segregation when he refuses or limits the housing and job opportunities to our people.

Separate Territory

The Uncle Tom Negroes, the BLACK BOURGEOISIE, have failed to provide the proper leadership for the 20 million American so-called Negroes, so now our God has raised up the Honorable Elijah Muhammad from our midst to be our leader, teacher, guide and SPOKESMAN.

Therefore, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is asking that some separate territory (not a state, but several states) be set aside for the 20 million ex-slaves, and with the help of ALLAH he will show us how to solve our problems.

We won't be forcing ourselves into white communities, schools and factories. WE WILL SET UP OUR OWN! AND RUN OUR OWN!

FD-250 (4-3-62)

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What Courier Readers Think

Muslim vs. Moslem!

To the Editor:

Your "letters-to-the-editor" section has been allotting much space to almost anyone who wishes to attack Hon. Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual leader of the fastest growing, best disciplined religious group among the American so-called Negroes. One of the latest "hate Muhammad" letters was written by a Yahya Hayari, who says he is a Sudanese Muslim. It is difficult to believe this man is a Muslim, and even more difficult to believe he is a Muslim from the Sudan. In 1959 I visited Khartoun and Omdurman in the Sudan, and also visited the Muslims in Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt and Arabia. I was impressed the most by the Muslims of the Sudan. Their religious piety and hospitality are unmatched anywhere. I really felt in heaven and at home there. If this Mr. Hayari is really a Muslim and is from the Sudan, then he has been in Christian America too long, and already sounds like a Westernized, brainwashed, American Negro. At least our people in America have an excuse for our "westernized-thinking" because we have spent 400 years here in the hands of our slavemaster, over 9000 miles from our own people. I don't know what Mr. Hayari uses as his excuse. No real Muslim will ever attack another Muslim just to gain the friendship of Christians. As it says in the Holy Quran: "Oh you who believe, take not the Jew and the Christians for friends. They are friends of each other. And whoever amongst you takes them for friends he is indeed one of them. Surely Allah guides not the unjust people." (Chapter five, verse 51)

This man can't be a real Muslim. He probably is an American Negro who is a Christian, but is posing as a Muslim just to lend "authenticity" to his attacks upon Messenger Elijah Muhammad. How can we tell? If real Muslims have difference they settle their differences in private, but never to the public delight of Jews and Christians. The followers of Messenger Elijah Muhammad never let themselves be used by Christians to makes statements against other Muslims, no matter how much disagree with those Muslims. The policy of the enemies of Islam has always been "divide and conquer." This was the only real weapon the colonial powers ever had . . . their ability to use one of our people against the other. Some who still suffer from this "colonial mentality" are too quick to let themselves be used to argue and dispute with their own kind to the delight of the enemy. The Europeans are still in the Congo because the Congolese have been kept busy fighting each other, they are in Algeria because the Algerians have been fighting each other, they are still in the Middle East because the Arabs are fighting each other. Surely Muslims have learned a lesson from this! It would be quite foolish for Muslim students to come here from the Sudan or any other part of Africa and allow themselves to be used to attack us in a Christian country, a white country, a country in which over 20 million of their own "Darker Brothers" are yet being held as Second Class Citizens, which is only a modified form of "20th Century Colonalism." So don't let these "Negro Uncle Toms" use foreign-sounding names just to disguise their identity when they attack Mr. Muhammad. One can always spot the "thought-pattern" of an "americanized" black man no matter what name he hides under . . . for he thinks and writes just like the white man, and will always waste much time an energy attacking the Hon. Elijah Muhammad because Mr. Muhammad is the only Black Man in America with sufficient nerve, wisdom and "following" to be independent of the white man and hit him where it really hurts in the struggle for the freedom of the people.

MALCOLM X
New York City, N. Y.

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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11 The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Date: 10-6-62
Edition: New York
Author:
Editor: William G. Nunn
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Classification:
Submitting Office: Pittsburgh

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. R[illegible]
Mr. S[illegible]
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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SO THEY SAY

Malcolm X, a Black Muslim leader, advising Negro college students at Charlotte, N.C., against associating with white persons:

"You don't ever integrate with someone going downhill."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

[redacted] b7C

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20 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES
Chicago, Illinois

Date: Feb. 1, 1963
Edition: 5 Star Final
Author: -
Editor: JOHN THEZEVANT
Title: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA;

Character:
or
Classification: 100-33593
Submitting Office: Chicago

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184 FEB 6 1963

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62 FEB 7 1963

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[redacted] Justice Mocked At Muslim Trial In New York City

Thousands Stage Mass Protest, Hit Upsurge Of Police Brutality

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By JOSEPH WALKER
(MUHAMMAD SPEAKS CORRESPONDENT)

NEW YORK — Hundreds of Negroes in the jammed courtroom sat stunned at the judge's decision, then silently filed out and joined hundreds of others in a massive, marching protest that moved on City Hall.

Minister Malcolm X of New York Mosque asked newspaper and television reporters:

"If the black man can't get justice in New York City, where in this country can he get it?"

MOMENTS BEFORE, Judge John M. Murtagh had found two young Muslims "guilty" of third degree assault and disorderly conduct. Their "crime" —Selling Muhammad Speaks newspapers in Times Square.

Malcolm K. Little

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
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The New Leader
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The National Observer
Date February 4, 1963
Muhammad Speaks
Page 4

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Observers believed their conviction was part of a coldly calculated statewide plan to create public sentiment against Muslims in order to influence judges' decisions in forthcoming Muslim trials such as Attica, and Rochester, N. Y.

In view of the protest registered by Malcolm X over the decision — which shocked the entire courtroom — arrangements will be made for a discussion with Mayor Robert Wagner concerning police brutality and harassment of Muslims, asserted Leslie Sloats assistant to Mayor Wagner.

MUSLIMS HAD BEEN harassed many times before in cities across the country while selling their newspapers on public streets but never before in New York had there been such a serious encounter with police and such a vigorous citizen's protest.

On Christmas day, 1962, Hugh X Morton and Albert X Reese, both 26-years-old, were taken into custody at gun point while selling Muhammad Speaks in Times Square, one of the busiest urban centers in the world.

PATROLMAN RAYMOND Sullivan charged in his court testimony that Morton was blocking subway entrance, bumped into a woman, and refused to move when he was requested to do so.

He testified that Morton declared he and Reese were "Black Moslems and didn't have too move for anybody." The patrolman further claimed that he was cursed and attacked by Reese when he arrested Morton and struggled with him to a car.

Cross examining Patrolman Sullivan, Defense Attorney Edward Jacko brought out that no one had complained to police about the defendants blocking the subway entrance, that the officer had observed the Muslims making numerous sales; that when he took Morton into custody he did not tell him he was under arrest, and that there was a significant difference between what Patrolman Sullivan recorded after the affair in his official memo book and what he later charged in his court complaint.

PATROLMAN RUSSELL, who was off duty and in civilian clothes on Christmas day, testified he came to the aid of

In Times Square

2 'Guilty' Of Selling Newspaper

(Continued from Page 4)

Sullivan when he observed the fracas while driving near Times Square. He said he saw that Sullivan held Morton while Reese was hitting the patrolman and claimed he stopped his car, got out and pulled his revolver.

Russell admitted under cross-examination that he was not assaulted by either Morton or Reese, as charged by Patrolman Sullivan. Both Morton and Reese denied on the stand that they blocked the subway or bumped anyone, used loud or profane language or struck either policeman.

EYE-WITNESS Michael David of 541 W. 150th st. collaborated Morton's and Reese's court testimony.

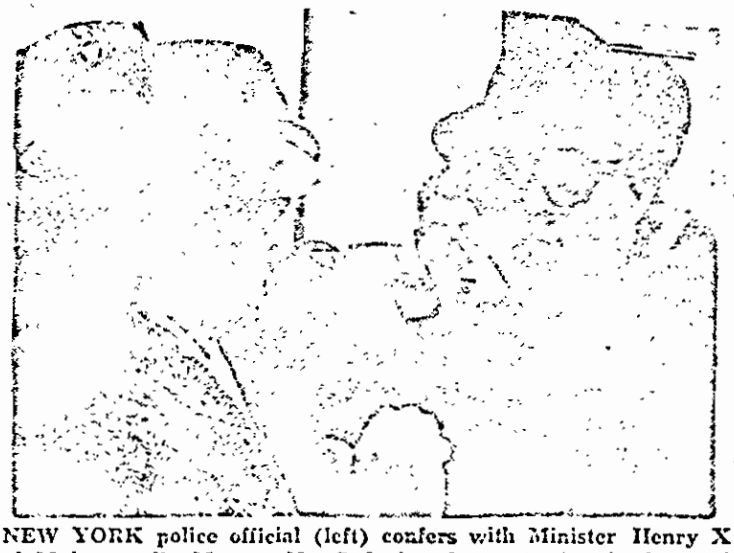
Defense Counsel Jacko in his summation observed that "there is no ordinance, regulation or law existing in the city of New York prohibiting sale or distribution of a religious newspaper."

Jacko observed that the profane language allegedly used by the defendants was not recorded in Patrolman Sullivan's memo book and charged that it was "solely an afterthought when other minds came into play."

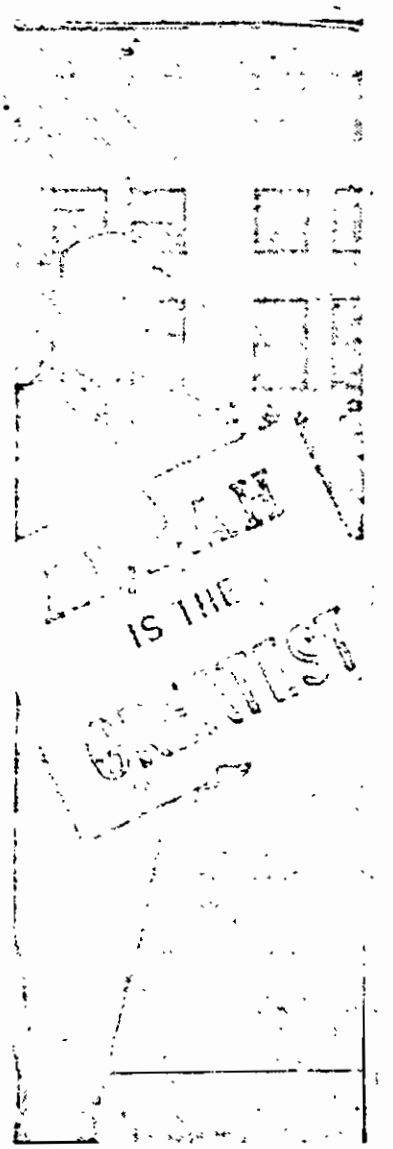
Atty. Jacko concluded that the prosecution had failed to prove the charges beyond a resonable doubt and asked for their dismissal.

But Judge Murtagh found the Muslims guilty and set January 25th for sentencing.

MANY OF THOSE in and outside the courtroom then moved on to City Hall where they were joined by others in a solemn march. They later carried their dignified protest to Times Square.

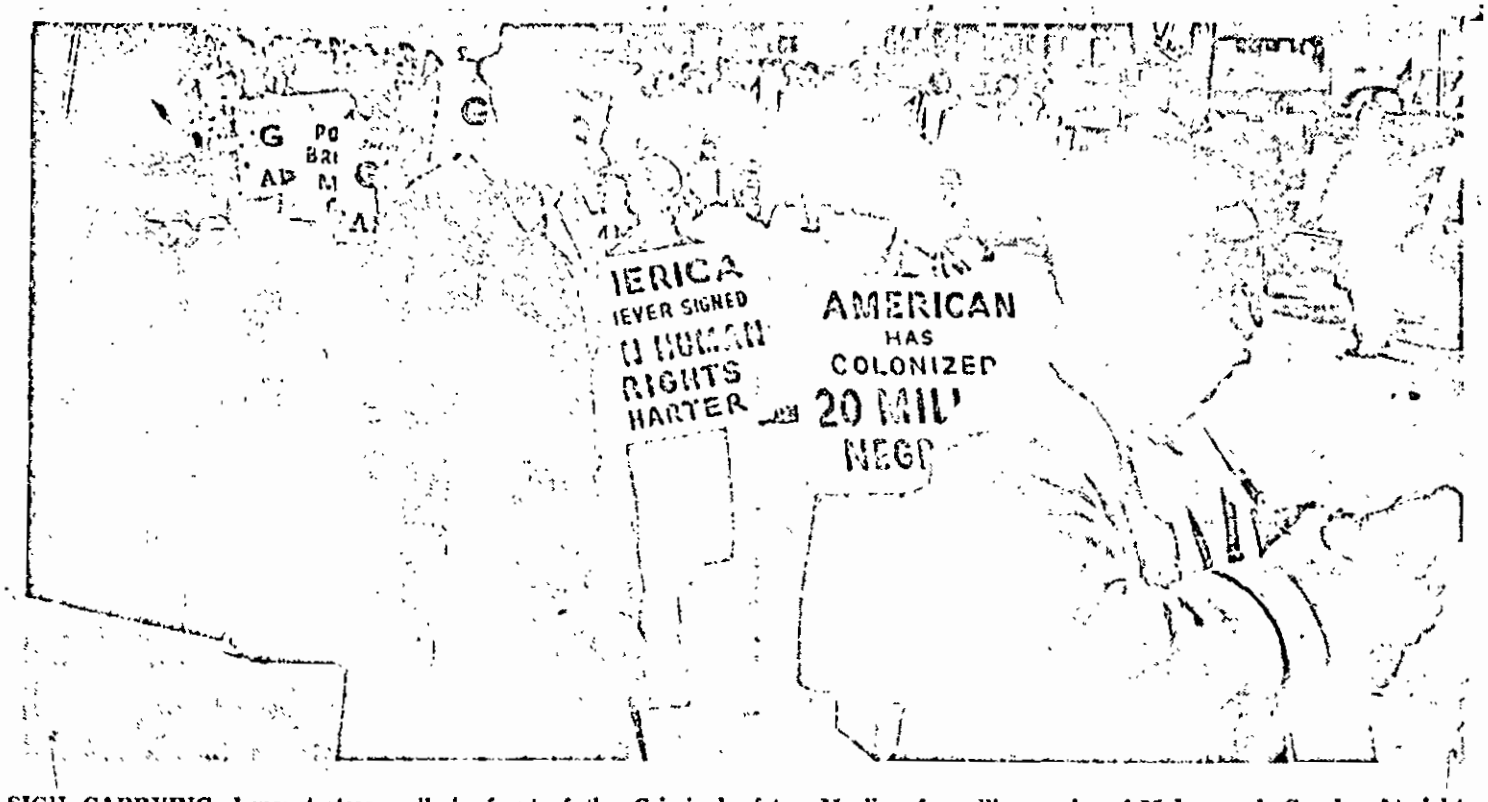


NEW YORK police official (left) confers with Minister Henry X of Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 during demonstration in front of Criminal Courts Building. Political Observers charge a statewide step-up of harassment to create public sentiment against Muslims.



BOLD, black and white sign, carried by a solemn protestor outside New York City courtroom reads "Allah Is The Greatest."

MINISTER MALCOM X (left) of Mosque No. 7 joins other Muslims outside New York City courtroom in protest of harassment and police brutality against Muslims throughout the State of New York. Later, two young Muslims were found "guilty" of assault and disorderly conduct. They had been taken into custody at pistol point on Christmas day while selling Muhammed Speaks newspaper in Times Square. With Malcolm X in photo are Minister James 3X of Newark, N. J. Mosque No. 25, and Captain Joseph X of Mosque No. 7, New York.



SIGN CARRYING demonstrators walk in front of the Criminal of two Muslims for selling copies of Muhammads Speaks. At right Courts Building in New York city, protesting the arrest and trial is noted photographer Gordon Parks, formerly of Life Magazine.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Black Muslim Aide Berates Whites

Annual Convention Cheers Harangue by Malcolm X

(Other Pictures on Back Page)

Nearly 2,000 Black Muslims responded with frenzied applause and rhythmic shouting Tuesday night as Malcolm X, leader of the cult's New York temple, berated the white race.

Malcolm X, speaking at the annual Muslim convention in the Coliseum, 1513 S. Wabash, alternately chatted, laughed and lashed out at the white man for almost two hours.

"It's time for God to get violent with the white man," Malcolm X shouted as sweat poured down his face. "We (Negroes) should not be willing to die alone."

He urged that American Negroes be given a divorce and property settlement by the white man.

"We can no longer live together in the same house. Give us some states, white man. And just as we worked 400 years for the white man, the white man should work 25 years for us," he said.

"If not, God has the power, will and desire to erase the white man here in America."

MALCOLM X
"Give us some states, white man."

* * *

MALCOLM X pinch-hit as speaker for Messenger Elijah Muhamad, founder and prophet of the Islam-influenced cult that preaches black supremacy.

The 64-year-old Muhammad was ill, Malcolm X told the convention, and "cold weather produces severe setbacks."

Earlier speakers had praised Muhammad in terms varying from "lord of the world" to "a little black man who really knocks you out."

* * *

THE AUDIENCE was mainly Negro except for about a dozen youths from area colleges and high schools who sat on folding chairs about five rows back from the rostrum.

Said one, a Jordanian exchange student and a Moslem, "Their first prayer was similar to one we say, but the rest of it—I don't know."

Chicago Daily News, Mar 1 1963

MAR 6 1963

File 5 100-39932-1

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43 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: February 27, 1963
Edition: Red Dart
Author:
Editor: JOHN STANTON
Title: NATION OF ISLAM;

Character:
or
Classification: 100-35635
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

100-39932-A
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184 MAR 6 1963

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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TOWER TICKER

By Herb Lyon

THE JOTTED LYON: Prophet Elijah Muhammed, who sevened out on a major Black Muslim rally here, reportedly is sick. Malcolm X, his fast talking right hand man, is being groomed to succeed.

Malcolm Little

b7c [redacted]

[redacted]

Mr. Tolsen
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

18

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: FEBRUARY 28, 196
Edition: 3 STAR SPORTS
Author: LEHB LYON
Editor: M. D. MAXWELL
Title: NATION OF ISLAM;

Character:
or
Classification: 100-35635
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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Associated Press

Muslim Message

Malcolm X, second-in-command of the Black Muslim religious sect, gestures during a speech before 3000 members in Chicago. He substituted at the one-day, two session meeting for Elijah Muhammad, self-proclaimed messenger of Allah, who was ill and unable to attend. Yesterday a bomb threat delayed the departure of four chartered airliners loaded with sect members bound for homes in New York and Connecticut. No bombs were found on any of the planes.

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54 MAR 19 1963

100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED
184 MAR 14 1963

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
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The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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Malcolm Asks For Plague On Whites

By BILL DOWELL

Malcolm X said Thursday night that the refusal by the Durham Recreation Department to allow him to speak in Hill Recreation Hall shows that the whites do not think Negroes are capable of thinking for themselves.

"The city of Durham cannot allow any racial group, whether colored or white, to hold meetings in any of their parks or facilities," said Harold Moses, Head of the Durham's Parks and Recreations department.

"Because the Black Muslins signed up for the hall under the nomenclature 'Mosque' for the purpose of hearing a 'lecture,' the fact that it was actually a Black Muslin meeting was overlooked until the last minute.

"Our action in canceling the function has nothing to do with racial discrimination," he continued. "It involves discrimination between the purpose of a comparatively peaceful organization and one whose peaceful motives are doubtful."

The "unity" meeting between the Black Muslim leader and Negro attorney Floyd McKissick was held in Page Auditorium on Roxboro Street. About 150 people attended.

X said that the Muslins want separation not segregation. Separation, he said, would mean controlling everything in their own communities. The Muslims, he said, believe that the story of the hand writing on the wall in the Bible is a smybolic prophesy of the present.

The whites are going to be destroyed, he said, we don't want to be around when it happens.

In a calm, low voice, he prayed for droughts and plagues to fall on the whites and for future white generations to be born moronic and malformed. The prayer, he said was a religious one the same kind that Moses had prayed against the Pharo.

The Muslims, X said, would join any group or picket line they thought would help the Negroes. "But," he added, "if we are marching on a picket line and some beast mistreats us, you know we won't turn the other cheek."

The Muslims, X said, would defend what was their's including their women. "If one of you married a white woman, they'd take you out and hang you on a tree," he said. "Well, I would probably do the same, but if one of them mistreats one of our women, then we

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The Daily Tar Heel
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(University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

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will kill him. That's not violence that's self defense."

X said the Muslims were not for integration, because integration is something which a superior race forces on an inferior one.

He said that as soon as Whites knew that you honestly wanted to be separate from them they would respect you for it.

The only time the U. S. had ever made a move for integration, he said, was when it felt that foreign opinion called for it or there was some other ulterior motive. Whenever integration was argued for, as an honest moral goal, he said, it was looked down on. If the motive is bad, he said, how can the result help but be bad?

X went on to say that even if the whites did want to have integration, they couldn't have the kind the Negro wants.

The dumbest Negro, he said isn't dumb enough to think that sending one or two Negroes to college means that the colleges are integrated

— Malcolm X —

(Continued from Page 1)

As an example he pointed to N. C. College where he had been refused permission to speak and at U.N.C. where he was scheduled to speak Friday night.

They think the white students have enough intelligence to decide between good and evil, he said, but they think the Negroes are too stupid to be able to tell.

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Miss Gandy

Muslim Leader Says His Group Not Anti-Anybody

Malcolm Little, spokesman for the Black Muslims, Wednesday, insisted the racial group is not anti-white in its aims or intentions.

He spoke before an overflow crowd of 750 State University of Buffalo students in Norton Union. About 100 visitors were turned away and milled in the corridors until campus police dispersed them.

The outspoken Muslim leader, who calls himself "Malcolm X," easily out-thundered hecklers who attempted to interrupt him.

"We're pro us," he shouted. "It doesn't mean were anti-you or anti anybody else," he said, indicating that white fears of the Muslims are unfounded.

Says Integration Won't Work

A former convict who embraced the Muslim creed of Chicago-born "Elijah Mohammed" while serving a jail sentence, Little says he abandoned his "slave name" for the symbolic "X." The Muslims hold that whites and Negroes should be separated completely, with a Negro state to eventually evolve.

"You were born in a white country, a free man. You don't know what it's like to be segregated, discriminated, Jim Crow'ed . . . to open a book that describes you as an animal and a savage."

Integration won't work, Little said, "because no white people are going to allow us to live with them on an equal basis."

"You have already withdrawn yourselves from us," he said.

Attacks Southern Whites

The United States was charged with being a "nation of hypocrites" because it says it should clear up the race problem in order to present a better image to the rest of the world.

"This is hypocrisy," Little said. "If you have done us wrong, you should stop doing wrong, whether someone is looking or not."

Among his assertions were:

The southern white is more afraid of separation than integration.

None of the "dark nations" of the world will accept America as a true friend because of racial policies here.

The Administration, religious groups, fraternal groups and the intellectuals cannot solve the race problem.

Says Leaders Want Power

The "white liberal" is the "biggest criminal" of them all because "he poses as a friend of the Negro.

The Supreme Court cleverly wrote its desegregation ruling nine years ago to leave loopholes for southern and northern whites to use.

The leaders of the U. S. aren't interested in what is right, but in power.

Another speaker was obtained by the university's Civil Rights Committee late Tuesday.

The Rev. Clarence L. Hilliard, pastor of St. Paul's Baptist Church, Lackawanna, was the target of several derogatory references by the Muslim spokesman because he said "they always have someone speak along with us to 'balance out' what we Muslims say."

"In Throes of Growing Pains"

Mr. Hilliard said the ideals of American democracy are "in the throes of growing pains." The Negro in America, he said, "is pushing forward so that the ideals shall not be labeled 'white only.'"

On another front, Mr. Hilliard accused the Buffalo Board of Education of failing "to come to grips with 'de facto' segregation in City of Buffalo schools."

He said the problems at East High School and any other disciplinary problems in the city system cannot be solved by creating a special school for troublemakers.

"The school will wind up being all Negro," he said, "and the Supreme Court has ruled that segregated schools are inherently unequal."

The speakers had been scheduled to debate, but no debate developed.

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BUFFALO EVENING NEWS, BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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Date: 4/25/63
Edition: COMPLETE
Author: FINANCIAL
Editor:
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE, aka, MALCOLM X
Character: IS-NOI
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Classification:
Submitting Office: BUFFALO

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Is Negro Ticket in Offing?

Muslim Leader Poses Political Action Issue

By George Breitman

Elijah Muhammad's recent call on the Negro people to "elect your own candidates" raises more questions than it answers. But they are crucial questions, and it is good for them to be raised and discussed widely.

The Muslim leader's statement on political action was reported in the March 18 issue of *Muhammad Speaks*, but with only a few direct quotations. It said that Muhammad urged American Negroes to "seek freedom through unity and through the judicious use of the ballot box in the coming elections." It also reported him as saying that "honest and adequate political representation for the black people in America was an essential step towards the winning of equal justice for the oppressed and persecuted."

The only direct quotations attributed to Muhammad were these:

"There will be no real freedom for the so-called Negro in America until he elects his own political leaders and his own candidates.

"Black people in America must elect their own candidates instead of merely existing under those chosen by the descendants of the slaveholders who are primarily interested in keeping the slavemaster's children in a servant status.

"Our future lies in electing our own."

Malcolm X

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One ques immediately raised is this: . .s this mean that the Muslim movement, which advocates that Negroes separate and form their own nation, is now preparing to initiate political action or participate in the political life of the United States? It has not done so up to now. The question is important because of the influence of the Muslims in the Negro community, which is considerably larger than their direct membership.

The *Muhammad Speaks* article talks of "the movement of the Muslims towards the political front" and interprets Muhammad's statement to mean that "hereafter the large Muslim movement in North America would enter the political arena on the side of candidates with programs designed to alleviate the deplorable conditions under which Negroes are forced to live."

But what the paper actually quotes of Muhammad's statement does not indicate any definite decision to "enter the political arena." The April 1 *Militant* quoted New York Muslim leader Malcolm X as having said on March 23 that people were asking him if the Muslims were going *into* politics and that his answer was, "*If we do, we'll do it right.*" In spite of the *Muhammad Speaks* interpretation, which stirred up a lot of momentary excitement and speculation, we must conclude that the Muslims have not yet decided to enter the political arena.

But Muhammad's statement shows that they are thinking about it. It also probably reflects a certain amount of pressure from sections of the Negro community that look hopefully to the Muslims for leadership in the Negro struggle. His statement may be in the nature of a feeler — to probe reactions and gauge possibilities. The Muslims have been showing greater flexibility and keener sensitivity toward moods of the Negro masses, especially during the last year. We must not forget that like other tendencies in the Negro movement, they not only influence the Negro community but also are influenced by it. It would be a mistake to think of the Muslims as a fixed and unchangeable tendency, and I, for one, think that under certain conditions they may decide to enter the political field.

If they do, the repercussions would be widespread in at least two directions:

1) It would strengthen movements to elect Negro representatives to public office. More Negro candidates would run, . .re would be elected. We might see the appearance of local Negro parties, even a national one.

2) It would produce big changes inside the Muslim movement, and big changes in their relations with other organizations in the Negro community and, ultimately, with other major forces in American life.

How big would depend, of course, on what *kind* of political action they advocated and undertook.

Would it be political action to elect Negro Democrats or Republicans, that is, candidates running on the tickets of the parties that have been and are responsible for racial oppression? Or would it be to elect Negroes running independently of the capitalist parties, in opposition to the capitalist party candidates, and responsible to the Negro community rather than to the old and corrupt political machines?

Muhammad's statement is not even vague on this point — it does not deal with it at all. The remarks of *Muhammad Speaks* are even less helpful: "on the side of candidates with programs designed to alleviate" Negro conditions could mean almost anything.

Nobody knows the answer at this point. When Muhammad's statement first appeared, a black nationalist (non-Muslim) assured me that the Muslims would "never get mixed up in the old kind of politics." I repeat, however, nobody knows at this point.

Hitting Pipe?

I hope the readers of this article will not think I have been hitting the pipe because I talk about the possibility of an independent Negro party. No such party is going to be formed overnight, or by the 1964 election. But from what I hear and read, there is a good deal of talk and thought about this question in Negro nationalist circles, among Negro "integrationists" as well as Negro "separatists." The desire of the Negro masses to be represented by Negroes in public office and elewhere has grown very strong in the last decade. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who keeps his ear to the ground, flirts with this sentiment now and then by talking about the need to establish a Negro or civil-rights party.

The idea itself is far from fantastic. The strategic basis for such a party already exists. It was created by the capitalist system of

segregation, which has herded millions of Negroes together in the ghettoes of the biggest cities in the North and South. As whites continue to flee from the big cities to the suburbs, the relative weight of the Negroes becomes ever greater. Right now, if the Negroes were united in a party of their own, they are so situated that they could sweep the elections in dozens of congressional districts. A Negro party could elect a bloc of candidates that could even hold the legislative balance of power in Washington and several big industrial states, and therefore be able to force some serious concessions from the capitalist parties.

Because Negroes are only ten or eleven per cent of the population, a Negro party could not expect to win national power by itself. But the creation of a Negro party would have a profound impact on the whole political structure of the nation, not just on the Negro community.

The withdrawal of Negroes into a party of their own would signal the doom of the Democratic Party as a major national party. Deprived of the Negro vote (it now gets around three-quarters of that), the Democrats would be unable to win elections in the Northern states, and the reactionary Southern Democrats would quickly take over undisputed control of what would be left of the party.

That's not all. A break of the Negroes from the capitalist parties, which today means mainly a break from the Democratic Party, would provoke an acute crisis in the labor movement, whose leaders now serve as junior partners of the Democrats. With Negroes abandoning the Democratic Party, with the relative weight of the Dixiecrats increasing inside the Democratic Party, and with Democrats unable to win national elections, the union movement's coalition with the Democrats would be plainly seen by everybody for what it actually is — bankrupt as well as stupid.

Dissatisfaction with being a tail to the Democratic donkey, which already exists in labor's ranks, would accelerate tremendously. Sentiment for an independent labor party, already being generated by other material and political factors, would come to a boil. The decline of the Democratic Party would hasten the formation of a labor party.

Right from the start a labor party would be compelled, in everything it said and did, to take the existence of a Negro party into account. It would most likely seek to arrange an alliance between the two parties, which could only be done by adopting the just demands of the Negro people. On their side, the Negroes, when assured that an alliance would not subordinate their interests or sidetrack their struggle for equality, would probably welcome co-operation with a labor party. The result would eventually be either a merger of the two parties or their close collaboration in a struggle for political power. What began as the independent action of a minority could end as the reconstruction of society by a majority.

It is too early to predict these things will happen, or will happen just this way. My point, for the present, is merely that when Negroes begin talking about electing candidates of their own, they are talking about one of the potentially most explosive and revolutionary questions in the world, which could lead to changing the whole political climate and future of this country. Socialists must understand this if they are to help promote this process of radical change.

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An Anti-Crime Rally

Malcolm X On a Mission

16 By Sue Solet
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The second in command of the Black Muslim movement will return to Washington this week in a campaign to reduce crime among Negroes i nthe nation's capital.

Malcolm X, deputy of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammed, said he would arrive in Washington on Thursday or Friday. He will initiate a "revival-type program" aimed at eliminating "the deteriorating moral condition of our people in Washington."

Mr. X accused police of breaking into Muslim mosques in Rochester, N. Y., and Newark, N. J. In Newark, he said, police tried to enter the mosque "on the pretext that there wa sa bomb in there." Muslims refused to let them in. "You could have had one of the worst race riots in Newark," he said.

"You will have a nasty situation from here on in," he said, "in any case where police try to break into our sanctuaries. It won't be like in Birmingham, Ala.—turn the other cheek. You won't have that with us."

In the 1960 census, Negroes comprised 54 per cent of Washington's population of 765,956. Police figures show that Negroes made up about 80 per cent of all arrests of adults last year.

Members of the Black Muslims sect are pledged not to drink, smoke, or carry weapons.

In Washington yesterday, Deputy Police Chief George R. Wallrodt said he had not spoken to Mr. X and did not know what his plans are. "We have a Black Muslim mosque here," he said. "In previous years they've held many meetings there. We've never had any trouble with them in this city."

Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN
Malcolm X Little

Prepared For Campaign

Mr. X made his plans known from Los Angeles, where he is attending the trial of 14 Black Muslims accused of attacking police in a disturbance last April. He said he had been in Washington from last Sunday to Wednesday to prepare for the campaign.

"The government seems unable to correct the situation," Mr. X said. "Negro leaders there also seem unable to correct it. The constant criticism by outsiders and also by Negro leaders does nothing to solve the problem."

The Black Muslims, he said, speak "directly to the Negro in the community."

"Our goal is eliminating the frame of mind that makes us turn toward alcohol, dope, gambling and crime. We will spread a message among our people."

The campaign will be centered at "Mosque No. 4," the central Washington temple of the Black Muslims. The building, at 1519 4th St., N. W., holds 400 to 500 persons, Mr. X said.

Leader Ordered Him to Capital

Sunday revival meetings may also be held at a hall in the WUST radio station building at 815 V St., N. W. That auditorium holds an estimated 1,000 persons.

Mr. X said he would stay in Washington until Mr. Muhammed tells him to leave. He said the Muslim leader had ordered him to go to the capital.

The Los Angeles trial began on Tuesday. The 14 defendants are charged with assaulting police officers who stopped a car to question two members of the sect. In fighting that followed the incident, one Muslim was killed and two severely injured. Several policemen were badly hurt.

Mr. X said that he will give the facts of the trial to foreign correspondents and the five Negro Congressmen in Washington. "The deed that was committed out here against us was so illegal and atrocious that they're afraid to tell the facts," he said.

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Muslim to Speak

Malcolm X, new minister of Muhammad's Mosque No. 4 (Black Muslims), 1519 Fourth street N.W., will discuss his proposals for solving Washington's juvenile crime problem at 1 p.m. Sunday in WUST Radio Hall Ninth and V streets N.W.

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(BLACK MUSLIMS)

WASHINGTON--"MALCOLM X" ARRIVED YESTERDAY TO TAKE CHARGE OF A CAMPAIGN TO EXPAND THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

AT AN AIRPORT NEWS CONFERENCE, WHICH BEGAN CALMLY BUT ENDED RATHER STORMILY MALCOLM X ASSERTED THAT:

--HE IS NOT THE "NUMBER 2 MAN" IN THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT, AS HE HAS OFTEN BEEN DESCRIBED, NOR IS HE "HEIR APPARENT" TO THE MOVEMENT'S LEADER, ELIJAH MUHAMMED. BUT HE HAS BEEN DESIGNATED TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE HERE, AS WELL AS THE ONE IN NEW YORK.

--HE WILL CONDUCT A FOUR-WEEK SERIES OF MEETINGS "FOR NEGROES ONLY" TO SEEK SOLUTIONS FOR THE HIGH RATE OF STREET CRIME IN WASHINGTON.

--BLACK MUSLIMS DO NOT "PREACH HATRED OF WHITE PEOPLE" AND DO NOT BELIEVE VIOLENCE IS A WAY TO SOLVE RACIAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. BUT "IF WE ARE EVER ATTACKED BY ANYONE, WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES NO MATTER WHAT THE ODDS, OR THE CONSEQUENCES."

TOWARD THE END OF THE NEWS CONFERENCE, MALCOLM X WAS ASKED WHAT HE WOULD DO IF HE WERE LEADING NEGROES IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

"I'LL SAY THIS," HE SAID ANGRILY, "IF ANYONE SETS A DOG ON A BLACK MAN, THE BLACK MAN SHOULD KILL THAT DOG -- WHETHER HE IS A FOUR-LEGGED DOG OR A TWO-LEGGED DOG."

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20 Million Muslims By '70, Leader Predicts

Adherence to the Black Muslim religious philosophy will solve the District's so-called Negro crime problem, Malcolm X, the sect's new Washington leader, declared yesterday.

Malcolm X said he will preach the "religion of Islam" to the District's Negro residents during a four-week series of "family-type" gatherings beginning Sunday afternoon.

The Sunday meeting will be at 1 p.m. in WUST Radio Hall at Ninth and V streets N.W. There will be additional meetings each Wednesday and Friday night in Muhammad's Mosque No. 4, 1519 Fourth street N.W., he said.

All whites will be barred from the meetings, Malcolm X emphasized.

"We will discuss problems faced by the Negroes among ourselves . . . excluding outsiders to save anybody any embarrassment when they want to get up and say what they think," he explained.

Committed Crimes

"The solution we will offer will be what Mr. Elijah Muhammad (leader of the sect) used for me," Malcolm X continued. "I was an extreme delinquent in America . . . in all cities . . . I committed many crimes against the community and society. Mr. Muhammad reformed me. The same thing he did for me can be used across the country to combat juvenile delinquency."

The spectacular Black Muslim minister did not detail the movement's religious philosophy.

"The Black Muslims don't hate . . . we don't teach hate," he emphasized. "We merely preach the truth about what the white man has done to black people. We are teaching the truth."

"Once the Negro accepts our teachings, he will stop drinking, smoking, committing adultery and fornication and the other acts of crime," Malcolm X said. The religion of Islam, he said, "is the best means by which crime can be eliminated."

Predicts Action

Mr. Muhammad, Malcolm X said, has predicted Negroes will flock to the Black Muslim movement.

"All 20 million Negroes will be Muslims," Malcolm said.

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"Mr. Muhammad has predicted that by 1970, more than 90 per cent of Negroes will have turned to the Muslim religion."

Malcolm X denied that Negroes are responsible for the District's high crime rate.

"They (Negroes) are only practicing what the white man has forced on them," he declared. "No Negroes are in the hierarchy of organized crime. Negroes are the victims. The white man controls organized gambling, prostitution and dope, but he blames Negroes for them."

If the Muslims were at the leadership level in Birmingham there would be no disorder, Malcolm X explained, because they would teach the Negroes "to stand on our own feet and bring our own community up to par rather than forcing ourselves on the white man."

Would Separate Races

The Negroes' approach to their Birmingham problems is no good, Malcolm X indicated. "You draw away from them and they accuse you of hate and you draw to them and they sic their dogs on you," he argued.

"Mr. Muhammad teaches us to separate from the white man since you can't get along with him," he continued.

Birmington Negroes, he said, should kill "the two or four legged dogs which attack them." If Muslims were involved in the Birmingham protests, he said, they would defend themselves against the police dogs and policemen who attack them with nightsticks and fire hoses.

Malcolm X said he was assigned here by Mr. Muhammad to make "faster progress" for the Muslim movement. He replaces Lucius X. Brown as minister of the Washington mosque. He said Lucius X "no longer represents Mr. Muhammad because he was not getting enuogh action."

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Minister Blasts Mayor

LOS ANGELES — Minister Malcolm X has charged the City of Los Angeles with operating a "Ku Klux Klan police force" which uses gestapo tactics against Negroes after a car in which he and a Muslim Brother were riding was forced to the curb by white cops who menaced them with a pistol and a sawed-off shot gun.

They were ordered from their car at gun-point in a poorly-lighted section of the city after the men had trailed them from the airport.

THE INCIDENT occurred just 45 minutes after Minister Malcolm had arrived here by plane from New York to attend summations of the trial of 14 innocent Muslims who, though victims of the most wanton police brutality, are being tried on charges of assault.

FOLLOWING their release by the policemen, Minister Malcolm immediately wired a stinging protest to Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty.

The text of his message follows.

DEAR MR. MAYOR:

The "hate campaign" waged by your office against the general Negro community and Muslim religious groups specifically has made Los Angeles a city wherein white Klansmen disguised as police officers feel free to trample upon the human rights of any Negro in this city.

YOUR OWN open contempt for

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Blasts L.A. Cops As Kluxers!

(Continued from page 1)

the dark-skinned human being in the Negro community has given these white officers the impression they can use gestapo tactics against all Negroes in this city with no fear of reprimand from their own white superiors in the Los Angeles Police Department, the City Administration or from any court of law.

I ARRIVED in Los Angeles on American Airlines, flight No. 7 from New York City at 9:30 last night, and was met by one of our local religious officials, Mr. Edward Sherrill. By 10:15 we were both being held at gunpoint by two white men in plain clothes, allegedly of the Los Angeles Police Department.

These two vicious looking white men had followed us from the airport in a green 59 Chevrolet, license No. KGL966. And when we reached a poorly lighted section of the city, they forced us to the curb at gun-point. One of the two white men thrust a police 38 pistol through the window into our faces and ordered us from the car while the other covered us with a sawed-off shotgun.

THEY TRIED in every way to provoke us into making a quick move so they would have a legitimate excuse to shoot us. Knowing the Los Angeles Police Department and its reputation for shooting innocent Negroes, we gave them no excuse.

These men never showed us any badge nor did they say they represented the law—they just put guns on us and searched us. We could have easily mistaken them for gangsters trying to rob us and resisted them, but we know how the LAPD operates. There would have been plenty of bloodshed.

THEY BECAME shaky after we had clearly identified ourselves and their search revealed there was nothing they could charge us with. Mr. Sherrill recognized one of them from the current trial, and both of them admitted that they knew me as the Muslim minister from New York.

Only upon our demand did they identify themselves later as Officers R. W. Hastings and E. H. Henderson of the metropolitan division, but they never apologized for their unwarranted action.

THERE IS a strong rumor circulating in this city and throughout the nation that the city administration here is on the spot in its present court case involving the 14 innocent Muslims who are falsely being charged with assaulting police officers because of the vicious manner in which the LAPD brutally and needlessly shot 7 innocent Negroes in front of the Islamic Religious Sanctuary.

The rumor persists that the city administration cannot afford to acquit these 14 innocent Negroes. Everyone admits that the state has no case; that it exists only because of the false charges trumped up by the police and the

Minister Malcolm X

district attorney's office.

EVER SINCE this trial started 7 weeks ago the Los Angeles Police Department has stepped up its harassment of the Muslims throughout the Negro community trying to provoke another incident of violence that can again be blown up by the press and then used to influence the all-white jury's decision against us.

They have no case against these 14 innocent Negroes, so the Los Angeles Police Department is still trying to make a case.

The provocation in the Negro community is very dangerous, especially with Negro-white race relations already at a crucial low point across the nation. The incident last night of two of your police officers holding me at gunpoint on a Los Angeles street is an act stemming either from extreme ignorance on the part of the Los Angeles Police Department, or extreme desperation on the part of the city administration.

The seriousness of the incident demands an immediate investigation.

Very sincerely,

Minister Malcolm X
National Representative
of the Honorable Elijah
Muhammad

0-19 (Rev. 10-15-62)

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Liberties Union Backs Services By Muslim Leader

The Civil Liberties Union has urged District officials to permit Black Muslim leader Malcolm X to conduct religious services for Muslim inmates of Lorton Reformatory Sunday.

The request was made in a telegram from the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union to the District Commissioners and to Donald Clemmer, Department of Correction director.

The telegram said Malcolm X had been barred from the reformatory, but Mr. Clemmer said he had given "no official notice" one way or the other on whether the Muslim leader would be permitted inside the reformatory. Mr. Clemmer declined any further comment.

b7c

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A-3
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
Date

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JUN 28 1963

NOT RECORDED
191 JUL 5 1963

0-20 (Rev. 10-15-62)

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UPI-133

ADD RACIAL, NEW YORK (UPI-38)

BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X TOLD AN ESTIMATED 2,000 NEGROES AT A HARLEM RALLY TODAY THAT AMERICAN NEGROES "ARE AS MUCH SLAVES IN 1963 AS 1863."

AT ANOTHER RALLY NEARBY, A NEGRO INTEGRATION LEADER FROM MISSISSIPPI DECLARED THAT "TENSION IN MISSISSIPPI IS AT ITS HEIGHT."

MALCOLM X TOLD A CHEERING CROWD THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MORE CONCERNED WITH "NAZI GERMANY THAN U.S. NEGROES."

ALLUDING TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S RECENT VISIT TO WEST GERMANY AND BERLIN, MALCOLM X SAID KENNEDY "DOESN'T TAKE TIME TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. HE WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT OF GERMANY."

THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS AND ORDER WAS MAINTAINED B A SMAT

THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS AND ORDER WAS MAINTAINED BY A SMALL POLICE DETAIL OF ABOUT 30 UNIFORMED MEN A NUMBER OF BLACK MUSLIMS ALSO MANNED POLICE BARRICADES.

MEANWHILE, AT ANOTHER HARLEM INTERSECTION, ABOUT 150 WHITES AND NEGROES ATTENDED A RALLY SPONSORED BY THE MISSISSIPPI-ALABAMA SOUTHERN RELIEF COMMITTEE.

MRS. VERA PIGEE OF CLARKSDALE, MISS., AN EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER OF THE MISSISSIPPI NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), SAID THAT SINCE THE SLAYING OF NAACP LEADER MEDGAR EVERS "TENSION IN MISSISSIPPI IS AT ITS HEIGHT" AND NEGROES THERE ARE "BUYING GUNS." SHE SAID THE NEGRO "IS NO LONGER AFRAID OF THE WHITE MAN."

ANOTHER SPEAKER, ANNA CROSS, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION OF NEW YORK CITY, ADVOCATED PEACEFUL MEANS OF SETTLING "THIS GREAT MORAL ISSUE."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Muslim Speaks to 1,000 At Camden

Malcolm X, second-ranking leader of the Black Muslims, spoke to 1,000 persons in Camden Convention Hall last night.

As he has on previous occasions, Malcolm X critcised the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Southern Negro integration leader.

Malcolm X reiterated the Black Muslims' belief that the only solution to America's racial problem is complete separation of blacks from whites —either an African homeland for American Negroes or several exclusively Negro states here.

Mosques in 80 Cities

Muslim mosques are organized in 89 cities in 28 sates, including one mosque founded in Philadelphia six years ago. The movement's leader is 65-year-old Elijah Muhammad, who calls himself prophet and "Messenger of Allah."

"We are living at the end of the white man's world," Malcolm X told the meeting.

"The power of America is coming to an end.

"God is not going to integrate us but separate us from those who have oppressed His people.

"All you want is your freedom, your justice, your equality. And the white man calls that black supremacy."

Wants to Emigrate

Malcolm X said American Negroes should be allowed "to pack their bags and go back home (to Africa).

"And America should provide the transportation. Let them give us some of the gold from Fort Knox or the Philadelphia Mint."

Failing that, he said, the Federal Government should give Negroes several states.

"And not desert states, either," Malcolm X added. "We want a land of milk and honey.

'Then all we got to do is chop down trees for lumber and mold clay to build our homes. We'll be a nation in our own right, saluting our own flag."

About 25 white persons attended the meeting.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 The Evening Bulletin Phila., Pa.

Date: 7/1/63
Edition: Night Extra
Author:
Editor: WILLIAM B. DICKINSO
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: PHILA.

100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED
191 JUL 16 1963

60 JUL 16 1963

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file 100-399321

25-330991-A

0-20 (Rev. 10-15-62)

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UPI-84

(NEGRO MARCH)

NEW YORK--OFFICIALS OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON SAID TODAY THAT MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM "X" COULD JOIN THE MASSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY THIS MONTH AS LONG AS HE ACCEPTS THE DISCIPLINE OF THE DEMONSTRATION.

"I SHOULD THINK THAT MALCOLM "X" HAS EVERY RIGHT AS AN INDIVIDUAL TO COME TO WASHINGTON TO JOIN THE MARCH AND LIKE EVERY OTHER INDIVIDUAL, NEGRO OR WHITE, HE WILL ACCEPT THE DISCIPLINE AS IT HAS BEEN OUTLINED..." SAID DEPUTY MARCH DIRECTOR BAYARD RUSTIN.

THE MARCH RECEIVED STRONG SUPPORT WHEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY ANNOUNCED A LETTER WOULD BE READ AT ALL MASSES SUNDAY URGING CHURCH GOERS TO TAKE PART IN THE DEMONSTRATION.

"I WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF OVER 25,000 PEOPLE LEFT NEW YORK CITY," RUSTIN SAID.

THE MARCH, AUG. 28, COULD BE ONE OF THE LARGEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATION. LEADERS EXPECT MORE THAN 100,000 NEGROES AND WHITES TO CONVERGE ON THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT, PARADE TO THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND HOLD A RALLY CALLING FOR MORE JOBS AND STRONGER CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

THE MORNING OF THE DEMONSTRATION, A GROUP OF 10 LEADERS PLUS AN UNEMPLOYED WHITE AND NEGRO WORKER WILL SEEK TO SEE PRESIDENT KENNEDY AT THE WHITE HOUSE. THEY WILL ALSO ATTEMPT TO CONFER WITH IMPORTANT CONGRESSMEN.

RUSTIN SAID THAT MORE THAN 150 CITIES WERE EXPECTED TO TAKE PART IN THE RALLY.

8/13--GE137P

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File-[redacted] b7C
100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED
191 AUG 30 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

FD-350 (4-3-62)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont

[redacted] 67C

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X, heir designate to alling Elijah Poole's Black Muslim cult, is readying his tell-all autoblog for Doubleday.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

[redacted]

67C [redacted]

14 CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 9-15-63
Edition: CITY TWO-STAR
Author: HERB LYON
Editor: W. D. MAXWELL
Title: MALCOLM X AKA

Character:
or
Classification: 100-33593
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

100-399321-A

67C [redacted]

File 5 [redacted] 67C

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OCT 2 1963

FD-350 (4-3-62)

[redacted] b7C

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Negro Exodus to Africa Urged by Muslim Leader

A mass exodus of Negroes to Africa was called for as "the solution to the race problem in America" by Malcolm X, a leader of the Negro separatist organization called the Black Muslims.

The only other solution, he declared, "would be creation of an independent black nation on what is now American soil."

MALCOLM X

Malcolm X, who describes himself as a representative of Elijah Muhammed, founder of the Muslim organization among Negroes, spoke Tuesday at Wayne State University at a meeting sponsored by the Independent Socialist Club.

400 ATTEND

The meeting in State Hall was attended by more than 400 students.

Malcolm X based his argument on the contention that integration which would "give American blacks the same rights and privileges as American whites is impossible to achieve."

"Our people have always been slaves," he said, "and always will be as long as they wait for the white man to stop oppressing them and treating them as second-class citizens.

"Our people remained slaves after the Declaration of Independence, which followed a war fought to free white Americans from white Englishmen. They remained slaves after the Civil War, which was fought to preserve the Union for the benefit of white Americans.

"Today this country faces its greatest crisis since the Civil War. Black people have lost all confidence in hypocritical white politicians. They have lost confidence in the deceit of the white liberals who fuss over what's going on in the South, but are blind to the same things in the North."

FORECASTS VIOLENCE

Malcolm X, like other Muslim members, dropped his last name as a title bestowed by "white slaveowners."

Saying that he was not condemning individuals, "but the whites as a collective," he forecast widespread racial violence if "the teaching of the honorable Elijah Muhammed is not heeded in time."

Negroes know, he declared, that they can "never break the vicious cycle which enslaves them."

Housing integration fails, he said, "because the whites move out and a new ghetto is formed." School integration fails "because the whites escape to new schools in the suburbs." More civil rights bills "will only turn America into a police state still without civil rights," he said.

The acting president of the Independent Socialist Club, Daniel Rosenshine, said the club is a recognized student group. The speech was arranged, he said, "through the usual university channels."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

6A Detroit News
Detroit, Mich.

[redacted] b7C

Date: 10/24/63
Edition: 4 Star Final
Author:
Editor: Martin S. Hayden
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Detroit

Put copy in 100-399321 re Malcolm Little

NOV 13 1963

file 25 330971

[redacted] b7C

100-399321-A
NOT RECORDED
141 NOV 5 19[illegible]

0-19 (Rev. 10-15-62)

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Minister Malcolm Exposes 'Farce' of D.C. 'March'

LOS ANGELES — The March on Washington was blasted as a "farce" that was "subsidized by white liberals" and stage-managed by President Kennedy in a speech here by Minister Malcolm X.

Speaking to 1,500 persons in the Embassy Auditorium, the dynamic Muslim minister from New York declared the demonstration "was instigated by the white liberals to stem the real revolution, the black revolution."

He charged that the demonstration was "engulfed" by whites and "ceased to be black, militant, angry."

Shouts and applause greeted the minister when he declared that Negroes "are tired of the hell white people are giving them. When the Federal government shows an inability to protect us black people," he continued, "then black people have the right to defend themselves."

The rally was a benefit show for the Muslim men brutalized by Los Angeles police in the infamous "blood bath" of April 27, 1962, and victimized by the court here in a notorious "frame-up" trial.

This program and others will raise funds to help defray bail and legal expenses and medical costs of 11 young Negroes who were injured when police fired into a group of them. Ronald T. Stokes, secretary of Muhammad's Mosque here, was killed and William Rogers is permanently paralyzed.

The program also presented Richard "Groove" Holmes and his trio and featured a Langston Hughes play, "Don't You Want To Be Free?" staged by the Touring Artist Group.

Mrs. Jeanne Sherrill served as moderator.

[redacted] b7C

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
Date 10/25/63
xx "Muhammad Speaks" Page 4

100-399321A
NOT RECORDED
141 NOV 14 1963

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NOV 14 1963

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file 100-399321

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MALCOLM X, glibbest of the Black Muslims, seems to have put his foot in his mouth. Elijah Muhammed, boss of the bitter sect, deposed him last week as No. 2 Muslim. Reason has something to do with the Washington temple.

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[redacted] b7C

MALCOLM LITTLE

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

33 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 11-4-63
Edition: RED DART
Author:
Editor: JOHN STANTON
Title: MALCOLM X, AKA

Character:
or
Classification: 100-33593
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

File re Malcolm Little

100-399327-19
NOT RECORDED
126 NOV 18 1963

68 NOV 20 1963

67C

[redacted] (Rev. 5-27-63)

MALCOLM X GETS A MUSLIM REBUKE

Leader Is Silenced After Slurs on Kennedy

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Malcolm X, a leader of the Black Muslim movement, was suspended yesterday because of a speech in which he mocked the assassination of President Kennedy.

The action was taken by the group's ruler, Elijah Muhammad, who said Malcolm's remarks were an inaccurate reflection of Muslim attitudes. "With the rest of the world," he declared, "we are very shocked at the assassination of our President."

In a speech last Sunday at Manthattan Center, Malcolm said that Mr. Kennedy's death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Amid laughter and applause from his followers in the audience, he added:

"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

Yesterday, he seemed contrite. "I shouldn't have said what I said," he conceded, "anything that Mr. Muhammad does is all right with me; I believe absolutely in his wisdom and his authority."

Malcolm said he had learned of the suspension in Chicago on Monday in a conversation with Mr. Muhammad. "I will continue to administer the affairs of my mosque," he went on, "which is enough to occupy me."

He was critical of an article about his speech in The New York Times. "It ook all the salt out of the bread and presented only the sale," he said, "but the salt should never have been there."

Malcolm, the New York and Washington leader of the movement, has been generally regarded as its second most powerful figure. It is he who is most often quoted in accounts of Muslim activities.

Many of his disciples have been saying recently, in fact, that Malcolm is exerting more influence than Mr. Muhammad himself. This has led to tension between the Eastern and

There have also been reports of a rivalty between Malcolm and Mr. Muhammad's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff, who commands the secret army

The New York Times

DISCIPLINED: Malcolm X, a leader of Black Muslims. He was suspended for deriding President Kennedy.

known as the Fruit of Islam. Both men, it is said, are eager to succeed the ruler.

Reached by telephone at his winter home in Phoenix, Ariz., Mr. Muhammad declined to discuss the possibility of dissension within the movement.

"Malcolm is still a minister," said the man who calls himself the Messenger of Allah, "but he will not be permitted to speak in public. Ihave rebuked him because he has not followed the way of Islam."

Asked when the suspension might be lifted, Mr. Muhammad replied, somewhat hesitantly: "I would not say. I will decide."

The Black Muslims are dedicated to the establishment of a Negro nation in America.

No one knows how many there are. The organization itself has never published membership figures, and the estimates of outsiders have varied from 25,000 to 250,000.

Almost all Muslim affairs are conducted in secret, but it is known that they have large real estate holdings in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia. This, some reports say, has intensified the struggle for the right to succeed Mr. Muhammad.

Malcolm X has won a reputation for shrewdness and eloquence during his 15-year career in the movement. An ex-convict—he was a Harlem racketeer while still in his teens—he once said:

"I am not ashamed of this because it was all done when I was part of the white man's Christian world. As a Muslim, I would never have done these awful things that caused me to go to prison."

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25-330971

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times pg 22
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 12-5-63

100-399321-A

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MUSLIM LEADER IS SUSPENDED

Malcolm X, generally believed to be the second-in-command of the anti-white Black Muslim sect, was suspended as minister of the group's New York City mosque yesterday for expressing joy at the assassination of President Kennedy .

The indefinite suspension was invoked by Elijah Poole, who heads the sect under the name of Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm, at a Black Muslim rally in New York City Sunday, had said the assassination of Mr. Kennedy was a case of "chickens coming home to roost," because the President had been "twiddling his thumbs" over the assassination of two Viet Nam leaders, President Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu. Malcolm had added, "Being an old farmboy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

A statement from Black Muslim headquarters in Chicago yesterday said "Malcolm did not speak on behalf of Mr. Muhammad, the Nation of Islam, or any of Mr. Muhammad's followers. Mr. Muhammad's statement on the death of President Kennedy was as follows: 'We with the world are very shocked at the assassination of our President.'"

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

[redacted] b7C

22 CHICAGO TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: W. D. MAXWELL
Title:
NOI
Character:
or
Classification: 100-35635
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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100-399321-A
NOT RECORDED
141 DEC 18 1963

Under Investigation

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59 DEC 18 1963

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100-399321

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Muslim Aide Suspended For JFK Comment

The leader of the Black Muslim movement Wednesday suspended Malcolm X, the sect's New York chief, for hailing the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

MALCOM X

The suspension was announced by Elijah Muhammad, head of the sect, from his headquarters here.

Muhammad said Malcolm X, often considered his second in command, "did not speak for Muslims" when he called the President's death a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Rally Addressed

Malcolm X addressed a Black Muslim rally in New York City Sunday. He was quoted as saying he "never foresaw that the chickens would come home to roost so soon."

"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad," he was quoted as saying.

What It Means

A Muslim spokesman for Mosque No. 2 at 5333 S. Greenwood said Malcolm X admitted making the statements attributed to him.

Muhammad's announcement said Malcolm X was suspended "for the present time." A spokesman said this means Malcolm X has been suspended from his post as minister of Mosque No. 7 in New York City and from making speeches and public appearances.

The movement's official first statement on Mr. Kennedy's death was "we with the world are very shocked at the assassination of our President."

In New York, meanwhile, Malcolm X said he will remain minister of the mosque there but would participate in no public appearances. "I'm completely satisfied with whatever decision he (Elijah Muhammad) makes," Malcolm X said.

FEB 18 1963

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

b7C

26 CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63
Edition: 5 STAR FINAL TUR
Author:
Editor: JOHN G. TREZEVAN
Title: NOI

Character: 100-35635
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Classification: CHICAGO
Submitting Office:

Date Investigation

100-399321-A
NOT RECORDED
141 DEC 18 1963

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Malcolm X Suspended for JFK Death Remark

Malcolm X, a leader of the Black Muslim sect, has been suspended for expressing joy at the assassination of President Kennedy.

Malcolm X

Announcing the indefinite suspension by Elijah Muhammad, alias Elijah Poole, a spokesman for the sect headquarters in Chicago, at 5335 Greenwood av., said, "Malcolm did not speak on behalf of Muhammad, the nation of Islam, or any of Muhammad's followers.

Muhammad's statement on the death of President Kennedy was as follows:

" 'We, with the world, are very shocked at the assassination of our President'."

Malcolm X—who dropped his surname of Little because "My forefathers were slaves who took the names of their owners, and I want no name except one I earn with dignity and courage"—has been second-in-command of the movement and heir apparent to Elijah Muhammad's throne.

Some persons think Muhammad, now 66, was envious of the popularity of Malcolm X with younger Muslims.

A spokesman for Muhammad, who lives at 4847 Woodlawn av., said the suspension means Malcolm X has been at least temporarily removed from his post as minister of Mosque No. 7 of the sect in New York City.

In one of Malcolm X's addresses to a New York City rally on Sunday he was quoted as saying he "never foresaw that the chickens would come home to roost so soon.

"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

b7C

b7C

18 CHICAGO AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63
Edition: GREEN STREAK
Author:
Editor: LUKE CARROLL
Title:
NOI
Character: 100-35635
or
Classification: CHICAGO
Submitting Office:

Under Investigation

100-399321-4
NOT RECORDED
141 DEC 18 1963

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file 100-399321

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Malcolm X Suspended As Head Of New York Muslims

Malcolm X, long a stormy petrol in the New York and East Coast area, has been suspended as the Minister of New York's growing Black Muslim movement.

"Malcolm Shabazz, as of December 1, 1963, in speaking at the Manhattan Center, spoke for himself and not for the Muslim movement. As of then and as of now he has been suspended, at least for the time being," Samuel Hamit, editor of Muhammad Speaks, said in a prepared statement, read from Chicago.

The statement was approved by Mr. Muhammad, national leader of the Black Muslim movement.

Malcolm X, as he is known in New York, speaking before 700 of his followers at Manhattan Center Sunday, called the death of the late President Kennedy, a matter of "chickens coming home to roost."

Malcolm by his statement inferred some responsibility on the part of Mr. Kennedy with deaths of noted people of color such as African Patrice Lumumba, NAACPer Medgar Evers, the Birmingham children and the assassination of Vietnam's Nhu family.

The Muslims, who cancelled a public meeting at which Mr. Mu-

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100-399321-A
NOT RECORDED
141 DEC 20 1963

DEC 20 1963

(Indicate page, ~~name of~~ newspaper, city and state.)

1 NEW YORK COURIER

[redacted] b7C

Date: 12/7/63
Edition:
Author:
Editor: W. Beverly Carte
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

[redacted] b7C

file 100-399321

hammad was to be the speaker because of the President's death, had decided to observe the national 30-day mourning period. They presented their annual Bazaar last week-end, but were cancelling all other public activities.

Mr. Hamit who heads the Muslim's national newspaper said that Malcolm has not been put out of the movement, but that any future speaking engagements he participates in will be on an individual basis.

"Malcolm no longer speaks for the Muslims," he said.

At press time the New York Courier was unable to reach Malcolm for a statement at his New York phone number.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

34 THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

b7C

Date: 12/8/63

Edition:

Author: MARTIN S. OCHS

Editor: MARTIN S. OCHS

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: KNOXVILLE

The Suspension of Malcom X

Malcolm X, chief minister of vitriol to Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, has been suspended for telling a laughing, applauding audience after the death of President Kennedy:

(It was a case of) "chickens coming home to roost.

"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

X now says he "never should have said what I said." He is critical of reports which, he said, "took all the salt out of the bread and presented only the salt. But the salt never should have been there . . . anything that Mr. Muhammad does is all right with me. I believe absolutely in his wisdom and his authority."

Contrition is of course something new for X. But neither Muhammad nor all he stands for and endorses could have produced an expectation of anything else.

The Black Muslim creed of hate and violence is one more philosophy that has been revealed in all its wrongness by the killing of the President. And the Black Muslims are sure to suffer as a result.

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Muslim Explains Program to CCNY Students

By Karen Stone

Minister Malcolm X, the national representative of the Nation of Islam and the Hon. Elijah Muhammed, spoke to 600 students under the auspices of the E. V. Debs Club at City College of New York on Nov. 7.

He began by stating that what is called the black problem in the U.S. is the white man's problem. "The problem stems from the unwanted presence of 22 million black people in this country."

"They tell the Negro that his ancestor, and he himself, is a savage, a cannibal. They don't mention that while Europe was deep in the Dark Ages, there were advanced civilizations in Africa.

"The Negro in this country is dead. He has been killed by the greatest brainwashing device ever invented, the American education system. Socially, politically, culturally, and economically, the black man has been put to death. The only way for the black man to become alive in this country is to restore the knowledge of his past, who we were, what we were, who brought us here, and what they did to us here.

"Americanism" and "democracy," said the Muslim leader, "was used to destroy us. All the hell the black man has ever caught has been in the name of democracy.

What Happened

"Hitler practiced and preached the same thing; Uncle Sam practices one thing and preaches another. The methods of killing were perfected long before Hitler. Any historian will tell you that 100 million Africans were brought to America during the slave trade. After the Civil War there were 20 million black people on the whole continent. You tell me what happened to the other 80 million black men.

"George Washington traded a slave for a barrel of molasses — it could have been my grandfather. And if you tell me I have to look up to this kind of man as a founding father, you are out of your mind."

Malcolm X contrasted what he called the "Negro Revolution" with the "Black Revolution." The first is "a diversion" — "Whoever heard of a revolution that begs for a cup of coffee at a lunch counter, that begs for jobs?" But the world-wide "Black Revolution" will end white domination.

"All the powers of technology, automation and modern warfare were held to a truce in Korea by peasants in sneakers, with rice bowls and rifles. The same thing has happened and is happening in Southeast Asia, in Algeria, and in Latin America. The white man has won his last war."

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Malcolm X
Little

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 12/63 - 1/64
Young Socialist
Page 3

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67 DEC 30 1963

FD-350 (Rev. 7-10-63)

b7C

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Is Muslim Movement A Religion? Yes, Says N.Y.—No, Says Ill.

While a U. S. District Court Judge in upstate New York ruled that the Black Muslims movement is a bonafide religious organization, a U. S. Court of Appeals bench in Chicago took an opposite viewpoint and gave the state of Illinois permission to suppress the sect.

Legal ovservers regrad the divergent decisions as eventually finding their way up to the U. S. Supreme Court for a clear-cut answer. The New York State Attoeney General's office is appealing the decision that went against their arguments in behalf of the State Commissioner or Correction.

Charge Persecution

Five Negro inmates from Attica Prison in upstate New York: William Samarion, Thomas Bratcher, James Walker, Joseph Magette and Arhtur Johnson, had brought a federal court suit against Commissioner Paul McGinnis and Warden Walter Wilkins, charging them with religious persecution and discrimination against Negro prisoners who are converted to the religion of Islam as taught by Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad.

In their suit they accused the Muslim religion, to hold Muslim services, the right to communicate and confer with Muslim minister, the right to receive and read literature concerning the Muslim religion.

In his ruling Judge John O. Henderson stated: "Regardless of this group's orthodoxy, the record compels a finding of its existence as a religious organization."

He also ruled that the authority of the Corrections Commisioner to enforce such "qualifications" should first be decided by the state court.

U.S. Court of Appeals Judge F. Ryan Duffy in Chicago, however, took a turner approach when Thomas Cooper, a prisoner in Statesville, Ill., serving a 200-year term, appealed a lower court decision and charged that prison officials were violating his civil rights and depriving him of the right to worship.

In his decision Judge Duffy took notice of the State Attorney General's request to take "judicial notice of certain social studies which showed that the Black Muslims movement despite its pretext of a religious facade, is an organization that outside of prison walls has for its objective the overthrow of the white race." The Attorney General went on to point out that inside prison walls the group has an impressive history of inciting riots and violence.

Judge Duffy finally ruled that "it seems clear that Illinois may suppress movements that otherwise would be constitutionally protected when they have violence as their objective."

His decision drew a rebuke from Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad who asked him to prove the charges he leveled against his group. In his statement Muhammad pointed out that religious freedoms were guaranteed by the Constitution.

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2 NEW YORK COURIER

Date: 12/14/63

Edition:

Author:

Editor: W. Beverly Carter

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Muzzling of Malcolm X For Indefinite Period

By MAJOR ROBINSON
(Of The New York Courier)

The suspension of Malcolm X, dynamic New York head of the Black Muslims, which last week was called "temporary" has been made for an "indefinite period" according to the current issue of Muhammad Speaks, the official newspaper of the organization .

It has been emphasized, however, that Malcolm X remains as the Minister of Temple Seven in Harlem, and the ban only refers to public speaking.

"My position hasn't changed except for public appearances. I am completely satisfied with the ruling," Malcolm told the Courier this week.

For four years now Malcolm X has been much in demand for appearances on TV, lectures at the nation's leading universities and interviews in top publications.

Acknowledged to be the most effective speaker and organizer the Muslims have produced. Malcolm X's activities over the past years have given rise to rumors there may have been a power struggle brewing. Other names have cropped up among members who feel Malcolm X was becoming bigger in stature than the group itself.

Prominent among the names being talked about who may eventually take over the group are Akbar Muhammad, Minister of Mosque No. 2 in Chicago and youngest son of the leader. Raymond Sharrieff, the supreme commander of the Muslims' semi-military group, the Fruit of Islam; Lonnie X, Minister of the Washington temple, and Jeremiah X, Minister of the Birmingham mosque.

Until he was censored by his superior, Malcolm X was said to be a logical successor to Mr. Muhammad, who resides most of the time in Pheonix, Ariz., because of sickness.

Confessing his undying loyalty to Mr. Muhammad, his fiery lieutenant said: "Mr. Muhammad is everything and I am nothing. It is my mouth working, but the voice is his."

Committed to the philosophy of a separate Negro state, either in this country or somewhere abroad, the Muslims have been typed a "hate "organization. In numerous speeches Malcolm and other top officials of the sect frowned on any attempts at integration and lambasted the NAACP, CORE, Urban League and other interracial groups striving for full and integrated equality in America.

Last spring after the incident dent of Birmingham police dogs and fire hoses, Malcolm referred to Rev. Martin Luther King as "a chump" for putting children in the front lines to face club-swinging cops.

But with all the reams of publicity falling their way the Muslims have failed to attract the masses of Negroes to their movement. At best their total membership is an estimated 100,000.

It is believed that an assessment of their strategy has convinced some of their leaders that they would have to soft peddle some of the "hate the white man" talk and seek to unite with the top Negro leadership if they are to increase in numbers.

Thiugh many were not aware of it at the time, last summer Akbar spoke in Harlem at a major rally and subtly injected a new line of reasoning. Calling for "unity" to the highly emotional crowd of 4500 on a street corner, the former student at Egypt's famed cultural center, Al-Azhar University said:

"It is time for all of us-CORE, the NAACP, Dr. Martin Luther King, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Muslims — to sit down together behind colsed doors and unite. Negro leaders must now stop calling each other names. We may not be able to walk all the way to freedom together, but we can walk half the way together, so let's unite and walk together as far as we can."

As Louis E. Lomax points out in his recently published book on the Muslims, "When The Word Is Given," this was indeed strange talk coming from a Muslim, but you had to remember the source, the Messenger's flesh and blood. Though many in the crowd may not have realized it at the time this could have been the beginning of a new plan to win over thousands of Negroes reluctant to join because they disagreed on two of the groups major points — a separate black nation and hate the white man.

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1 NEW YORK COURIER

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Since that hot summer day the tempo of the rumors about dissention in the flock, centering around Malcolm X, has increased. Though he has vehemently denied it when asked by reporters, nevertheless they were never stilled.

Shortly after President Kennedy's assassination, Malcolm spoke at a Manhattan Center rally and characterized the killing of the late President as an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost. And being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roast never did make me sad; they've always made me glad," he chuckled.

Within a few days Elijah dropped the axe on his top aide. His suspension added fuel to the rumors, at that time, that it was the start of a struggle for control of the extremist movement.

But with this week's front page story, signed by Elijah Muhammad, this could be a damaging blow to Malcolm's prestige and standing within the organization. Being "dismissed indefinitely" from public speaking means that a muzzle has been put on Mr. X.

And without his ability to command attention on the nation's TV, radio and newspapers, it means that his star is descending. There's no one at present in the movement who is as controversial as Malcolm X.

But this may be just what Mr. Muhammad and his aides have figured out to steer the movement into an orbit that will find them in agreement on some points — with the nation's top Negro civil rights leaders.

When Akbar made his historic speech here in July even Malcolm recognized it for what it was worth and at the end confessed to the audience: "today we've heard a new teaching, and we are all going to abide by it." Perhaps he had forgotten his own words when he slurred Mr. Kennedy and like a bad child was spanked publicly by his father.

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Muzzling Malcolm X

It was just a matter of time before Mr. Muhammad, the ailing leader of the Black Muslims, would muzzle his able and highly vocal lieutenant, Malcolm X, and thus snatch him out of the limelight which he had been increasingly hogging.

As in all movements, there are powerful rivalries within the Black Muslim movement as subordinates jockey for power and reach for the sceptre which the Messenger of Allah must shortly relinquish.

Malcolm X came to be quoted more often than Mr. Muhammad and completely overshadowed the other lieutenants; so to many he seemed to be the logical successor to the canny recluse in Arizona.

Incautious remarks about President Kennedy's assassination gave Mr. Muhammad the opportunity to cut Malcolm X down to size by silencing him, and this was done in a crude and abrupt manner.

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8 NEW YORK COURIER

New York

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Mr. Trotter
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Miss Gandy

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This, Too, Is Bigotry

Malcolm X, demagogic lieutenant of the anti-white Black Muslim sect, was suspended recently for expressing joy at the assassination of the late President Kennedy.

Not really suspended. For Malcolm X continues his ministerial duties in the New York Muslim mosque. It's just that he has been temporarily forbidden to speak by Elijah Muhammad, self-styled messenger of Allah and head of the black supremacy sect.

Elijah Muhammad objected when Malcolm, in a speech at a Black Muslim rally at Manhattan Center in New York, described the assassination as a case of the chickens coming home to roost. "Being an old farm boy myself," Malcolm added, "chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

But Malcolm's remarks were hardly calculated to win friends for the sect, especially after the days of mental anguish and sorrow Americans experienced after the murder of their chief executive. Therefore prophet Muhammad decided to apply a temporary gag.

But there is sufficient reason for believing Muhammad's action was taken less out of sorrow than out of an attempt to avert criticism. When a chartered jet plane crashed in France some months ago, killing 120 residents of Georgia, Malcolm X was similarly ecstatic. He told his disciples in Los Angeles' Muslim mosque:

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that happened. As you know, we have been praying to Allah. We have been praying that He would in some way let us know that He has the power to execute justice upon the heads of those who are responsible for the lynching of Ronald Stokes (a Muslim killed by police during a Los Angeles riot in which eight policemen were shot or beaten). And I got a wire from God today . . . . He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it . . . . He gets rid of 120 of them in one whop . . . .

"We will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky . . . . Whenever you read in the paper or hear on the radio or on the television about accidents in which these good, blessed, blue-eyed people have lost their lives, you can say 'Amen,' for that's God's work."

Newspaper reports say that the audience laughed, shouted, and applauded Malcolm's remarks. And leader Muhammad was completely silent; apparently he didn't deem his lieutenant's words extreme enough to deserve censure.

Meanwhile, Malcolm X waits for the storm of criticism over his remarks to subside, so he can once again preach his hateful doctrine of bigotry.

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PAGE 6

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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. . . Insiders are predicting a split in the Black Muslims. Malcolm X, ousted as No. 2 man in the organization, may form a splinter group to oppose Elijah Muhammed.

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36 CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 1-3-64
Edition: 5 STAR FINAL TUR
Author: J. V. UPCINET
Editor: JOHN G. TREZEVAN
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1 New York Courier

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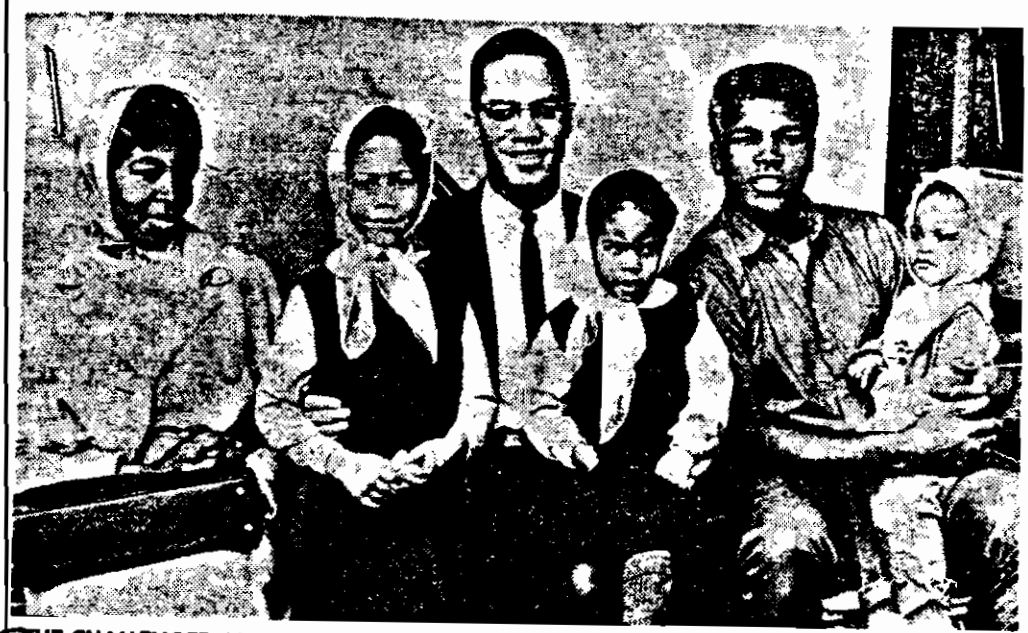

THE CHALLENGER AND FRIENDS — Malcom X, leader of the Black Muslim movement in New York City is shown with his family and Cassius Clay, at Clay's training camp in Miami, Fla. Minister Malcolm and his family were guests of the challenger for the heavyweight boxing tit[illegible] the world and were celebrating their wedding anniversary. From left in the photo are Minister Malcolm's wife, Betty, daughter Attilah, Minister Malcolm, daughter Qubilah, Clay and baby daughter Ilyasah. (Photo by Robert Haggins)

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Say Malcolm X Barred From Chicago Meeting

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, militant and outspoken stalwart of the Black Muslims, will not attend the Chicago convention of the group, according to a story in the New York Amsterdam News.

The story followed a series of rumors, denied by Muslims in Chicago, that Malcolm is locked in a "power struggle" with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the sect. The Chicago convention is set for Feb. 26.

Malcolm was suspended by the Muslim leader in early December during the period of national mourning for President Kennedy when Malcolm was said to have made remarks critical of the late President.

"We expect some 2,000 delegates and all Muslims who are in good standing can attend. Since Malcolm is still under suspension, he is not in good standing," John Ali, national secretary of Muhammad's Mosque, reportedly told a correspondent of the Amsterdam News.

Because Malcolm's suspension from normal activities is "indefinite," Ali said, "it would be unlikely to assume that it would be lifted before the convention." The sole decision, according to Ali, is up to Muhammad, who is now in Phoenix, Arizona.

It seems that the suspension is not something that would be determined by other ministers and officials who attend the convention.

Following his suspension, Malcolm remains silent in his New York residence, and has not made any public or religious appearances at Mosque No. 7, of which he was the former minister. Visiting Muslim leaders from around the country have appeared to take over Malcolm's duties at the Mosque. A large delegation of New Yorkers have chartered planes to fly to the one-day convention.

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4 CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOI

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Editor: JOHN SENGSTACKE
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WASHINGTON REPORT

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BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, FEB. 23 -- A bitter struggle for control of the fanatic Black Muslim movement has broken out.

The protagonists: Malcom X, a fiery, self-admitted recovered narcotics addict who has been the Muslims' leading spokesman in recent years; and Elijah Muhammad, a self-styled Messenger of Allah who has been the country's Muslim-in-Chief for three decades.

Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for an indefinite period three months ago "for making wisecracks about the assassination of President Kennedy." [redacted]

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The remarks were but an excuse to muzzle Malcolm, Muhammad's only rival. A confidential government report reveals that Malcolm "has not taken this disciplinary action gracefully and he has attempted to develop support among other leaders of the Black Muslims in other sections of the country." [redacted]

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Malcolm has reportedly won to his side the influential New York faction. Chicago leaders -- many of whom are sons and daughters of Muhammad -- have stuck by their leader. [redacted]

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There have been efforts to characterize the Muslim rift as a contest between moderates and extremists with Malcolm leading the radical contingent. Such an observation is folly.

In June, 1962, a plane carrying 130 Americans crashed in Paris, killing all aboard. Malcolm then laid down Muhammad's line in a Los Angeles speech:

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that happened. As you know, we have been praying to Allah. We have been praying that He would in some way let us know that He has the power to executive Justice upon the heads of those who are responsible for the lynching of Ronald Stokes (killed by police in a Black Muslim riot).

"And I got a wire from God today."

At this point Malcolm was interrupted by wild laughter.

"Wait! Wait! Well, somebody came and told me that He really answered our prayers over in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over a hundred and twenty white people on it, because Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Frenzied cheering then broke out.

"He gets rid of them in one whoop...But thanks to God, or Jehovah, or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."

57 MAR 5 1964

Muhammad, the alleged moderate, proclaims "the devil is the white man -- the white man is a doomed race." Muhammad's teaching holds that white men were "by nature created as liars and murderers; they are the enemies of truth and righteousness, and the enemies of those who seek the truth...the human beast -- the serpent, the dragon, the devil, and Satan -- all mean one and the same: the people or race known as the white or Caucasian race."

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xx race."

Muhammad comes close to preaching outright sedition. His followers dodge the draft. He speaks knowingly of the "Battle of Armageddon" and has promised that "white rule in the United States will be overthrown by 1970."

Muslims are forbidden to eat pork. A Muslim minister explained why: "The hog is dirty, quarrelsome, greedy, ugly, foul, a scavenger which thrives on filth. It is a parasite to all other animals. It will even kill and eat its own. Do you agree? In short the hog has all the characteristics of a white man."

The dispute between Malcolm and Muhammad may come out into the open at the Muslims' upcoming convention. More than 2,000 delegates are expected to attend and it is not known if Malcolm will be seated.

"All Muslims who are in good standing can attend," a Muslim spokesman said the other day. Whether that includes Malcolm is not known.

Minister Lonnie 3X, a Muslim leader in the District of Columbia, refused comment when asked about the Malcolm-Muhammad feud.

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FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Cassius Clay May Back Malcolm If Black Muslim Group Divides

By MAJOR ROBINSON
(Of The New York Courier)

The absence of Malcolm X, controversial and fiery leader of the Muslims local Mosque, from the convention of the black sect in Chicago Wednesday, has spurred rumors that he has ended his association with Elijah Muhammad and would soon announce the formation of a new group.

The guest of heavyweight champ Cassius Clay for the past month in Miami, Malcolm X has been unusually quiet since his suspension as New York spokesman for the Muslims last November when he made alleged derogatory remarks concerning the death of the late President, John F. Kennedy.

Attempts to learn whether his suspension is a temporary or a permanent one met with stony silence at the Muslims' headquarters in Chicago. Many insist that Muhammad's immediate family resented the status of Malcolm as the most quoted in the newspapers and on TV of the Muslims.

Denies Membership

Though he has denied his affiliation with the Muslims, the Courier learned that the newly-crowned heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own.

For the past few years Clay has flirted with the idea of becoming a "silent worsnipper" of the Muslims. In Miami, a few weeks ago his father admitted that his son was a member. Clay did attend a Muslim meeting in Philadelphia in the fall last year.

Considered the strongest and most powerful of the Muslim leaders, Malcolm's New York followers are more militant than their Chicago brothers, whom they consider as being conservative.

An insider told the Courier that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the cur-

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1 NEW YORK COURIER

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rent Negro revolution, while Muhammad's inner circle is satisfied with their present image.

Another factor in Malcolm's favor is that the business interests of the New York Mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes. They point out that the Windy City faction hasn't fared this well and jealousies have developed as a result.

In any attempt to go out on his own Malcolm would need money to start from scratch. With the backing of Clay he could find support from as many as 75 per cent of those who belong to the New York temple.

At the one-day Chicago convention, the 5,000 members expected to be in attendance were to be addressed by Elijah Muhammad, who flew in from Phoenix where he stays most of the time due to failing health. The words he uttered there could be the tip-off to whether Malcolm stayed or quit as a member of the sect.

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, wired Muhammad to give careful judgment before he condemned Malcolm X. He is regarded as being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past.

HE'S THE GREATEST — Champ Cassius Clay is shown above with his friend Malcolm X. Muslim minister of New York and Malcom's family. This photograph was taken several weeks ago while Clay was training for the world's heavyweight championship which he won Tuesday night in Miami. Malcolm was Clay's guest for a month in Florida. Speculation continues that Clay may support the fiery Malcolm if the Muslim movement splits.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Report Clay, Malcolm X Plan New Organization

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, suspended New York leader of the Black Muslims, may seen break his ties with the group and form a new organization with the backing of new heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, according to Major Robinson, writer for the New York Courier.

Malcolm was recently suspended from all of his former official duties as minister of *Mosque No. 7, in New York's* Harlem area, when he made some allegedly derogatory remarks concerning the death of late President John F. Kennedy.

He was suspended by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims.

Robinson states he learned that "the newly-crowed heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own."

In Miami, several weeks ago, Clay's father told the press that his son was a member and, in fact, did attend a Muslim confab last fall in Philadelphia, Pa.

Robinson's article points out that the Muslims in New York are much more direct and militant.

"An insider said," Robinson wrote, "that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the current Negro revolution, while Muhammad's inner circle, is satisfied with their present image."

Several "omens" are in Malcolm's possession, Robinson says, should the Muslim leader decide upon forming a splinter group.

Robinson also points out the fact that "business interests of the New York mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes.

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, Robinson said, "wired Muhammad to give careful judgement before he condemned Malcolm. He is regarded a being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past."

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Mr. Casper
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Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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10 CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-2-64
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UPI-203
(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SUGGESTED TONIGHT THAT NEGROES WHO ARE ~~OPPOSED~~ OPPRESSED BY SEGREGATIONISTS "SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR RIFLE" WITH WHICH TO RETALIATE.

MALCOLM, WHO SPLIT WITH THE MUSLIMS DURING THE WEEKEND TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN BLACK NATIONALIST PARTY, SAID IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW ("WALTER CRONKITE WITH THE CBS EVENING NEWS") THAT IN SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRY NEGROES ARE BEING "BRUTALIZED" BY SEGREGATIONISTS.

"I THINK THAT EVERYONE OF THOSE NEGROES SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE WITH WHICH HE SHOULD ALWAYS OBEY THE LAW," MALCOLM SAID, "BUT ANYTIME ANY SEGREGATIONIST OR WHITE SUPREMIST BIGOT MAKES ANY EFFORT WHATSOEVER TO BRUTALIZE THE NEGRO, THAT NEGRO SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE AND HE SHOULD USE IT TO DEFEND HIMSELF."

MALCOLM WAS NOT INVITED TO THE FEB. 26 BLACK MUSLIM CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, THE REASON SOURCES HAVE GIVEN FOR HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CULT.

HE SAID BLACK NATIONALISM "IS THE POLITICAL CONCEPT IN WHICH THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE STRIVING FOR A NATION OF THEIR OWN. THEY ARE EXPRESSING A DESIRE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN POLITICAL DESTINY, BEING IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN POLITICS."

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~~CORRECTION:~~

~~IN MALCOLM X NEW YORK (UPI-203) READ 1ST PGH XXX NEGROES WHO ARE OPPRESSED BY (OPPRESSED STED OPPOSED).~~

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 5-27-63)

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MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

Suspended Muslim Leader Plans Black Nationalist Political Movement

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X broke last night with Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslim movement and announced that he was organizing a politically oriented "black nationalist party."

He said the party would seek to convert the Negro population from nonviolence to active self-defense against white supremacists in all parts of the country.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said ,"but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action *against the oppressors.*"

"I have reached the conclusion," he said, "that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam and continuing to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes."

Had Been Suspended

Malcolm has been under suspension by Mr. Muhammad as the New York leader of the separatist Black Muslim movement.

He asserted last night that the movement had "gone as far as it can" because it was too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited.

"I am prepared," Malcolm said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm said he had accepted

Continued on Page 42, Column 4

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MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

an invitation to help a civil rights committee in Plaquemines Parish (County), La.

"There is no use deceiving ourselves," Malcolm said. "Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for the Negroes, and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives, but I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

Deception Charged

Malcolm continued:

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year.

"I shall tell them what a real revolution means—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

Malcolm said Elijah Muhammad had prevented him from participating in civil rights struggles in the South although he had had many opportunities to do so.

"It is going to be different now," Malcolm said. "I'm going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help, and I suspect my actvities will be on a greater and more intensive scale than in the past."

Would Speak at College

"I shall also accept all important speaking engagments at colleges and universities," Malcolm said, "because I find that most white students are more attuned to the times than their parents and realize that something is fundamentally wrong in this country."

Malcolm has spoken at more than 20 colleges and universities, including Harvard and Yale. He said his popularity as a university speaker had aroused the animus and jealousy of Elijah Muhammad's family.

Malcolm said his chief opponents in the Chicago headquarters were Elijah Muhammad's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrief, head of the Fruit of Islam (security guard) and Akbar Muhammad, Elijah's son.

They feared, according to Malcolm, that Malcolm's national reputation as a Black Muslim leader would make him the natural heir to leadership of the movement.

Malcolm said that jealousy and personal rivalry were responsible for his suspension last December.

"Envy," Malcolm said, "blinds men and makes it impossible for them to think clearly. This is what happened."

Malcolm's speech at Manhattan Center after President Kennedy's death was only the excuse for his suspension, Malcolm said. In that speech Malcolm declared that Mr. Kennedy's assassination was a case of the "chickens coming home to roost."

Malcolm contended that his phrase had been misinterpreted. He said he had meant that a spread of social hatred had created an atmosphere that made assassination possible.

Malcolm said he had not been invited to the annual Black Muslim convention in Chicago on Feb. 26. Later, he said, he telephoned Elijah Muhammad and requested clarification of his status.

He received a letter from Mr. Muhammad that left the question unanswered, he said.

Malcolm said he decided then that the time had come for him to act, but that he would not set himself up as a rival to Mr. Muhammad or provoke him.

Plans New York Base

Malcolm declared that his first task would be to construct an organization based in New York. He said that he was supported by many Negro intellectuals and professionals who could not accept Islam but accepted the Black Muslim view of race relations in the United States.

Malcolm contended that Negroes were dissatisfied with the progress of the civil rights movement and that this had created the basis for a successful black nationalist political movement. He declared:

"The white power structure is hopeful that the civil rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise. They are mistaken. The white leaders don't realize the extent to which the civil rights leaders have deceived them about the true feelings of the Negroes.

"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their power to decide next November whether Johnson stays in the White House or goes back to his Texas cotton patch."

Malcolm said he was not trying to split the Muslims.

"I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elija Muhammad. It is not my desire to encourage any of them to follow me," he said.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3-9-64

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Malcolm X to Start Own Muslim Group

NEW YORK, March 8 (AP) The New York Times said tonight that Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, once chief spokesman for the antiwhite organization, has left the movement and formed his own group.

Malcolm said the Black Muslims were "too narrow and too inhibited to participate in the national struggle," The Times said, explaining he was forming a broad-based, politically oriented party.

Malcolm once was considered heir apparent to Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, whose headquarters are in Chicago.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said, "but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

Malcolm declared that the present Black Muslim movement has "gone as far as it can" because it is "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited.

"I am prepared," he said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm has taken credit for the conversion of heavyweight champion Cassius Clay to the Black Muslims.

Washington Post

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Muslim Leader Rules Out Violence in Aide Split

By DON CARSON
Associated Press Staff Writer

The leader of the Black Muslims declared last night that a reported split with his top aide would not lead to Negro violence.

"My people are more adapted to peace," Elijah Muhammad said. "They believe in peaceful solutions."

Muhammad, the 65-year-old leader of an estimated 275,000 Negroes, spoke during an interview in his southeast Phoenix home.

His eyes watered occasionally as he spoke about the defection of Malcolm X, considered the No. 2 man in the movement.

Malcolm X bolted the parent group Sunday to promote "active self defense against white supremacists." He declared that he was still a Muslim, but intended to work on his own.

"We are surprised," Muhammad said. "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the Nation of Islam. Every one of the Muslims admired him. But what he has said makes it definite. He has deviated.

MALCOM X
~~'Still A Muslim'~~

"Maybe I'm a little too slow for him," Muhammad said. "He's energetic. But he has more brains than to start any violence. He doesn't have any guns, any ammunition."

Muhammad said his organization would continue to pursue the peaceful approach in his attempt "to follow the revelations which came to me from Allah."

Muhammad said the Muslims believe in separation of race only "if America will not give us equal justice."

Then he added: "I see no signs of equal justice."

If this is not attained, he said the Muslims ask that the "slave master and his slave be separated. Let us return where they brought us from, and if not that, then give us some territory and give a little start and let us live by ourselves.

"Instead of trying to tolerate dissatisfaction between white and black and mongrelize the nation, let us separate."

Predicting failure for any attempt at Negro violence, Muhammad said he felt Malcolm X's action would have no effect on the outcome of the Civil Rights bill pending in Congress or on the attitudes of the nation's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes.

He also revealed that he had contacted leaders in such Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, but had received no answers yet.

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PAGE 39

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PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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Mr. Tolson
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Fiery Malcolm X plans own outfit

By RALPH MATTHEWS JR.

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Malcolm X has left the Black Muslim religious organization and will form his own revolutionary party.

"There can be no revolution without bloodshed," the fiery suspended official of the semi-secret sect headed by Elijah Muhammad said Sunday in announcing his break. "It is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

The new organization Malcolm is establishing will have as a key goal teaching colored Americans "self-defense" against white racists.

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IN SERVING notice that he was going it alone. Malcom X said he felt the philospophy on non-violence stressed by civil rights organizations was a deception and that colored people would see they had been tricked "because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

He said he will make a formal statement Thursday in Harlem outlining future plans and his official reasons for stepping aside as the number two spokesman for the militant movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

In withdrawing from leadership of the Muslims, the fiery Malcolm, former name Malcolm Little, Muslim name Malcolm Shabazz, gives up his powerful post as spiritual leader of the thousands of Black Muslims based in the greater New York area.

Reports had been circulating for several weeks that Malcolm was splitting with Mr. Muhummad. The leader of the Muslims suspended his New York chieftain in December following Malcolm's comments on the assassination of President Kennedy.

Malcolm had stated publicly that the President's slaying was "chickens coming home to roost."

Mr. Muhammad had suspended him from public speaking for an undetermined time after that.

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MALCOLM BROKE his silence this weekend.

He told this reporter: "I don't intend to remain in the organization and I don't intend to make a public statement until Thursday.

"I can tell you that I am still a Muslim, I believe in Alah, I still believe in Mr. Muhammad."

But the tall bespectacled Malcolm added: "During this 90 days of silence," which referred to his suspension by the Muslim leader, "I decided I can do better work toward awakening and uniting Colored people with Mr. Muhammad's message but on my own."

• • •

WHERE DOES Malcolm's decision to quit the Black Muslims leave Cassius Clay, new heavyweight boxing champion, who revealed after his Liston triumph that he was a follower of Islam?

Informed observers in Harlem say that Cassius will remain within the Black Muslim official family as a follower of Mr. Muhammad.

Asked about the reported plan for him to accompany Cassius on a tour of the Middle East Islamic countries, Malcolm disclaimed knowledge of such a trip. "I know nothing about any tour."

With Malcolm's defection, people close to the militant religious sect which takes Islam as its faith and combines love of Allah with the program to separate colored Americans from white America, are speculating on the New York leader's plans.

Some feel he would join forces with one or another of the Black Nationalist groups based in Harlem. Many think Malcolm will form a link with Lewis Michaux, a fervent black nationalist who advocates colored Americans returning to Africa for re-colonization.

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IT IS ALS[illegible] rted that Malcolm's l[illegible] ligutenants have decided to remain within the Black Muslims. Henry X and other ranking Muslims here have stated their intent to stay with Mr. Muhammad.

In leaving an organization whose membership estimates vary from 100,000 to half-a-million, the guessing game in Harlem now is how many of the Fruit of Islam will cast their lot with the stormy Malcolm, a man who renounced his past as a criminal and become one of the intellectual leaders of the colored Americans' current revolution.

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MALCOLM also revealed this weekend that Elijah Muhammad had ordered him to not join the civil rights struggle in the South.

"It's going to be different now," he commented, adding that he would now be able to go anywhere colored people

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BALTIMORE, MD.

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Date: 3/10/64
Edition: 5 Star
Author: RALPH MATTHEWS JR.
Editor: O
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AFTER THE BREAK WITH [redacted] HAMMAD

Malcolm X says group will stress politics

By William Worthy

BROTHER MALCOLM X—as he now designates himself as leader of the new Muslim Mosque, Inc.—hinted strongly March 12 that he will soon plunge into all-out political activity. The Negro leader, who recently broke with the Nation of Islam (Black Muslim) movement headed by Elijah Muhammad, told a crowded press conference at the Park Sheraton in New York: "We will keep our 1964 election plans a secret until a later date, but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sellout again."

The Negro, Malcolm added, "will never be considered politically mature as long as he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican."

In answer to a question by Daniel Watts, editor of Liberator magazine, Malcolm said he didn't know at this point if he and his followers would cooperate with the recently organized all-Negro Freedom Now Party.

The site of the newly incorporated mosque has not been determined, but Malcolm is setting up personal headquarters at Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

ABOUT COMMUNISTS: In an exchange with a British reporter, Malcolm declined to rule out acceptance of possible Communist support. He resorted to one of his familiar parable-type responses to avoid a direct yes-or-no answer.

"Let me tell you a little story. It's like me being in a wolf's den. The wolf sees someone on the outside who is interested in freeing me from the den. The wolf doesn't like that person on the outside. But I don't care who opens that door and lets me out."

"Then your answer is yes?"

"No," replied Malcolm, grinning. "I'm talking about a wolf."

Malcolm's response to questions about his personal political plans struck a vein reminiscent of statements by active "non-candidates" early in a campaign.

"I've no plans to run for office, but I think Negroes who can't be bought out should be the type of person to run for office."

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MESSAGE TO MUHAMMAD: Aides of the Muslim leader whom this reporter has previously seen around the Harlem mosque distributed copies of a telegram sent by Malcolm to Muhammad:

"I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was national officials of Chicago headquarters who conspired with [illegible] here in New York to pressure me out of the Nation. I have never spoken one word of criticism to the press about your family. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers."

"Our political philosophy," Malcolm said in reference to his new movement, "will be black nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be black nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be black nationalism."

RIFLE CLUBS: Malcolm called for the formation of rifle clubs "in areas where the government seems unable or unwilling to protect our people." In reply to a question about the danger that this might create of civil war, he declared: "What would you prefer? Civil war, or that Negroes should continue to have Birminghams?"

Malcolm compared the present civil rights bill in Congress to a handout of counterfeit money given hypocritically to a starving, desperate man. "If the civil rights bill passes," he said, "there will be trouble. If it doesn't pass, there will be trouble."

He challenged the government to prosecute him for advocating "active self-defense." "If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job [of protecting Negroes]," he said.

Malcolm indicated he expects to garner widespread popular support. "I'm intelligent enough," he said, "not to take what you call an extreme position if I didn't know that Negroes were behind me. You would not get me to stick my neck out alone."

He said the accent would be on youth. "We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us."

Malcolm said Cassius Clay, as heavyweight champion, could do more than anyone else to lift the morale of Negroes. He denied that the boxer is financing the new movement and said he had no plans to accompany Clay abroad. Malcolm indicated that whites can contribute financially, but cannot join his group.

"Whites always out-join blacks," he declared.

EARLIER INTERVIEW: In an interview with this reporter March 9, Malcolm was cautious in discussing strategy and plans. Asked what he meant by "active self-defense," he gave an indirect reply: "Any time colored people get tired of being victims, there will be bloodshed. Any time they bleed, that's not called bloodshed. Only when they retaliate and draw

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3-12-64
National Guardian
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MALCOLM X ADDRESSING A RALLY IN HARLEM
He says Negroes should defend themselves, unless government does

blood from the other side does the daily press call it bloodshed." He added that anyone who turns the other cheek is a coward.

Malcolm indicated that his new mosque would be freer and more flexible than the Nation of Islam mosque: "It will have a religious base broad enough to allow for whatever action is necessary to solve the problems of our people, mentally, economically, politically, etc."

He called for all Negro organizations, including civil rights groups, to band together to fight police brutality and such measures as New York's newly enacted "stop-and-frisk" law which permits the police to stop and search people on the basis of suspicion alone.

TALK WITH MUHAMMAD: In a long-distance telephone conversation an hour earlier with Muhammad at his Phoenix home, I asked the Black Muslim leader: "Will Malcolm's announced withdrawal from the Nation of Islam change your orientation and program?"

Muhammad replied: "His departure will have no effect on us . . . I don't see how he could take such a contrary and ignorant way."

"Will you cooperate with civil rights groups, as Malcolm now says he will?"

"No, no, no. We have our own program. The only way we would cooperate is for them to accept Islam. My mission is divine. I'm under orders of Allah. God will take care of this race problem. There is no political solution."

Malcolm's return will not be solicited, Muhammad said. "When someone leaves us, we don't go after him," he declared.

Muhammad, a long time asthma sufferer, laughed when queried about a possible successor to him. "I don't have the tiniest thought who Allah would put in my place if I died," he said.

MALCOLM X SEES RISE IN VIOLENCE

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Says Negroes Are Ready to Act in Self-Defense

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X predicted yesterday that there would be more racial violence than ever in the United States in 1964. He declared that "Negroes on the mass level" were ready to act in self-defense.

The Negro leader broke last Sunday with the separatist Nation of Islam, or Black Muslim, movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

He announced then that he would organize a broadly based, politically oriented black-nationalist movement composed of Muslims, Christians, and nonbelievers who were intellectually and emotionally ready to follow the black nationalist banner.

Yesterday, at a news conference in the Park Sheraton Hotel here, Malcolm formally opened this drive.

"There will be more violence than ever this year," Malcolm told the reporters. "White people will be shocked when they discover that the passive little Negro they had known turns out to be a roaring lion. The whites had better understand this while there is still time. The Negroes at the mass level are ready to act. It is dangerous to deceive the white people into believing that all is well."

Assails Nonviolence

Malcolm urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of nonviolence in the civil rights struggle. He asserted:

"It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law."

"In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality and the Government seems unable or unwilling to protect them," Malcolm said, "we should form rifle-clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

"We should be peaceful, law abiding," Malcolm said. "But the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

"If the Government thinks I am wrong for saying this," he declared, "then let the Government start doing its job."

Accompanied by Muslims

Despite his statement Sunday that he would not seek to take members away from Elijah Muhammad's movement, Malcolm arrived at the news conference accompanied by several Black Muslims who have presumably followed him out of the Chicago-based organization.

Malcolm's nonsectarian appeal to Negroes is apparently producing results. Christians who were formerly inhibited from joining the black nationalist movement because they did not want to join Islam are now coming to New York to confer with Malcolm.

One of those who attended the news conference was Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, the Negro social historian and author from Atlanta, who came to New York to see Malcolm. Dr. Lincoln is the author of an authoritative study of the Black Muslim movement.

Headquarters Set Up

Malcolm announced that he had established temporary headquarters at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem and would soon open his own mosque for those of his followers who are Muslims.

He said the mosque would be a meeting place for Negroes of all religious persuasions who wanted to enter into discussions of the black nationalist movement.

Malcolm said his new movement was being financed by voluntary contributions. He said he would accept contributions from whites but that white people could never join the movement "because when whites join an organization they usually out-join it."

He said that while "internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it," he still regarded Elijah Muhammad as his spiritual leader and teacher.

Although a return to Africa is his ultimate goal, Malcolm said that this was a long-range prospect. In the meantime, he said, "22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education, and jobs right now."

He said that he was prepared to cooperate in civil rights action even though he opposed integration and favored complete separation as the only true solution for the Negro people.

In answer to a question, Malcolm said that Negroes could not consider themselves politically mature until they ceased regarding themselves as Democrats or Republicans.

Only when the two parties understand that they can no longer count on Negro votes, he said, will the "corrupt politicians" be swept out.

Questioned about the school integration dispute in New York, Malcolm said that he did not oppose any rational solution but that he believed the only real solution would be to improve the quality of the Negro schools.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times pg. 26
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3/13/64

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The New York Times

PREDICTS RACIAL VIOLENCE: Malcolm X, a leader of black nationalists, at news conference here yesterday.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
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Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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Malcolm X

THERE IS LITTLE to be said about Malcolm X that responsible Negro leaders have not already said: That he damages the cause of equal rights, that his advocacy of violence under the fraudulent disguise of "self-defense" basely appeals to passion and hatred.

He is, we would say, far more concerned with power and vainglory than with the rights of Negroes. His own words convict him of having no deep convictions — for instance this statement: "I am too intelligent to take a stand as militant and controversial and, as you might say, extremist, unless I had some support."

Is not this the same as saying that he is too intelligent (or temporizing) to take a militant, controversial, extremist stand unless he found it expedient to do so?

Like all demagogues, of any race or color, he feeds on publicity and recognition. We grant him this small amount here only to join in the verdict against him that has been returned by the real leaders of his own race.

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57 MAR 23 1964

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THE EVENING SUN

THE SUNDAY SUN

BALTIMORE

28A NEWS

MD.

Date: 3/15/64
Edition: FINAL
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Editor: STERLING NOEL
Title: MALCOLM X

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Submitting Office: BALTIMORE
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Black Nationalism

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It was an interesting coincidence that the news of Malcolm X's defection from the Black Muslim movement came the same day that the Senate began debating the civil rights bill. There is a dialectical relationship between white and black supremacy, and the longer and more bitter the fight over civil rights legislation, the more it will profit the rabid movement Malcolm X represents. Extremes in this case reinforce each other—every foolish and hate-laden word uttered in the Senate against civil rights will find its echo in equally foolish and hateful black nationalist propaganda.

Malcolm X is the younger, smoother and more plausible disciple of Elijah Muhammad—or was, until he broke with the master because he felt that Mr. Muhammad was too narrowly sectarian. Now Malcolm X asserts that he is "prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere." But it should be clear that the effect of his help may be more likely to demoralize and destroy the movement than to help it.

Black nationalists do not believe in desegregation; rather, they seek, as Malcolm X has said, "to heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society." Obviously, this objective will not be furthered by an orderly and just advancement of Negro claims against the white majority. Instead, black nationalism must grow by sowing despair and discord among Negroes.

Thus the movement stands in somewhat the same relationship to the broader civil rights campaign as did the American Communist Party to the liberal and labor causes of the 1930s. The Communists, too, were not interested in finding solutions to the social calamities of that period. They were interested in promoting tumult in order to heighten the political awareness of the proletariat and disrupt the processes of democracy in a capitalist society.

No doubt the civil rights leadership will be able to contain the black nationalist element. At the moment, the Negro separatist movement is not large, although like the Communists, it is capable of generating considerable noise. But it could grow at an alarming rate if Negroes come to feel that a promise made a century ago cannot be redeemed within the framework of democratic methods.

There is a note of menace in Malcolm X's assertion that "there can be no revolution without bloodshed." While this menace can be overstated, it is nevertheless real. It forms a cloud on the horizon as American democracy faces one of its supreme tests.

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NEGROES PONDER MALCOLM'S MOVE

Differ Over Significance of His Political Effort

By FRED POWLEDGE

Leaders of the civil rights movement here and in the South are weighing the significance of the decision last week by Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader, to start his own Negro nationalist political movement.

Some leaders think the slender, intense former convict will capture large numbers of Negro intellectuals and working-class people. Others think his popularity will exist only in relation to the amount of space and time the white man's newspapers and television networks spend on him.

Some see Malcolm's entry into the broader field of civil rights as a prelude to a bloody summer. Malcolm, who has advised Negroes to purchase weapons for self-defense, has predicted an increase in racial violence for the coming warm months.

A similar prediction was voiced frequently a year ago by close observers of the movement. But Negro frustration was effectively channeled into such nonviolent demonstrations as the March on Washington.

Frustration Greater Now

This summer, these same sources say, the frustration is much greater and the traditional civil rights leaders have less control over their followers. "There have been no concrete victories for a long time," one observer said yesterday. "I am really scared about what Malcolm may be able to do."

Another acute observer of the movement, Bayard Rustin, believes that Malcolm's call to action may interest Negroes who formerly had shunned the Nation of Islam. Mr. Rustin, who coordinated the March on Washington last summer and other demonstrations, said in an interview:

"There are many elements in the Negro community—among the working class and among the intellectuals—who, out of the frustration of the current situation, have been deeply attracted to Malcolm's analysis but who rejected his synthesis."

"They're not interested in the separate state idea, or in the back-to-Africa thing, or in the religion," he said, listing three major aims of the Muslim movement. "But they do accept Malcolm's analysis of the evils that are being practiced on the Negro people."

Malcolm's influence will be diminished, Mr. Rustin said, by "the degree to which the established civil rights organizations are more vigorous and develop a program which quite obviously affects the man in the street."

"God knows we fight," he said "It's just that the situation gets worse all the time. Jobs get worse; housing gets worse; education gets worse."

The Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, a leader here in the effort for equal employment opportunity, echoed Mr. Rustin's feelings. He said:

"I welcome anybody who is going to help the civil rights struggle, but I cannot condone violence. Malcolm X is a brilliant person. I have a feeling that we can work together as long as we can contain that philosophy of violence."

Position Held Ridiculous

The Rev. Robert M. Kinloch, another local leader, called Malcolm's position ridiculous. "He's still preaching the same philosophy under a new brand name," Mr. Kinloch said.

Others in the civil rights movement expressed dismay at Malcolm's proposals. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the black nationalist was proposing a race war that Negroes could not win.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was reported not willing to discuss the subject.

Mrs. Gloria Richardson, whose civil rights movement in Cambridge, Md., has been abandoned by the national groups, said of Malcolm: "I think he can be helpful. He can offer something that has not been offered before."

James Forman, executive director of the Southern-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, agreed with Mr. Rustin that Malcolm's new position might be attractive to Negroes.

Has Many Followers

"It opens up possibilities for people who certainly thought the Muslims had something to say," he declared, "but who reject the whole concept of the separate state and the religion. That cat does have a lot of followers outside of the [Muslim] temple."

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Mr. Forman, like the others who have been working over the last decade for effective integration, does not hate Malcolm X. The leaders rather view Malcolm as the brilliant spokesman for a philosophy radically different from their own—a philosophy about as radical as that voiced by Southern White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klan.

Some members of the civil rights movement predicted that a few Negro activists will use Malcolm's proposals as a means of threatening whites.

"It's the idea of using a man like this to frighten the people into giving us what we want," one well-known leader said privately. "A lot of people are saying that we should let Malcolm scare the masses and Baldwin scare the intellectuals and Adam scare the politicians." The references were to James Baldwin, the author, and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan.

Finds Strength Artificial

Another leader, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, believes that Malcolm's strength is artificial—that it is created on paper and videotape by the press.

"I think a great deal of the visibility which Malcolm receives from the media is due to an unconscious sympathy on the part of many reporters and others whith the notion of separatism," he said.

"Along comes a man like Malcolm, who says, 'I don't want to integrate your neighborhoods, or your schools, or your daughters, and I'm going to rehabilitate your black criminals and cure your dope addicts and get the people off welfare.' There are an awful lot of white people who think this is what we're looking for," he went on.

"They don't seem to be aware of the fact that Mussolini and Hitler were able to build hospitals and roads and get people to goose-step, using hate as their method," Mr. Young said.

Malcolm X Maps Campaign To Build Black Nationalism

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, whose reported split with the Muslims was headlined across the country, today told *The Militant* he will remain a Muslim minister but will also engage in independent activity to develop black nationalism as a political force and that he will actively support the civil-rights struggle.

He further told *The Militant* he would become minister of a new Muslim mosque in Harlem "to have a religious base within the community and to be free of outside dictation."

Regarding the report that he was launching a "black nationalist party," he said, "I will try to establish an organizational structure whose nature yet remains to be defined."

"From the viewpoint of religion," he explained, "I remain a Muslim."

"But," he added, "my personal political, social and economic philosophy is that of black nationalism."

While he has no concrete political plans as yet, he said, "No Negro can be politically blind. It will be our intention to make all politicians — white and black — well aware that we are present."

Indicating his concept of black nationalism, Malcolm X said he considered it to mean political, social and economic control by Negroes within their communities. "Politically," he said, "I mean the Negro must take political control of his community.

"By economic control I mean gain control of the jobs and businesses of his community — not necessarily to push others out — but to make the Negro job-conscious, business-conscious.

Malcolm X

"My social philosophy is that instead of trying to force themselves into other areas where they aren't wanted, that Negroes must act to check the ills within their own community — ills that are destroying the moral fiber of the community."

Affirming that he would support civil-rights actions, the dynamic Muslim minister said he had been invited to Plaquemine, La., by two rights leaders there and that he would speak in Plaquemine this spring.

"I will speak anywhere I am invited," he added. "North, South, East or West."

He said that inquiries regarding speaking engagements could be addressed to him at his home: 23-11 87th St., East Elmhurst, L.I., New York. (In an earlier statement he said he would particularly welcome campus speaking engagements.)

In explaining his future plans, Malcolm X emphasized that what he is doing does not represent a split in the Muslim movement. "There are already enough splits and divisions among Negroes," he said.

In other press statements, the widely popular Negro leader supported the right of Negroes to self-defense, affirmed the value of fighting for specific goals and scored the officialdom of the civil-rights movement as ineffectual.

"I am prepared," he was reported as saying, "to cooperate in local civil-rights actions in the South and elsewhere . . . every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

"Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for Negroes," he said, "and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives. But I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary they cannot solve the main Negro problem.

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year.

"I shall tell them," he continued, "what a real revolution means — the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil-rights movement in America as a revolution."

"The white power structure," he said, "is hopeful that the civil-rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise."

"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their [illegible] to decide next November [illegible] Johnson should stay in [illegible] the House or go back to his cotton patches."

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'NEGRO HAS RIGHT TO PROTECTION' b7C

Malcolm X Speaks Out

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BY MILT FREUDENHEIM
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK — Outside the Theresa Hotel in Harlem where black nationalist Malcolm X has his headquarters, heavyweight boxing champ Cassius Clay had been addressing the driver of his hired limousine.

The champion was asked, "How do you feel about Malcolm's new group and his call to Negroes to arm themselves with rifles?"

Demonstrating his new reluctance to talk at length, Clay replied affably but succinctly, "I don't know nothing about that."

At that moment on a sunny Harlem morning, Malcolm X passed by. He is the man who introduced the boxer to Elijah Muhammad's nation of Islam and spent weeks with Clay in his Florida training camp.

CASSIUS AND Malcolm exchanged casual greetings, and Malcolm walked into the Theresa where he picked up his mail and climbed the stairs to the bare office of his new Muslim Mosque Inc., formerly a beauty shop.

He was well-dressed in a brown-black suit, white-on-white shirt and neat green tie. He placed his narrow-brimmed semibowler on the desk and explained his split with the fighter.

"I frankly don't believe," he said, "that it is conducive to his image to involve himself in any way with that which takes from his image as a sports figure."

CASSIUS CLAY has said he is remaining a follower of the Chicago-based Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm's own position on this is ambiguous.

He says he still follows the back-to-Africa teachings of Elijah Muhammad who preaches Negro separation rather than integration. But Malcolm's new group is drawing support from Elijah Muhammad followers.

"I never did leave the nation of Islam voluntarily," he said. "Mr. Muhammad refused to reinstate me (as New York minister) because he knew it I were reinstated I would remove the local officials of Mosque 7 who were instrumental in having me removed."

He accuses these officials of sending a "special squad to

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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try and kill me" in February. He says he talked the brothers of the special squad out of this idea.

Perhaps by coincidence, Malcolm says he has borrowed a friend's rifle to keep in his Elmhurst (Queens) home. He instructed his wife in how to use it "if anybody tries to come through that door, black, white, green or blue."

IT IS THIS use of rifles for "self-defense" at the doors of their homes that Malcolm says he is urging on Southern Negroes. Negroes in Northern cities, he implies, already are armed.

A brilliant talker with a flashing smile and occasional wit, Malcolm took a card from his pocket and read Article II of the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

He said he had consulted an attorney on this. He has no intention of carrying a gun or of urging any specific neighbor or person to bear arms. "I don't believe in doing anything that is illegal," he asserted.

He has said: "When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs." But he denied advocating carrying a gun for this purpose. This would break laws, he said.

MALCOLM SAID Southern Negroes should obtain rifles for protection if "the Klan or other racists come to the home of a Negro and want to take him out.

"Instead of the other Negroes singing and praying, they should get together and defend that Negro. If the law doesn't do it, they should."

This doctrine, he said, "actually is an indictment of the government. The country was founded like that, out West. People banded together when there was a breakdown in law enforcement. As far as Negroes are concerned, law enforcement has broken down."

As for Negroes in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, he said: "I don't have to tell Northern Negroes that, especially these Negroes in New York.

"Harlem is a jungle. The law of the jungle is survival of the fittest. You don't have to tell them what to do when it comes to protecting themselves."

BORN MALCOLM Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925, he knows about survival from the inside. His father, a Baptist minister and follower of black nationalist Marcus Garvey, moved his family to Lansing, Mich. Their house was burned down in 1931 by Ku Klux Klansmen, Malcolm says.

Later his father was found killed by a streetcar. Malcolm believed he was lynched.

One of 11 children, he was sent to a boys' institution where he made good grades but was told his ambition of becoming a lawyer was unsuitable for a Negro.

He traveled to New York in 1941 and soon became a Harlem teen-age gangster known as "Big Red" because of his height and copper skin color. Sent to prison in Concord, Mass., in 1947 for burglary, he was converted there to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and named Malcolm X.

MALCOLM'S talent for making news was shown in his suggestion that the crash of a planeload of Atlanta (Ga.) civic leaders was "divine retribution," and his remark that President John F. Kennedy's assassination was "chickens coming home to roost."

This remark, later diluted by him as being a reference to the "climate of hate," resulted in his suspension and ouster as New York leader of the Black Muslims.

Negro rights leaders in the established organizations such as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People scorn him. "He is media-created," one NAACP official said.

The official cited a recent poll that showed half the Negroes in America never heard of the Black Muslims. "Before (television interviewer) Mike Wallace and (writer) Louis Lomax discovered Malcolm, it was 75 per cent," he contended.

Malcolm parried this attack by suggesting that "the Rev. Martin Luther King is about the only Negro leader who could walk through Harlem and be recognized."

MALCOM IS less than specific about his immediate plans. He addressed an overflow audience at Harvard this week, backed the New Yorl school boycott ("I am against segregation; they are against segregation. But I am also against integration") and met with other Young Turk rebels of the Negro revol: Sunday in Chester, Pa.

This weekend he plans a "mass rally" in a Harlem hall that holds 2,000. He will pass the hat for donations. By next summer he hopes to put together "a united front for political action with every group in Harlem."

"We will unite and see that the politicians are made aware that we can remove them if they don't remove this oppressive condition, at the city level, the state level, the national level," he said.

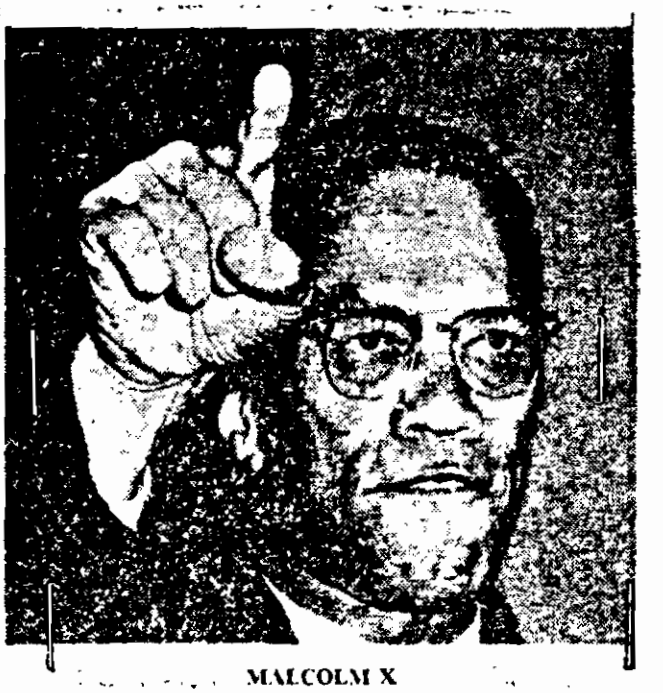
"Integration is a pipe dream. It is impractical. It makes hypocrites out of white people. They are for it for somebody else, not themselves.

"I believe that Harlem should be a black community. The tax dollars that we are sending to Poland and Russia and Chiang Kai-shek and all those people should be directed into the Harlem community to build better schools staffed with better teachers."

HE IS URGING college student groups to "redirect their attention to the oppressed. We can't awaken the moral consciousness of America. America has lost all moral consciousness.

"Now they must direct all of their energy at awakening the dormant interest of the victim, by showing him what part politics played in all his misery," Malcolm said.

"Let the Negro know that he can keep the man in the White House in the White House, or he can send him back to his Texas cotton patch."



MALCOLM X

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Loyal Followers Saved Malcolm From Death

Courier Exclusive

There was a recent Muslim plot to murder him in cold blood Malcolm X told The Courier this week. He said he is alive today because the "brothers" who were detailed to kill him revealed the plot to him.

"If truth wasn't stronger than falsehood, I would have been murdered in February," he said.

He added that he was saved because his erstwhile followers in Mosque No. 7 who had been sent to kill him "had heard me represent and defend Mr. Muhammad for too long for them to swallow lies."

In an exclusive interview with The Courier this week, the former Muslim minister told of the inner working of the Muslim movements leading to his suspension and eventual break with Elijah Muhammad.

Of his detractors whom he blamed for his break to form his own movement he said, "They envied me." Then he went on to name a captain and his former assistant minister as opposing him.

In his statement to The Courier in reply to the query: Why did you break with Elijah Muhammad? Malcolm X says:

"I never left the Muslim Movement on my own. Those who envied my increasing successes conspired together to force me out. After announcing to the Muslims at Mosque No. 7 that I would be back in 90 days if I

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submitted gracefully to my suspension, Captain Joseph teamed with the assistant minister Henry X to make it impossible for me to return.

"After I was suspended and silenced on Dec. 4, they proceeded to isolate me to keep me from explaining the diabolical situation to the other Muslims. As soon as they felt I had been sufficiently isolated, Captain Joseph then used assistant minister Henry X to spread lies from the speaker's stand that were skilfully designed to make the Muslims think I had rebelled against the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

"Realizing they were poisoning the minds of the Muslims toward me in my forced absence, I requested a hearing before the general body at Mosque No. 7 so I could defend myself against these false charges. They refused to let my case come before the general body because they knew their charges were nothing but lies that I could easily disprove if allowed to defend myself in front of any group of intelligent Muslims.

"If they had truth on their side they could easily have brought me forth and proved their case, instead of isolating me and then accusing me to the people without giving me a chance to defend myself. These two hypocritically used their positions to deceive the Muslims into thinking that I had turned into a hypocrite.

"The New York Muslims had been complaining heavily against Captain Joseph for years. The rank - and - file Muslims never knew that a confidential directive had been handed down from Chicago after Mr. Muhammad had become ill in 1961, making it impossible for ministers to remove captains. Thus, from 1961 onward captains could be removed only by the Chicago Office. Because of the increasing complaints against Joseph, I had made a "quiet" request to Chicago in early November for Joseph's removal as Captain. I was told to wait until Mr. Muhammad came to New York in December, but on Dec. 3 it was I who was suspended, silenced and eventually removed.

"Normally I would not make public any of the internal affairs of the Nation of Islam, but since Henry is still using the speaker's stand to make the Muslims in Mosque No. 7 think I'm insane, I am forced to speak out through the public media in order to clarify my own position. There is much more that could be said, but it would prove too destructive to too many innocent people. Thus, whatever else I say on this subject will be only that which I'm forced to by my two former chief aides who have now turned into "chief hypocrites."

As leader of the newly organized Muslim Mosque Inc., with headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm X said he would be addressing another meeting this Sunday at the Rockland Palace, 155 St. and Eighth Ave., at 8 P.M.

He expressed pleasure that he was pledged the support of many civil rights and black nationalist groups when he spoke at the Dawn Casino last Sunday.

FILE DESCRIPTION

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SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

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Section 2

March 22, 1964 - February 9, 1965

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Feud Within the Black Muslims

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the separatist Negro sect, faces a revolt in his ranks. His disciple, Malcolm X, leader in New York, has set up a rival 'Black Nationalist' political movement.

By GERTRUDE SAMUELS

THE Nation of Islam—better known as the Black Muslim movement—is an Islamic sect, adapted by American Negroes for American Negroes, with a secret membership that could be anywhere from 50,000 to 250,000. What is preached in its temples, or mosques, is a doctrine of black supremacy (for black men are "divine"), hatred of the white man (for whites are "devils"), and complete separation of the races. The Muslims reject integration as completely as does Mississippi's Senator James Eastland. They believe that they have the answer to the masses of Negroes who live in economic despair and are groping for racial dignity.

Negro civil rights leaders who fight for integration are "Toms" and "white-man's niggers," according to the Muslims. The sect says it seeks a separate black nation in America—the nation of Islam—with its own army and flag, but it has never said how it proposes to achieve this secession nor from what part of the United States it proposes to carve its nation.

Officially, the Black Muslims preach nonviolence and honor the law. Many outsiders, however, feel that there is the threat of violence implicit in the fanatical preaching of race hatred, in the rigid discipline maintained by members, and in the secret army—the black-clad Fruit of Islam—well-drilled units schooled in the use of firearms. But experts describe the movement's posture as one of "contained aggressiveness," largely because of the concepts of its charismatic leader, Elijah Muhammad.

ACCORDING to legend, the movement began when a "Prophet" appeared Detroit in the nineteen-thirties denouncing Christianity and the white man. Before "disappearing," he appointed Muhammad as his "Messenger" and endowed him with divine guidance. Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in 1897 at Sandersville, Ga., is the uneducated but dynamic son of a Baptist minister. The Muslims began to thrive under Muhammad about the time the civil rights movement spread in the fifties. Temples and commercial enterprises supported by Muslim money grew and flourished in various cities though headquarters were in Chicago where Muhammad sat. He and his sons—and notably his son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff, Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam — were all-powerful authoritarians. Eschewing politics and the vote, keeping their strength secret, they welded a monolithic organization. They demanded and got blind and unswerving obedience to the spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad.

In the past two weeks, that solidarity has been broken by a once-trusted lieutenant. The elements of open racial violence and of action

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in the political arena are being projected by a rival movement, "Black Nationalism." The two principal antagonists are: Minister Malcolm X, New York leader of the Muslims; and the "Messenger of Allah," Muhammad.

MALCOLM X

CERTAINLY the sect's most adept strategist, uncompromising in his contention that Negroes will never get justice from white people, has been 38-year-old Malcolm X. Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebr., he is an ex-convict who absorbed the Muslim religion while serving a seven-year sentence for larceny in Massachusetts.

Once out of prison, he shed his past life (along with his original surname, as well as an alias, "Big Red") and adopted the new last name X. This is common practice among Muslims, who adopt the symbolic X to connote the mystery of their origins.

Tall, dynamic, with rugged good looks, Malcolm rose in the sect to become the Big X—and the Messenger's ambassador to the Islamic countries of the Middle East and Africa. His flamboyant style, his biting humor and the brutal clarity of his logic—the white man is responsible for the degradation of the Negro—creates in white audiences a sense of collective guilt. At the same time, he wins admiration from Negroes, whose bitterness he can exploit.

The turnouts for Malcolm X at various Negro

and white colleges, including Harvard, make civil rights leaders unhappy. And in the past few months as he began to overshadow Muhammad and the Chicago-based officials, Muslim leaders also became unhappy. Muhammad moved to silence him. His opportunity was not long in coming.

When Malcolm X told a Black Muslim rally at Manhattan Center that the assassination of President Kennedy was an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost," Muhammad rebuked him, saying, "He will not be permitted to speak in public." That, under the code, seemed to end Malcolm's career.

But after 90 days of silence, he broke the code with a public announcement on March 8 that he was leaving the Muslims to organize his own party. He told a television audience—"It's hard to make a rooster stop crowing once the sun has risen." He claims that he has only created a new mosque in New York, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. But he calls his philosophy—political, economic, social and cultural — "Black Nationalism."

OVER a glass of ginger ale the other day (he eats only one meal a day, and, like all Moslems, eschews smoking, drinking, gambling and the eating of pork), Malcolm talked of his ambitions. The three elements that distinguish his new party from the old group are: (1) personal independence that will allow him to act, speak and be seen as master of his own house; (2) "self defense units — rifle clubs — ready to "execute on the spot" those who threaten Negroes; (3) nationalist appeal to all Negroes, not just Muslims, allowing cooperation with the interracial civil rights movement.

This new program is anathema to Muhammad's Muslims. Yet Malcolm X insists that he is "and always will be" a Muslim and that, so far as he is concerned, Muhammad cannot reject him because no Muslim can be rejected by the spiritual head.

"But it is time for the Negroes to defend themselves," Malcolm said. "If no one will say that, I will. If a person threatens you, by coming in the churches, bombing the churches, killing little girls, shooting little boys, then the Negroes should defend themselves, even if it means taking rifles and shotguns, and driving from our door the people who are brutalizing Negroes. The Negroes should *not wait for white investigators*. They should find the guilty ones themselves and execute them on the spot.

"EVERY American citizen is guaranteed under the Constitution the right to bear arms in self-defense. Since he has the legal right to own a shotgun or rifle, I would advise the Negro to have one." Later, Malcolm told a press conference that Negroes "should form rifle clubs" to defend their lives and property.

"All the past actions of the demonstrations and the sit-ins and boycotts have been immature, boyish; that's why," he added contemptuously, "they call the Negroes 'boys.' " The time has come for Negroes to fight back, he said. He intends to tell the Negroes "that what has been called the Negro revolution in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year. I shall tell them what a real revolution means."

In my conversation, I asked him: "Do you expect then to initiate a Cuban or an Algerian-style revolution?"

"I say that if you follow the whole thing to its logical con-

clusion, you have to expect the Negroes to rise up sooner or later."

He still appears adamant in his concept of a separate state and separation of the races though he is prepared to flirt with the interracial civil rights organizations.

His aim, now that he is on his own, Malcolm says, "is to work with civil rights groups, if they are willing to raise the caliber of their own black communities — and not force Negroes into white neighborhoods where they are not wanted. Separation — a separate state—is a good word, and it is something that you have to have to be independent and equal. At present, the black people are segregated. What we want is separation—independence."

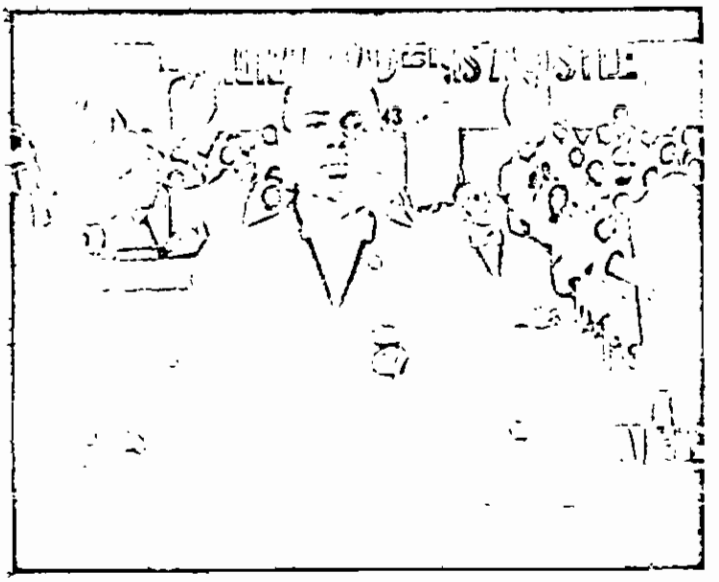
Where?

"No desert spot," he answered. "I hope it's Florida or California, and," he added with a short laugh, "all between."

Clearly Malcolm is not revealing the specifics of his program. He may fear that this would keep away the new blood -- especially college-educated youth--he expects to recruit and exploit. ("We want to see some new faces . . . more militant faces.") He expects his party to enter politics and, by educating Negroes in the mechanics of politics and the vote, "to control the politicians of our community."

"There are three times as many Negroes as Jews in this country," he added, blandly, "yet when it comes to political power, the Jews have 90 times as much power as the Negroes."

"I feel," said Malcolm X, "everything else has failed. I feel that all the efforts on the part of Negro groups through 1963 have met with failure. The Negroes are angry. I should say they're angrier. And I'm the angriest."



BODYGUARD—A member of the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim shock troops, guards Malcolm X (left, in white tie) at a meeting.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

TODAY, at 67, the "Messenger" is a small, thin man in bad health (suffering from asthma and bronchitis), whose delicate appearance and winning smile belie the ferocity of his speeches. He is introduced to large Muslim audiences as "the man who has seen God!"

"Get away from the white

man," he adjures the faithful, and they shout back fervently, "We will! Teach us, Messenger!"

There have been few smiles since Malcolm formed his new party. Indeed, Elijah Muhammad thundered like the wrath of Allah as he told me by telephone from his home in Chicago:

"Malcolm's plans have had no effect at all on the movement. My work is divine work, and the people believe in what I am teaching, of the resurrection from the death—the mental death—of my people. Anyone who deviates from Islam is a hypocrite."

WHEN he learned that Malcolm still spoke favorably of him and said he remained a Muslim, Muhammad said angrily: "If he spoke favorably, he has no alternative but to remain with me—if he believes in the Divine Message that Allah has given to me to deliver to my people. He would not go after other groups who have not accepted Islam.

"There is no weeping or moaning over anyone who leaves Islam, as such a man is a deviate or hypocrite, who does not want to live under the guidance of God's Messenger.

"Mere belief counts for nothing in Islam, unless carried into practice. He's preparing our people to find themselves and to fight—I heard him on television. It is very silly to say such a thing, because where are they going to get guns and arms?

"I am in favor of what I have been teaching for the past years, all over the country of America," Muhammad went on, "that we carry no arms, and we do not seek to win victory with arms. We follow what Allah has revealed—and that is, be our own selves, and do nothing to others that we would not have done unto us. That is a universal concept—because that is the best religion.

"I feel absolutely surprised at the man. He was under an indefinite suspension. He had represented himself publicly for several years as being a Muslim and a believer in the teachings and revelations of Allah that He has given to me. Now he has turned away to go after something that he himself has been criticizing—to the civil-righters' movement."

Then Muhammad added quietly, "This particular work of reforming the so-called Negro, so he can take his place in society, cannot be done by anyone who has not got with him divine guidance. It is absolutely divine work, guided divinely. Malcolm had that as long as he was with me." The old man underscored this heavily and, it seemed, sadly. "But otherwise he does not have it. I think religious scientists and scholars know that our people will have to be completely reformed—and Malcolm's way is not the way to reform them."

• • • •

THE reaction to Malcolm's new role by national civil-rights leaders ranges from skepticism to puzzlement and worry. Some claim indifference to the split in the Muslim movement. The Muslims, they say, were really repudiated by the Negro masses at the historic march on Washington last year, which dramatized how deeply the Negroes believe in and seek an integrated America. They have been on a decline ever since, and Malcolm's breakaway was a move of desperation, after his public rebuke, since he saw the handwriting on the wall.

Some in this group believe that Malcolm is a creature of the press, radio and television. As one spokesman put it, "They seem to get a masochistic kick out of Malcolm's giving them hell."

As for Malcolm's statements about "self-defense," they believe that he will be as unsuccessful in selling the masses of Negroes on rifle clubs and violent action as he was in selling them on a separate state.

Other Negro leaders are skeptical of a real split in the Muslims. They have known for some time that Malcolm and other young Muslim leaders were convinced that the Muslims were held back

by their aloofness from the civil-rights movement. Now they are wondering whether Malcolm has suddenly become a dedicated man or "remains a charlatan." As one expert put it, "He may be a Trojan horse proceeding, under the guise and protection of Muhammad, but actually maneuvering to get into the civil-rights movement." These leaders are adopting a wait-and-see attitude. They neither condemn nor cheer the "new Malcolm," but will wait and study his program and his sponsors.

As Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. puts it: "We do not know whether he intends to help American Negro citizens in their civil rights campaign, or whether he really is serious in wooing them to some kind of a Black Nationalist separate state."

Certainly Malcolm's attempts to appeal to Christian as well as Muslim Negroes, and his attempt to make his temple all things to all black men trouble many objective outsiders. Some Chicago Muslims are in his corner. It is expected that other young Muslims in the New York and Washington temples will follow, as may the disgruntled from the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), as well as from the unorganized masses.

IT is this last, unknown quantity—the masses of Negroes who do not belong to the civil-rights movement—that concerns many thoughtful observers.

Prof. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College, author of the definitive study of the Black Muslims, says:

"There is an increasing number of Negroes who feel that nonviolence has run its course, and they are disillusioned." Only the other day, on his college campus in Atlanta, eight Negro student leaders met with an advisory group of leading white Atlanta citizens. The student leaders told them that what used to be a student movement "now involves the total Negro community." And this, reflects Professor Lincoln, includes people who are not necessarily committed to the philosophy of nonviolence.

OF immense interest to observers, as Malcolm opens his drive for recruits to his political party, is its financing. He has said that he will accept money from any source, including white people who, however, can't join his group, "because when whites join an organization, they usually out-join it." There is speculation whether Malcolm will be getting at least petty cash from his most picturesque recruit to the Black Muslims, the heavyweight champion of the world, Cassius X (Clay). The 22 year-old fighter whom a Negro reporter has dubbed the Clown Prince of the movement, is constantly in Malcolm's company and expects to live on Long Island to be near Malcolm's home.

Leaders of unquestioned stature in the civil-rights movement are concerned not so much with the personality of Malcolm X as with the conditions in a community that make it possible for *any* opportunist to exploit and capitalize them. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, observes: "As long as you have the poverty, the poor housing, the bitter conditions that nourish the despair, there will always be people around like Malcolm X or John X or any-X."

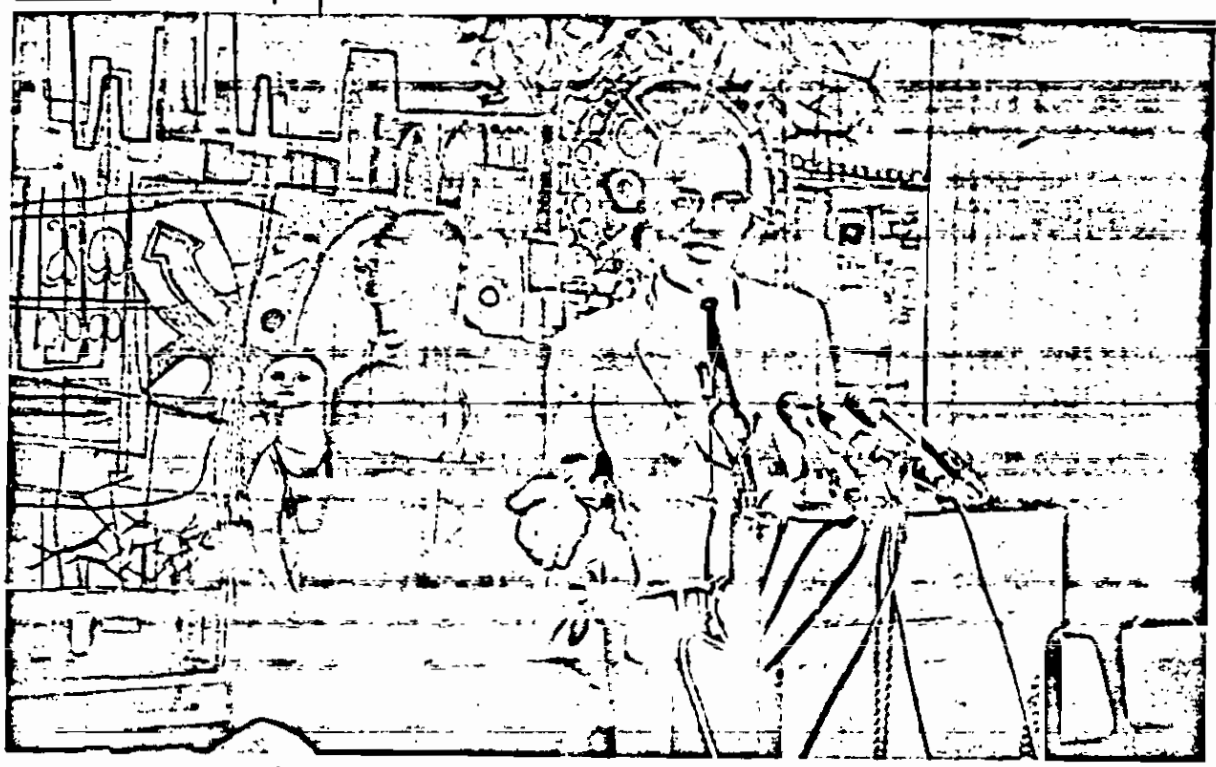
And Professor Lincoln concludes: "The fact that Malcolm X believes that a Black Nationalist party is possible or is needed is a reflection upon the distance we still have to go to make the Negro believe that the white man is sincerely interested in having the Negro participate equally in the common values of this society."

Separate State

In their new book, "The Negro Revolution in America" (Simon and Schuster), William Brink and Louis Harris show, through polls of Negroes, that there is a "massive *negative feeling" toward the Black Muslims.* The idea that Negroes form their own separate state in the South or in Africa met with better than 21-to-1 rejection:

	Total Rank and File	Non-South	South	Leaders
	%	%	%	%
Oppose separate state	87	91	84	99
Favor separate state	4	4	3	1
Not sure	9	5	13	—

"Not only did Negroes *oppose the separatist idea,* but they greeted the suggestion with ridicule. . . . Fred C. Banks, a juvenile probation officer in Phoenix, Arizona, had this logical extension of the plan: 'Carry this to the *nth* degree and you'll send all ethnic groups to their original *countries. That would leave the U.S. to the Indians.'* "



RIVALS—Malcolm X, above, tells a New York audience why he has broken with Elijah Muhammad (below, at a rally).

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The Paradox That Is Malcolm X: All Charm and All Contradiction

By Dick Schaap
City Editor

The sign on the door says "Eve Nelson Cosmetics—Subsidiary of . . ." The phrase is not finished.

Inside, the green slatted blackboard is divided into long columns, each topped by the letters "CL," which stand for closing prices. There is not a single stock listed on the board.

The room, lon gand lean, is sparsely furnished—ragged green window shades, checked green-and-white linoleum flooring, two ancient wooden desks, a dozen rickety folding chairs and one strong permanent, non-folding chair.

Malcolm X sits in the non-folding chair. Here, on the second floor of the Hotel Theresa at 125th St. and Seventh Ave., here where Joe Louis once lived and Fidel Castro once lived and Cassius Clay now lives, here in the temporary headquarters set up by Malcolm X since he split away from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, everything—from incomplete sign to unused stockboard—exudes an air of the unreal.

"Squeak—squeak—squeak" go the marking pencils, as two college girls, their hair swept into African styles, carefully letter the cardboard signs heralding Malcolm's speech on "Black Nationalism in Harlem," which he will deliver at 8 p. m. tonight at the Rockland Palace on 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Suddenly—"Squeeeaaak—squeeeaaak"—the long lines of the X written beneath Malcolm's name.

Down the hall, a man says, "Malcolm's office? Malcolm's in Room 228."

NO 228

There is no room marked 228. Only the process of elimination leads to the cosmetics sign. The sign spreads across two glass doors, both painted black, leaking no clue to what is inside.

It is all unreal, but Malcolm X himself is the most unreal aspect.

He is, above all else, utterly charming. It is almost impossible, upon meeting him, to dislike him. Friendly, articulate, calmly outgoing, his appearance and his manner melt all the harsh words, the words of violence and rifle clubs, that he has spoken in the past.

He sits in his non-folding chair, his long legs cramped under a wooden desk, and he greets his co-workers and his visitors with politeness and warmth. "Brother James, would you give our visitor a chair?"

He is impeccably dressed, a black suit covering a black cardigan sweater and a white shirt and a solid brown tie, his black shoes brightly polished, his black socks neatly pulled up. And his followers, too, dress carefully, projecting, more than anything else, a Madison Ave. image, almost a huckster image. Two of Malcolm's assistants leave their attaché cases lying around the room.

And then Malcolm is talking and work-

Tolson ✓
Belmont ✓
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
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Evans
Gale [redacted]
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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune 2
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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ing, and this is when, instead of charming visitors, he frustrates them. He wallows in contradictions and he ducks under straight questions, jabbing back with a speech, not with a straight answer.

Violence? Violence? Malcolm is not for violence, he says.

But didn't he suggest that Negroes carry rifles? He reaches into his billfold and plucks out a small card and quotes the Constitutional amendment guaranteeing citizens the right to bear arms.

"I operate only within the law," he says. "I do not advocate violence. I advocate only each man's Constitutional right to defend himself."

And in the next minute, chatting with a reporter freshly arrived from Europe, a reporter who has covered the violent revolutions of Afica and Southeast Asia, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets.

Will there be guerrilla warfare among the Negroes in the United States?

"Of course," says Malcolm X. "There is already. You just don't see it."

Is he for it?

"I am not advocating violence."

DAVID

He slides into slick phrases to avoid taking any firm stands. He derides the civil-rights leaders who co-operate with whites and use methods developed by whites and then, when he is asked if he isn't doing the same thing, relying on speeches and college tours and endless statements to the white press, Malcolm smiles his charming smile and says, "Didn't David use Goliath's own sword to cut off the giant's head?"

Violence? He is totally opposed to that.

Then he is saying that no white man knows what the Negro thinks, that no Negro will tell a white man what he really thinks.

In other words, then, Malcolm himself does not say to the white people what he really thinks.

"I come closer than anyone else," he says.

Again, he hides behind words. "Only the servant sees the master," he says. "The master does not see the servant. The servant sees the master sleeping. The master never sees the servant sleeping. The servant sees the master eating. The master never sees the servant eating. The servant sees the master angry. The master never sees the servant angry. The master never really sees the servant at all."

He smiles, a mixture of friendliness and mocking. "You only see the tree," he says. "You do not see the roots. If the roots were exposed to the open, they would wither and die."

Is he hiding the true roots of his own philosophy?

Only a smile.

Malcolm talks on.

He is against segregation and against integration. He is for separation—a matter of choice.

He thinks the Supreme Court decision outlawing "separate but equal" schools was a disastrous mistake.

He says that Ralph Bunche is not a Negro and that Carl Rowan, the head of the United States Information Agency, is not a Negro.

Herald Tribune—UPI

". . . And the next minute, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets."

He condemns token integration and sa that Negroes who say that they were t only Negroes in their schools are neurot "uppity" Negroes. And in the next brea he tells you that he was the only Ne in his grade school in a small town southern Michigan, and that his was t only Negro family in town.

It is impossible to take Malcolm words seriously—unless you are willing accept, at various times, both sides every question. Sooner or later, he wo both sides.

He is the sort of man who would wonderful at a cocktail party, if his Musl beliefs would allow him to attend, beca he never lets conversation lag. But would be less effective when there is a ne for action, because at the present tir his contradictions must breed confusion.

It is dangerous to dismiss Malcolm lig ly He is too eloquent, too effective stating a situation—even though he off no practical way out of the situation— be ignored. The trick, a difficult one, is try to figure out Malcolm X. It is a ga that almost every thinking person in H lem is playing these days.

EVALUATION

If you sit and listen around the bars a grills in Harlem—in Frank's and the Pal on 125th St., in Jock's and Small's and t Shalimar on Seventh Ave., you can see t clergymen and the small politicians and lawyers and the doctors trying to ga Malcolm X.

No one knows the extent of his powe possibly because he has never put power to any real test.

No politician will associate himself co pletely with Malcolm.

But none will completely disassoci himself, either.

They are waiting, waiting to see if M colm X, now that he has opened his ra to people who do not follow the str Muslim precepts, will draw large numb of followers.

And they debate his manner and methods.

"Malcolm X is a genius," a lawyer saying in the back room at Jock's. "He the most brilliant speaker I have e heard."

"Malcolm X is a creation of the wh press," said a doctor in Frank's.

"Malcolm X is a phony," said a n at the bar in the Shalimar. "All he ca about is Malcolm X—and money."

And Malcolm X sits back in his n folding chair on the second floor of Hotel Theresa and smiles and watche slow trickle of converts come through door, matched by a trickle of white porters trying to figure him out.

And it is amusing, and strange, to that Malcolm X, the voice of Black Natic alism, seems to expend his greatest cha and the most time on the whites, not t Negroes, who walk through his pai blackened doors.

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Malcolm X: "He is, above all else, utterly charming."

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(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, MARCH 26, A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, March 25--The demagogic Malcolm X, Black Muslim turned Black Nationalist, has made giant strides toward leadership in the Negro civil rights movement within the last two weeks.

A fortnight ago Malcolm, number two man in the Black Muslim hierarchy, announced that he was quitting that group to form his own Black Nationalist organization.

Since then, working out of temporary headquarters in New York's Hotel Theresa, Brother Malcolm (as he now prefers to be called) has seen powerful leaders come to him for assistance.

This, despite his suggestions that American Negroes form "rifle clubs" and arm for "self-defense." This despite Malcolm's advice that Negroes kill police dogs used to curb civil rights demonstrations. This despite his vicious attacks on established Negro leaders (Ralph Bunche is an "international Uncle Tom").

One weekend after his split with the Muslims, Malcolm was invited to Chester, Pennsylvania, for a meeting with militant Negro leaders. Malcolm received the greatest applause afforded any speaker. Negro leaders who cheered Malcolm included comedian Dick Gregory; Cambridge, Maryland's Gloria Richardson, and Chicago's Lawrence Landry. The last-named Negro heads a nationwide group called the Coordinating Council of Civil Rights organizations.

Upon his return to New York, Malcolm was wooed by Negro militants who ran a second school boycott last week. Malcolm pitched in, was on radio and television to urge his followers to keep their children home in protest against slum conditions.

A quarter million Negroes played hookey and credit went to Malcolm, a Brooklyn minister, the Rev. Milton Galamison, and Jesse Gray, dynamic leader of New York rent strikes.

Gray and Malcolm, as a matter of fact, were singled out by New York Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy as "irresponsible" leaders who, through "lust for power or other sinister motives" see the civil rights movement as a "means to a personal end or as the weapon to create chaos in our community."

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Gray and Malcolm stung back, insisting that "Murphy [illegible]" Their charges were echoed by the New York State Communist Party which shot off a letter to Mayor Robert Wagner demanding that Murphy be fired.

Whether or not Malcolm will accept Communist support is not known. He neatly dodged one question put to him by a New York newsman, saying only that if he were imprisoned in a cage with a wolf, "I don't care who opens that door and lets me out."

Note: Malcolm has indicated he will plunge headlong into politics at "the proper moment." He has not said if he will affiliate with the all-Negro Freedom Now Party, a group formed last year by the leftist Conrad Lynn, or form a political party of his own.

(MORE)

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While the Freedom Now Party has not yet run a candidate for public office, another all-Negro party has. The New Frontier Party, formed last year by dissident New Jersey Negroes, ran candidates for the State Legislature. While no New Frontier candidates won, they did draw sufficient votes from the Democrats to enable several Republicans to achieve victory.

New Frontier Party leaders, flushed from their Pyrrhic victory, will this year field a full slate of candidates in northern New Jersey. They will run candidates for the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Essex County posts of Surrogate, Sheriff and the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

* * *

The Maryland State Senate, in a virtually-unprecedented move, has blasted U.S. foreign policy as cowardly and ineffective. The Democratic-controlled body approved a Special Resolution stating its "deep concern over the foreign policies of the United States and the low ebb to which this great country has come in the esteem and affection of the rest of the world."

* * *

Nelson Rockefeller is the albatross around his brother, Winthrop's, neck. Winthrop has long been groomed as the man who can be Arkansas' first Republican governor.

But Winthrop must, of course, back his brother for President. Now comes word from Arkansas that leaders of the Republican Party in that state are shying away from Winthrop Rockefeller. Sort of guilt by association.

State GOP Chairman William L. Spicer, for instance, insists that Winthrop is trying to force his brother on State Republicans. This Winthrop denies, but there is no doubt his political sledding would be easier if his brother were not seeking the Presidency.

# # #

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G-20 (Rev. 10-15-62)

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UPI-79

(MALCOLM X)

NEW HORK--DISSIDENT BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY HIS NEW PROGRAM FOR NEGROES HAS AROUSED "FINE" RESPONSE ACROSS THE NATION DESPITE OPPOSITION FROM THE BLACK MUSLIM LEADERSHIP HEADED BY ELIJAH MUHAMMAD IN CHICAGO.

MALCOLM SAID HE WAS "NOT AT ALL EXCITED" BY THE CHICAGO MUSLIMS' MOST RECENT ATTACK ON HIM--A STATEMENT BY MAOLCOLM'S BROTHER, PHILBERT X, A MUSLIM MINISTER IN MICHIGAN. PHILBERT CHARGED THAT MALCOLM IS A FALSE PROPHET LEADING NEGROES INTO "VIOLENCE, BLOODSHED AND LOSS OF LIFE."

"THEY ARE IN SUCH A DESPERATE POSITION OUT THERE IN CHICAGO THAT THEY HAVE USED MY BLOOD BROTHER TO MAKE CHARGES AGAINST ME," MALCOLM SAID. "HE NEEDS HIS JOB AND WANTS TO KEEP IT, AND THE BEST WAY TO KEEP IT IS ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE USED."

MALCILM BROKE WITH ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AFTER THE MUSLIM "PROPHET" CRITICIZED MALCOLM'S DEROGATORY STATEMENTS ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. MALCOLM SAID TODAY THAT ELIJAH "PUT ME OUT" AND "HAS NEVER GIVEN ME A CHANCE TO ANSWER THE CHARGES AGAINST ME BEFORE THE NATIONAL MUSLIM BODY."

"ALL OTHER MUSLIMS WHO HAVE BEEN OUSTED HAVE BEEN GIVEN A HEARING, BUT I HAVE NOT," MALCOLM SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Brother Bitterly Condemns Malcolm X

By Linn Allen

A member of his own family Thursday bitterly condemned former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X as trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Philbert X, a minister of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam in a four-city Michigan area and one of Malcolm's two elder brothers, delivered an unprecedented public attack at a press conference here.

He called Malcolm "cunning and clever" and said his "reckless efforts . . . will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslims after a dispute with the movement's chief religious leader, Elijah Muhammad, recently announced he was forming his own sect.

At that time he stated:

"It is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the nonviolent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

The split in the movement occurred after Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for 90 days when he described President John F. Kennedy's assassination as "chickens coming home to roost."

Philbert, who at 41 is two years older than his brother, began:

"Ordinarily, I would not suggest the airing of differences between brothers to outsiders and especially to a news media, but because of the grave consequences of recent events, I submit to this medium."

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

4 CHICAGO SUN TIME
CHICAGO, ILLINOI

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"Malcolm gained great prestige as the result of his association with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and now he wants to use this prestige to lead the followers of Islam astray," Philbert claimed.

Philbert asserted his brother "would do anything" to achieve fame and to slander Muhammad out a feeling of revenge.

"Malcolm has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women," the minister continued, "and now he seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam."

~~He said~~ that through women Malcolm would induce men to

Philbert X, elder brother of Malcolm X, condemns his brother's behavior. (Sun-Times Photo)

leave the movement and accuse influential Muslims of misconduct.

He told reporters:

"I beseech you to warn those who may be taken in by my brother's desire to promote his own selfish end."

Philbert, who said he spoke as a messenger of Elijah Muhammad, contended his brother's defection was not seriously harming the Muslim movement.

"It is growing all the time," he said. "This is a time of crisis for the so-called American Negro."

He reiterated the Black Muslim stand that Negroes ought to band together into a separate nation.

Philbert is Muslim minister for Lansing, Grand Rapids, Muskegon and Flint, Mich. He said he spoke prior to the conference with his elder brother, Wilfred X, who is minister at Muhammad's Temple No. 1 in Detroit.

The conference was held at a newly opened Muslim restaurant, the Shabazz, at 616 E. 71st.

Although they are often poles apart on the civil rights issue, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (left) and former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X have a friendly greeting for each other as they meet in a Capitol corridor Thursday. They and other Negro leaders watched debate on the civil rights bill. Both Dr. King and Malcolm X agreed there would be ~~Negro~~ demonstrations in Washington if the debate turns into a filibuster. (AP)

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Text of Statement By Malcolm X

The following is the text of the statement made by Malcolm X in opening his press conference at New York's Park-Sheraton Hotel, March 12.

* * *

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for *Human Rights*, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle — especially in regard to politics and non-violence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now*. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field — but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces — more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date — but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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The Worker
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Date April 1, 1964
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Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
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Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MUSLIM REBEL SPEAKS HERE

Malcolm: Negro Awake Now

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BY STAN PUTNAM
Free Press Staff Writer

Malcolm X, the man who seeks a separate American Negro nation, predicted in Detroit Sunday that a "hot summer" is ahead, one in which one spark of violence could sweep the nation.

"The Negro is awake," Malcolm X said. "The white man must realize this. I am not trying to set the spark. I am only giving the warning."

* * *

A CHAMPION of the Negro's complete political, economic and social separation from the white race, Malcolm X addressed a rally at King Solomon Baptist Church, Fourteenth and Marquette.

He spoke as the leader of his newly formed Muslim Mosque, Inc., which also is known as the Black Nationalist Party.

His appearance in Detroit was sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), another Negro organization which contends that separation —not integration—is the answer to the Negro problem.

* * *

AT A PRESS conference at GOAL headquarters, 11605 Linwood, Malcolm X again challenged the current direction of civil rights with statements that recently put him on the front pages of the nation's press. He said:

- The Negro must stop begging for a place in the white man's sun by withdrawing to Negro communities in which he could control his own political, economic and social life.
- **Negro leaders who teach the ethic of "turn-the-other-cheek" and "non-violence" are traitors to the Negro cause.**
- When the Government fails to protect the Negro, he must be ready to defend himself.
- Negroes have been duped by the Democratic Party. They have given 80 per cent of their vote only to get, in return, a debate in a Democratic-controlled Congress on whether the Negro should be given his rights.

"The first step in solving the problem between the races in this country is honest communication," he said.

"Both sides have been misleading each other. The whites don't want integration. The Negro has been telling the white man what he thinks the white man wants to **hear.**"

* * *

MALCOLM X split about a month ago from the Black Muslim Negro movement. Before that he was No. 2 man to the Black Muslim's founder, Elijah Muhammad.

He broke from the founder because Muhammad failed to act on his own analyses of the need for Negro separation from the white man, Malcolm X said.

When he stepped out, Malcolm announced that the Black Muslim movement had "gone about as far as it can."

He accused the organization of being "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited" to assume responsibility in the racial struggle.

* * *

MALCOLM X said the Black Muslim leaders ignored his plea "to work, with America's 22 million Christian Negroes" in a move "from non-violence to active self-defense."

While his followers in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., are Muslim, he claimed, "We don't allow this to interfere with cooperation with other groups seeking a solution to our political, social and economic grievances."

He said a door-to-door Negro registration campaign—like the one his group is conducting in New York — will be made in every city across the nation to get the Negro into politics.

"As independent voters," he emphasized.

Malcolm X

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SPECTATOR

The outlook of Malcolm X

THE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AUDIENCE listened respectfully as Malcolm X laid it on the line: "For 400 years we have fought your battles and all we say today is, it's pay day."

"America," he said, "is the only country in world history in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution, but the United States is not morally equipped to do so. There is no system more corrupt than this which still colonizes and enslaves 22 million blacks while it goes all over the world telling others how to straighten out their houses."

The audience of about 500 that heard him speak in New Yor Palm Gardens April 8 under the auspices of the Militant La Forum included a sprinkling of his own followers, interested you people—white and black—and an older group of white radicals whom Malcolm's point of view seemed sometimes alien, of troubling, for he rejects summarily their past and present co mitment.

Already persuaded of the need for full-scale registration of N gro voters, this audience agreed with Malcolm that if this could accomplished, then full use of the ballot in all states would wipe what he calls "this cracker government" in which ten out of Senate committees and 12 out of 20 House committees are head by Dixiecrat chairmen (". . . and you're going to tell me the Sou lost the war?").

But Malcolm saw the registration drive as a tactic the pow structure cannot allow to work, and he defined Dixie as "all th territory south of the Canadian border" in which the northe liberal Democrat "tells us what he'll do and conspires behind d backs with the Southern Dixiecrat."

WHEN BLACK AMERICANS wake up to the fact they've r ceived nothing, he said, it will be the bullets instead of ballot "They'll forget about turning the other cheek and nonviolence ar 'We Shall Overcome'." That time may be this year, he said, an when it comes the blood will flow on both sides.

"It was stones yesterday and it is Molotov cocktails today and it will be grenades tomorrow. Do not think I incite you. It is only if you face up to the seriousness of the situation that you may save yourselves. You are dealing today with a people that not only knows what it wants but knows what it should have. And there's another generation coming up that, in addition, knows how to to get it."

The reverberations of a racial explosion here would be felt—and supported—all over the world by the black revolution that has been taking place since 1945, the black nationalist leader believes.

According to Malcolm, the separation of blacks from the white community of America is a fact of life and therefore, Negro Americans should enjoy "complete control over the politics and politicians of our community" rather than leave it to the white man.

The black nationalist, for whom Malcolm is perhaps the most articulate spokesman, argues from this separatist position that he is a part of a world majority rather than an American minority. His primary goal is human rights, not civil rights.

The other black nationalist arguments fall into place within this framework: The white ruling class won't permit the acquisition of human rights by black men without revolution; in such a revolution, black men must defend themselves

THIS SEPARATION, Malcolm made clear, explains his posi on school integration also—namely, that it doesn't exist and i practical; but that doesn't mean he's a segregationist, he s "It is not the presence or absence of black children in a classr that determines whether a school is segregated; it is the acade diet—and that is dictated by those who control the school."

Domination of the civil rights movement by whites and by groes "begging for a place on a white stage" has dictated the n violent character of the movement, in Malcolm's opinion. He that no intelligent white man would fight for his own freedom way he fights for black freedom. "Sure he'll sit in and be n violent and so forth, but when his own property is attacked not nonvicient. He's only nonviolent when he's on your side."

It was his indictment of white participation in the civil ri struggle, his adamant refusal to acknowledge individual contri tion to freedom or progress anywhere and his rejection of their p ticipation in the struggle to come that disturbed his older w radical listeners.

Young people, however, seemed to accept his willingness cooperate on tactics "with any group white, pink, black or yello and delay settlement of larger questions.

—Jane McMar

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AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM

Malcolm X Details Black Nationalist Views

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By David Herman

NEW YORK — An audience of nearly 600 heard Malcolm X speak on "Black Revolution" at an April 8 meeting at Palm Gardens under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

He was well received by the Negroes who comprised about a quarter of the audience, and by most of the whites, as he outlined his views on Black Nationalism. (See announcement, page 1) Some white liberals, however, were visibly disturbed by his scathing indictment of the role of liberalism in the Negro struggle and his insistence on an all-black leadership for the Negro movement.

A lively point in the discussion period was a heated exchange between Malcolm X and James Wechsler, liberal editorial columnist for the *New York Post*. Wechsler sought to bolster the press propaganda smear that Malcolm X is a "hate-monger."

Open Minds

This charge was not substantiated for those who came to learn what Malcolm X really stands for and who listened to him with an open mind. A number of such young people later indicated that the meeting had given them a completely different conception of Black Nationalism than they had gotten from the news media.

Malcolm X, in turn, welcomed the oportunity to address the meeting and also commended *The Militant*. In his closing remarks, he said:

"I want to thank the Militant Labor Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening. I think as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best I've read. We always encourage those in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or where ever else we may see it. It's a very good paper, and I hope they continue to have success — make progress. They can probably straighten out a lot of white people. Let us straighten out the black people."

A Rude Liberal

During the question period, he proved deft and firm in straightening out those whites who invited it. The exchange with Wechsler, for example, began when the liberal journalist tried to take the floor without being recognized. Malcolm X firmly insisted that he be seated, observing, "you're being rude. You're proving my point" about white liberalism.

He called on several other questioners and then turned back and offered the floor to Wechsler. In a completely hostile vein, Wechsler demanded to know if Malcolm X intended to pay tribute to Rev. Bruce Klunder, the white minister who died under a bulldozer in a Cleveland civil rights demonstration.

Countering Wechsler's effort to exploit Rev. Klunder's death as a polemical point against Black Nationalism, Malcolm X replied that the time is long past when

Malcolm X

Negroes are going to applaud the contributions of individual whites to the Negro struggle.

"I didn't put him under the bulldozer," he declared, "Uncle Sam put him under the bulldozer. The Supreme Court put him under the bulldozer."

Wechsler sought unsuccessfully to continue the debate and apparently finished what he had to say in a column in the April 13 *New York Post* devoted to the meeting in which he took an exceedingly dim view of Malcolm X and the Militant Labor Forum.

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Likes FNP

In response to a question about the Freedom Now Party, Malcolm X answered that he didn't know too much about it, but "what I know about it I like."

During his presentation, Malcolm X denounced the Democratic party. "Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people," he said in answer to a question.

Another questioner asked him about the importance of Marxism. "I don't know too much about Karl Marx," he answered. But he indicated an understanding of the key role of economic issues with a concise explanation of the shrinking world market for American goods and its effect on the American economy.

At several points in the question period Malcolm X talked about what whites can do.

"The whites can help if they're progressive-minded," he said, "but my observation and analysis of the type of help that they've been giving makes me very cautious about the help they offer . . .

Two Standards?

"No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped you and me fight for our freedom — none of them would. When it comes to black freedom, then the white man — he freedom rides and sits-in. He's non-violent. He sings "We Shall Overcome" and all that sort of stuff. But when the property of the white man is threatened or his freedom is threatened, he's not non-violent."

"So if the whites are sincere in the struggle, they will show the black man how to use better tactics, tactics that will get results — and not results a hundred years from now.

"Our people are not going to wait ten years," he said.

"If this house is a house of freedom and justice for all — if that's what it is — then let's have it."

Toward the end of the question period an elderly white man insisted on a chance to answer Malcolm X. Given the floor, he proceeded to lecture Malcolm X on what was wrong with his views, and called him "bloodthirsty."

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"I'm not saying this to jive him or pat him on the back. I think you know me better than that If I say positive things about him, I mean it.

"He will probably get some of you saved, but you'll get most of you killed."

NEW YORK, April 13 — Malcolm X announced last night that he was leaving for Africa next week to spend three weeks there telling everyone who will listen about the condition of black men in this country and finding out how the Africans feel about the Afro-Americans.

Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge, Maryland movement shared the platform with Malcolm X and Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader.

Both Gloria Richardson and Malcolm X supported the call of Brooklyn CORE for a "stall-in" at the roads leading to the world's fair on its opening day. Both emphasized the need for individual initiative and the need for every individual to take on himself the responsibility of carrying on the struggle for freedom.

Africans Kidnapped

Malcolm X devoted the last of the current series of Sunday night rallies to telling how the civilized Africans were kidnapped, systematically de-humanized to the point where their will to resist was destroyed and then brought to this country to be slaves.

He said that any strategy used by any group that exposed the situation of the black man in this country before the world was a good strategy.

Gloria Richardson opened her remarks by saying that Brother Malcolm had added a necessary and vital spark to the struggle.

She advocated controlled self-defense as a barrier to violence. Through the tactic of controlled self-defense we may be able to avert a civil war, she said.

Independent political action as advocated by Malcolm X and the Freedom Now Party was the second line of self-defense, she said.

Jesse Gray spoke briefly, emphasizing the need to raise concrete demands when carrying out any protest action.

The next rally will be held in about four weeks when Malcolm X returns from Africa.

DETROIT, April 13 — Malcolm X drew repeated rounds of applause from an appreciative audience of nearly 2,000 Negroes here last night. He spoke at a rally sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) at the King Solomon Baptist Church.

He warned that the Negro people must make a revolution if they were to win their freedom now. He explained that there had been no bloodless revolutions previously, but suggested that America could heed the demands of the Negroes in 1964 and have a bloodless revolution for the first time.

The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date April 23, 1964

"Militant"

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Malcolm X Pleased By Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new, positive insights on race relations.

He said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the Holy City of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had felt no racial antagonism toward whites nor had he sensed any antagonism on their part against him.

The letter from Mecca, dated April 25, described how he had arrived at his new insights on race relations while on a pilgrimage.

'All Colors and Ranks'

"There are Muslims of all colors and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of this earth," he wrote.

"During the past seven days of this Holy Pilgrimage, while undergoing the rituals of the Hajj [pilgrimage], I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God—not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, Cabinet members, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers—but also with fellow-Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blond—yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their faces and see that these didn't regard themselves as 'white.'

"Their belief in the Oneness of God (Allah) had actually removed the 'white' from their minds, which automatically changed their attitude and behavior toward people of other colors. Their belief in the Oneness of God has actually made them so different from American whites, their outer physical characteristics played no part at all in my mind during all my close associations with them."

Before leaving for the Middle East, Malcolm had said that he would lead his newly formed black nationalist organization into the forefront of the civil rights struggle this summer.

Sought Broader Action

Malcolm recently withdrew from the Black Muslim Movement founded and led by Elijah Muhammad of Chicago because he felt its religious sectarianism had limited its scope of action.

Malcolm's new movement does not require membership in the Black Muslim faith. It is open to Negro Christians and Black Jews, as well as to nonbelievers.

Malcolm's letter said he hoped to visit Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, and Algeria before returning to New York by May 20.

He described some of his reactions to Mecca this way: "I have never before witnessed such sincere hospitality and the practise of true brotherhood as I have seen and experienced during this pilgrimage here in Arabia.

"In fact, what I have seen and experienced on this pilgrimage has forced me to 'rearrange' much of my own thought-pattern, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions.

In describing the people on the pilgrimage, he wrote: "Their sincere submission to the Oneness of God, and their true acceptance of all nonwhites as equals makes the so-called 'whites' also acceptable as equals into the brotherhood of Islam with the 'nonwhites'. Color ceases to be a determining factor of a man's worth or value once he becomes a Muslim. I hope I am making this part very clear, because it is now very clear to me.

"If white Americans would accept the religion of Islam, if they would accept the Oneness of God (Allah), then they could also sincerely accept the Oneness of Man, and they would cease to measure others always in terms of their 'differences in color'."

At another point he wrote: "The American Negro should never be blamed for racial 'animosities,' because his are only reactions, or defense mechanisms which his subconscious intelligence has forced him to erect against the conscious racism practiced . . . by American whites.

"But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path, nearer and nearer to the precipice that leads to the bottomless pits below, I do believe that whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered intellect, will see the 'handwriting on the wall' and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them."

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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Malcolm X To Debate Louis Lomax

Negro supremacist Malcom X will debate with Negro author Louis Lomax here May 23 on "Which Way Goes the Negro—Integration or Separation."

The debate, described as a "no holds barred" affair, will be held at 8:30 p.m. in the Civic Opera House. Reserved tickets are from $2.50 to $4.

Malcolm X, who recently broke with the Black Muslim leadership, is an advocate of Negro-white separation. Lomax, author of "Come Up America" and "The Negro Revolt," is an advocate of nonviolent action.

Irv Kupcinet, Sun-Times columnist, will serve as moderator.

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Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
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Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-13-64
Edition: RED STREAK
Author:
Editor: JOHN STANTON
Title: Malcom X, aka

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Islamic Leader Has a Stake in Sincerity

Man Who 'Tamed'

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Malcolm Is Hopeful

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr.
Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—The man who takes the credit for "taming" Malcolm X and converting him to "true Islam" is Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, director of an Egyptian national who directs the Islamic Center here.

Dr. Shawarbi said Malcolm X came to him to learn about "real Islam." After Dr. Shawarbi was convinced that Malcolm was sincere he urged him to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Malcolm, a publicly declared ex-Black Muslim and now ex-racist, also said that Dr. Shawarbi was "instrumental" in "helping me to understand true Islam, a religion that teaches brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins." His views, included in a letter telling of his experiences on the pilgrimage, were distributed to news media under the name of Malcolm's new organization, "The Muslim Mosque, Inc."

Complete Turnabout

This new position by Malcolm is a complete turnabout for the former Black Muslim minister who was briefly assigned to Washington. He was silenced by Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, for mocking President Kennedy's assassination. He broke away completely March 8 to form his own group.

Dr. Shawarbi indicated there was opposition to his tutelage of Malcolm X from other Arab Muslims here in New York. Most of the criticism stemmed from fears that Malcolm is not sincere and may use the religion and pilgrimage as a device to improve his public image for his own purposes.

Questions Answered

Against this background, Dr. Shawarbi has a stake in Malcolm's sincerity.

What caused Malcolm, who

The Washington Post
MALCOLM X
. . . returning from Mecca

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was once too outspoken even for the Black Muslims, to turn away from his extreme brand of racism?

These questions were answered by Dr. Shawarbi during a four-hour interview in his third floor office in the gray stone building that houses the Islamic Center at 1 Riverside dr.

Dr. Shawarbi, 43, is a native of Cairo and still is on the staff of Cairo University, his alma mater. He said he also holds degrees from the universities of Wales and London.

"Malcolm first came here in March," said Dr. Shawarbi in a mixed Egyptian and British accent. "I never met him before but I had heard quite a bit about him.

'Wanted to Learn'

"He told me he wanted to learn about the 'real Islam.' He said he was already a Muslim but felt there was more to it. First, I had to persuade him to give up his racist ideas. I pointed out that sometimes Arabs themselves feel they are somehow special Muslims because the Prophet Muhammad was Arab. But he warned us we will be judged by our deeds and not by our race."

Dr. Shawarbi said he and Malcolm met several times during the six weeks preceding Malcolm's trip to Mecca. Malcolm is in Africa now, expected to return to this country Wednesday.

"I have no doubt of his sincerity. During our many meetings I could not help but be impressed by his desire to learn about Islam. Sometimes he would even cry while passages of the Holy Koran were being read." Dr. Shawarbi said.

Given Royal Treatment

After he was fully convinced that Malcolm was converted, Dr. Shawarbi urged him to make the trip to Mecca. While there, Malcolm wrote that he was the guest of Crown Prince Faisal because of introductions of Dr. Shawarbi.

Malcolm was greeted by the Saudi Deputy Chief of Protocol and was given a car and driver guide to accompany him during his visit. "It was an honor that in America would be bestowed upon a King—not a Negro," Malcolm wrote.

Dr. Shawarbi appeared confident that Malcolm would abandon his call for Negroes to arm themselves and form rifle clubs. He also predicted Malcolm's political organization will grow because whites may join.

Setting a Good Example

"If he admits all people to his political movement—irrespective of color or religion—and he goes about things quietly and Islamically, I am sure it will be a very big movement.

"In this way he will be serving his whole country, his own group and his new religion and setting a good example of a true Muslim for the American people."

The interview ended when Brother James 67X, an aide of Malcolm's came in to leave a sheaf of press releases that included a recent letter from Malcolm sent from Lagos, Nigeria.

In this latest letter, Malcolm said he is warmly received in Africa "as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims. Africans in general, and Muslims in particular, love militancy."

'Long-lost Brothers'

The letter said Malcolm hoped his pilgrimage would "officially" link his organization with "750,000,000 Muslims of the World of Islam."

He said in Africa, American Negroes are considered to be "long-lost brothers of Africa." The letter ended:

"Despite western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love you, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long 'sleep' and are developing a strong love for them."

Mailing Room

A few miles away is Malcolm's headquarters on the second floor of the Theresa Hotel at 125th st. and 7th ave. Right now it is little more than a mailing room. Boxes of press releases line the walls. On a table are a few Saudi Arabian English newspapers and information brochures.

Across the hall, Muhammed Ali, who is world heavyweight boxing champion, is Cassius Clay, is planning to set up his own office. Clay would not say what effect Malcolm's breakaway from the Black Muslims would have on the movement.

"Anybody can go to Mecca," he said. "We may have lost one star but we'll get another five times as bright. Malcolm—he's still my brother—was just nationally known. I'm famous all over the world, Clay said.

Most civil rights observers here are adopting a wait and see attitude. Some predict that Clay may try to assume Malcolm's old position in the Black Muslims. Others feel that Malcolm will be just as militant when he returns this week.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
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The New Leader
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UPI-217

(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER JAMES FARMER SAID TODAY HE BELIEVES MALCOLM X, THE FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER, HAS BEEN CONVERTED FROM BLACK NATIONALISM TO INTEGRATION DURING HIS VISIT TO MECCA.

FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SAID HE BASED HIS BELIEF ON A POSTCARD HE RECEIVED FROM MALCOLM X, WHO IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO THIS COUNTRY FRIDAY OR SATURDAY.

ACCORDING TO FARMER, THE CARD SAID:

"GREETINGS FROM ARIVIA.

"I'VE JUST VISITED THE HOLY CITY OF MECCA WHERE I'VE SEEN THOUSANDS OF THOUSANDS OF PILGRIMS OF ALL COLORS WORSHIPING TOGETHER IN PERFECT PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD. IT IS A SIGHT SUCH AS I'VE NEVER SEEN IN AMERICA. IT WAS WONDERFUL TO BEHOLD."

MALCOLM X BROKE FROM THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND ORGANIZED THE BLACK NATIONALISTS. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS BELIEVE IN BLACK SUPERIORITY AND REJECT THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT.

"IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE FROM JUST ONE POSTCARD," FARMER ADMITTED. BUT HE ADDED "I THINK THAT MALCOLM X WILL JOIN THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT WHEN HE GETS BACK."

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Arrest of Malcolm X Ordered

NEW YORK, May 20 (UPI)—A traffic court judge yesterday ordered the arrest of black nationalist Malcolm X when he failed to appear for trial on a speeding violation.

Judge Kenneth Phipps signed the arrest order for the defendant after waiting more than two hours for him to appear. Malcolm X, who recently formed his own group following a rift with the Black Muslim movement, had been given a ticket March 6 on a charge of speeding on the Triboro Bridge.

The black nationalist left New York last month on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His wife said today that she expected his return in two or three days.

The defendant, charged with doing 50 miles per hour, 10 miles over the bridge speed limit, had pleaded innocent and his trial was set for today in traffic court.

A court clerk intoned the name "Malcolm X. Little" four times over a two and one-half hour period, but no one responded. Judge Phipps then signed the arrest order.

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New York Mirror
New York Daily News
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Tolson

Malcolm X and Black Nationalism

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Since his break with the Black Muslim movement, Malcolm X has continued to focus his fiery speeches on the need for more militancy in the black liberation struggle. The change in his remarks, if any, has been to emphasize still more the anti-government--the revolutionary--aspect of his position, and to begin to talk in terms of a political, more than religious, drive for black power.

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One of the key ingredients in Malcolm's call for an upsurge of black nationalism is the inevitable triumph of of the Negro masses. He effectively derides the eternal-rule attitude of the white ruling class and the fatalism of many Negro leaders who accept the white man's notion of the white man's majority forever overwhelming the black minority.

Malcolm links the U.S. Negro to the growing world movement of colored peoples against U.S. colonialism. He says, "In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see the fear in their conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually over-run the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood.... You think you outnumber the racial minority in this country; you don't outnumber us all over the earth."

The commercial white press singled out Malcolm's remarks on armed self-defense for special coverage. When Malcolm calls for black rifle clubs, the press howls with hysterical headlines designed to fan the flames of hatred of "rednecks," north and south, and to terrify southern "moderates" and northern liberals.

In an effort to frighten Negroes away from Malcolm's call for a Black Nationalist Party, the press warns demagogically that "only violence will result" from Malcolm's militancy (as if everything has been nice and peaceful for the past hundred years!). The white ruling circles have let their press run wild with plea after plea from "established" Negro leaders for "non-violence" and "responsibility."

Malcolm Little

Despite all the sensationalism and one-sided reporting, Malcolm's call for self-defense is only a part of his program, and it is not so new. Robert Williams established a rifle club and self-defense techniques in Monroe, N.C., quietly and successfully defending the Negro community there against Ku Klux Klan attacks (until the combined assault from southern racists and the FBI succeeded in driving Williams to exile in Cuba).

Birmingham Negroes, too, fed up with the slow pace and no-pace of progress and beginning to recognize the collusion of the federal government with the Dixiecrats, resorted to armed defense to protect their lives and homes. Recent demonstrations in Maryland and Nashville, Tenn. have also seen Negroes fight back--although in a limited way--against police terror.

The press is obviously trying to create an hysterical reaction to Malcolm's words in an effort to frighten the black masses and stop the growth of the self-defense trend. But the headlines may boomerang as more black men and women learn about Malcolm's call to stand up and fight

Especially significant in Malcolm's arsenal is his often clear estimate of the federal government and its alliance with the Dixiecrats. Referring to the control that the Dixiecrats hold over Congress and the White House, he says, "In fact, when you see how many of the committeemen are from the south, you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D. C. And their head is a cracker President."

On nationalism, he says: "My philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black national-

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ism, my social philosophy is black nationalism... to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and politicians of our own community.... We should gain complete economic control over the economy of our community, the businesses and other things that create employment, so that we can provide employment for our own people, instead of having to picket and boycott and beg other people for a job."

These words, while militant, nonetheless raise as many questions as they answer: Who does Malcom mean when he says "We should gain complete economic control?" And what kind of economic system does Malcolm propose to control? Would he simply substitute black bosses for white--or does he propose that power be put in the hands of black workers? Or doesn't he distinguish between black workers and black bosses? In his criticisms of those who "picket and boycott and beg...for a job," does Malcolm reject pickets and boycotts as tactics? In the months ahead, he will have to answer these questions, among others, if he is to win active mass support.

But Malcolm's grasp of the role of the federal government stands in sharp contrast to other Negro leaders who still preach reliance on the "cracker" in Washington, and the hope that somehow the federal government will be pushed into making important concessions. Malcolm's call for black political power, although vague, is in contrast to those integrationists who see ending oppression within the confines of the white man's capitalist economy.

However, Malcolm is not the only black leader to put forward this new attitude in recent months. Many Negro leaders are coming to grips with the failure of the integration movement to win anything from the federal government except platitudes and jail sentences. Many are coming to see that the so-called civil rights bill, bogged down in a filibuster, is actually a giant fraud, both in what it says (or doesn't say) and in the way it's being used as a political football.

This new approach is reflected by the forces around Gloria Richardson in Cambridge, Md., Stanley Branche and the Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa., Lawrence Landry in Chicago, the "ad hockers" in San Francisco (see last month's PL), and the Brooklyn CORE rebels and Rev. Milton Galamison in New York. While these forces are not all the same and the leaders are not all of equal ability or consistency, they share many of the above-mentioned attitudes, as does Malcolm X.

The unification of all such forces around a clear program would be a big blow against the ruling class, and an uplift to the entire black freedom movement. The recent formation in Washington of an organization called ACT, under the chairmanship of Landry and with the participation of most of the above-mentioned forces as well as some SNCC leaders, could be a big step in the direction of that unity.

In this regard, Malcolm X's position is not clear. How for example, will he reconcile the desire and ability of the Negro masses to act now with his perspectives for self-determination? (he reconcile his opposition to integration with his verbal support for militant integrationists and his participation in ACT?

Malcolm's statement that he will be the black man's Billy Graham seems to put him at odds with some form of mass action to secure the black revolution of which he speaks. Surely Malcolm himself doesn't believe independent black power, political or economic, can be preached into being.

At this point, Malcolm's main pitch is towards the ballot. He says the only way to avoid a violent revolution is by the ballot: "Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro... were given what the Constitution says he's supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all the racists and segregationists out of office.... It would wipe out the southern segregationists that now control America's foreign policy as well as America's domestic policy.... The black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

(Perhaps it is the smell of the ballot that has brought Adam Clayton Powell to the edges of Malcolm's activities. Or perhaps it is Powell's assignment from the power structure to use his demagogy to guarantee that the nationalist movement becomes nothing more than an appendage to the electoral system.)

In the final analysis, Malcolm's policies will be tested by deeds and by the ability of black nationalism to attract large numbers of Negro workers, a feat so far unachieved by the integration movement, or by existing nationalist groups.

To accomplish this, Malcolm will have to develop and explain his identification with the world-wide anti-imperialist front, a large part of which has transcended nationalism and adopted internationalism and the class outlook that goes with it. Moreover, he, together with others, will have to demonstrate the concrete advantages of black nationalism at home and organize masses of black workers to fight the white rulers (this implies a certain amount of differentiation between white rulers and white masses)—the only kind of fight which will lead to freedom.

The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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UPI-173

(MALCOLM X)

CHICAGO--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY NEGROES HAVE REACHED "A POINT OF NO RETURN" IN RELATIONS WITH WHITES AND "IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE" THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN WIDESPREAD RACIAL VIOLENCE.

MALCOLM X TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THAT NEGROES WILL TURN TO VIOLENCE WHEN A "POINT OF NO RETURN" IS REACHED. HE SAID THEY HAVE ALREADY REACHED THAT POINT.

"WHITE PEOPLE ARE BEING MIGHTY NAIVE IF THEY THINK BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE," HE SAID. "IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE THAT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE HAS NOT BROKEN OUT."

HE SAID MORE AMERICAN NEGROES WOULD MOVE TO AFRICA IF THEY KNEW WHAT CONDITIONS WERE LIKE ON THAT CONTINENT. HE SAID HE WAS WARMLY RECEIVED ON A FIVE-WEEK TOUR OF GHANA, NIGERIA AND OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS.

"IF THERE WERE A LARGER NUMBER OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHO HAD THE CORRECT PICTURE OF AFRICA, THERE WOULD BE MANY MORE GOING BACK," HE SAID. "IF THEY SAW THE INTEREST BY AMERICAN WHITES IN AFRICA, THEY WOULD WANT TO GO BACK."

MALCOLM X QUOTED SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS, D-ILL., AS SAYING AFRICANS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE STRUGGLES OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

"THE SENATOR HAS BEEN VERY MUCH MISINFORMED, VERY MUCH MISTAKEN ON THIS PARTICULAR POINT," HE SAID.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Miss Gandy

Malcolm X Suggests Putting Negro Problem To The UN

By Ronald G. Berquist

Malcolm X, who calls himself a minister of Islam, offered Saturday night a new series of solutions for racial problems in the United States.

During a debate in the Opera House with Negro author Louis Lomax, Malcolm had these suggestions:

1 Problems of racial tension in the country should be taken before the United Nations.

2 American Negroes should consider Pan-Africanism and strengthen their cultural and philosophical ties with the African continent.

3 The American Negro should be prepared to abandon the "leaking boat" of his current state.

A Separate State?

Whether this last item means a separate state for the Negro as Malcolm X once advocated while still with the Black Muslims' Elijah Muhammad was unexplained.

However, earlier in the debate, moderated by Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet, he disavowed any such thing.

Putting it in a still vaguer reference, he said:

"We do not want integration nor do we want separation. The program should be designed to preserve our human rights."

'I'm Not A Racist'

Before leaving Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X sided with his superior's racist view.

Moving in the direction of moderation, Malcolm X told some 2,000 persons at the debate:

"I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of one race. I'm not a racist and I do not subscribe to the tenets of racism."

An International View

He said that the problem of the American Negro should be taken out of the realm of civil rights and placed in the international sphere.

By that he meant associating the aspirations of the American Negro with other minority groups of the world.

"Our people look beyond national boundaries," he said. "In the context of the world, we are in the majority and not in the minority."

No Clear-Cut Way

Malcolm X appeared to offer no clear-cut means by

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CHICAGO SUNDAY SUN-TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5/24/64
Edition: FOUR-STAR FINAL
Author: RONALD G. BERQUI
Editor: JOHN G. TREZEVANT
Title:
MALCOLM X.
Character:
or
Classification: 100-33593
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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During debate at Opera House, Malcolm X (left) speaks as Louis Lomax (right) listens. Moderating the expression of views is Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet (center). (Sun-Times Photo)

which the American Negro can assert and preserve his human rights.

Nor did Lomax, a former professor of philosophy at Georgia State University and the author of books on racial problems, have anything more concrete in this respect.

From that point of view, the debate was a draw.

'Bound Together'—Lomax

Lomax, however, made these points:

"The American Negro and the white man are bound together in the American experience. Separation would destroy each. There is no other alternative for any of us but to live together.

"However, the white man in America has done wrong for so long, he now believes it is right to do wrong.

"But I'm not going to separate from the white man . . . I'm going to engage him and I'm going to win."

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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NEGROES: TAKE PLIGHT TO U. N. —MALCOLM X

Malcolm X, former No. 2 Black Muslim leader, proposed here last night that the American Negro place his plight before the United Nations. He made his proposal in a debate with Louis E. Lomax, former assistant professor of philosophy at Georgia State university, in the Civic Opera house.

Malcolm X, who was expelled from the Black Muslim sect for extremist statements, recently returned from a five-week visit to Africa and the middle east. He said he had been assured that African nations that are members of the U. N. would support the American Negroes' cause.

Malcolm urged action this year to avoid what he said would become guerrilla warfare similar to that in Laos and Viet Nam.

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5 CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-24-64
Edition: CITY TWO-STAR
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Editor: W. D. MAXWELL
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Character: 100-33593
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MALCOLM X SPEAKS:

b7C 'Guerrilla Warfare Is Ne...

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

Malcolm X sat in a Harlem restaurant and spooned up a banana split as he talked about reciprocal dying, guerrilla fighting, revolution and his new Pan African organization.

Malcolm, the former chief spokesman for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, a black supremacist sect, said he has discarded the unyielding "hate white" philosophy of that group.

His conversation, however, indicated that he still regards the white man as the Negroes' No. 1 enemy and that his future course will be to fight that enemy with every ounce of his energy.

"I reserve the right to do whatever, wherever, whenever and however is necessary to get results," he said. He was not smiling.

No "metamorphosis" resulted from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm said. He remains inflamed over the American Negro's condition and thinks only a revolution will correct it.

Freedom for Negroes

"Take a duck, for example," Malcolm said. "Ducks can't lay chicken eggs unless a revolutionary change makes it possible for them to do it. When you have a political system which is not capable of producing freedom for Negroes because it was founded to produce freedom for whites, then you must change it and you don't change it by getting on your knees and singing "We Shall Overcome" for 100 years."

His political group, separate from his exclusively-black Muslim Mosque, Inc., so that it can attract other black peoples as well as American Negroes, will not advocate, nor will it initiate violence, Malcolm promised.

"The last thing the Negro wants to do is violence, but he must protect himself," Malcolm said. "When you start talking freedom, you have to talk about dying a little, too. Reciprocal dying, I mean. When a black man dies, a white man should die. Suffering is all right and non-violence is all right, too, as long as they are reciprocal."

Malcolm insisted that Negroes "should form vigilante committees, Mau Mau . . . anything to protect themselves." He said "people aren't using much foresight if they don't see guerrilla warfare as the next step in the civil rights struggle." There are evidences of this in Cambridge, Md., "where Negroes shot a Negro National Guardsman," Malcolm said.

MALCOLM X

Devil and Double Devil

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm was known to view all whites as "devils." Now after a 12-day visit to the world of Islam, he said he is convinced that "blacks and whites" can solve their problems amiably if they approach them in a spirit of "brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins."

As a result of this tempering, he still speaks of devils, but in this fashion:

"Anyone . . . mind you, I am saying anyone . . . who overtly, intentionally, and knowingly deprives another man of his human right is a devil. I said anyone who does this is a devil. And, if he consciously, knowingly and intentionally deprives the man of knowledge that will enable him to correct his condition, he is a double devil. And this devil has to go."

The Afro-American Freedom Fighters, Malcolm's new political group, is envisioned by him as the vehicle which will exterminate the "devil" that haunts him. It also is the organization Malcolm hopes will link the American Negro's cause with the independence drives of African nations.

Take Fight Before U. N.

"You have never heard of a Negro organization with the word fighter in it, have you?" Malcolm asked. "The first aim of the AAFF will be to lay the groundwork to get the American Negro's case before the United Nations to make it an international issue. I want to take the whole Negro struggle to the Human Rights Commission of the U. N. and charge the United States with the same thing as South Africa and Portugal are charged with there."

Forces like the Algerian Freedom Fighters and the Mau Mau "were people trying to throw off the yoke of colonialism . . . and this is the task facing the American Negro," Malcolm said.

Malcolm, who became a Black

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MALCOLM X

Negroes Urged to Serve As 'Freedom Fighters'

Continued From Page A-1

Muslim while he was in prison in 1948, said he has no idea how many followers he will attract to his mosque or Freedom Fighter organization, both headquartered in Harlem.

Having just returned from Algiers, he said he must work to create an organization that will follow the tenets of Islam in "the best way we can in a Western and highly mechanized society."

Sees Mosque Prospering

Malcolm is confident his mosque will prosper. He will attract converts as well as defectors from the Black Muslims, he predicted.

"Many are leaving the Black Muslim movement, especially the militant and young ones who have gone out because of the lack of activity," Malcolm said. "When I entered the Nation of Islam in 1952 in Detroit, there were not over 400 active Muslims following Mr. Muhammed and he had 10 mosques. By 1962 . . . now, I don't want to sound like I'm bragging . . . no one could count the number of his followers."

Claiming "there's no way of telling" how many followers he has now. Malcolm said: "I've gotten calls for help in organizing Muslims in other cities—Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and Los Angeles."

He said he wasn't worried about financial support. "We are scratching," is the way he described his money situation. "I don't have any expensive habits. I never have met a true revolutionary who worried about money."

The desire and willingness to cooperate with other civil rights organizations, Malcolm said, is the major difference between his present group and his Black Muslim affiliation.

"In the Black Muslims I belonged to an organization which stressed moral reformation but never took part in politics, the civil rights struggle or the Negro revolt," he recalled. "Now in our Muslim Mosque, we will keep religion in the mosque because we don't want to involve it directly in the struggle. Through our Freedom Fighters, we will work with any organization in any way desirable to attack the political, economic or social evils that affect Negroes."

Pan African Movement

The traditional rights groups such as the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE shunned Malcolm X when he was a Black Muslim. He expects them to change this posture now. This is one reason he will work hard to create a strong Pan African movement. No Negro leader could afford to ignore such a group, he said.

The Freedom Fighters, Malcolm emphasized, won't encourage the physical return of Negroes to Africa.

"We will work for a psychological, cultural and social migration to Africa," he said. "The Jews in America have benefited from such a migration to Israel which automatically enchanced their prestige right here in America. If the Negro in this country was to become involved in a similar way, the common bond that would exist between the African and us would automatically put us in a stronger political, economic and social position in this country."

As Malcolm talked and answered questions for about two hours in the 22 Restaurant on 135th street between Fifth and Lenox avenues, about 10 men, apparently his followers, entered and sat in various booths. He greeted each as "brother" with a smile, a quick handshake or a slight nod of his head. Malcolm sported a closely cropped beard he grew while traveling abroad.

Why He Left Black Muslims

Why did he leave the Black Muslims?

Carefully avoiding any derogatory remarks about Mr. Muhammed, Malcolm explained that he was "forced out" of the group by a combination of things that included his personal disillusionment with the enforcement of the sect's moral code.

"As long as I thought the Black Muslims represented moral reformation, I represented them. When I saw differently I left them," said Malcolm, who celebrated his 39th birthday while visiting in Algeria on May 19. He, his wife and three children, live in Queens, not far from the New York World's Fair.

The fact that he had been told that the Black Muslim nation "was not teaching orthodox Islam, and that we had strayed 100 per cent from the path," whetted Malcolm's appetite for understanding "Islam as it really was," Malcolm said.

Quest of Prince Faisal

He contacted Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, deputy director of the Islamic Center of New York and director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

Mr. Shawarbi, he said, opened his eyes to brotherhood and tolerance between persons of different races. He gave him a letter of introduction which opened many doors for him during his pilgrimage, Malcolm said.

While in Jedda, Saudi Arabia, Malcolm said, he was a state guest of Prince Faisal, who supplied him with transportation and a religious guide. He visited Mecca and Medina at will, wearing the native clothing and performing all the requirements of the religion.

On the way home, Malcolm visited Beirut, Cairo, Nigeria and Ghana. His speeches, especially in Ghana and Nigeria, attacked America's racial ills. He said he sought the aid of the Africans to get America's racial problems before the United Nations.

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FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Mr. Callahan
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Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Tavel
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Cops Arrest Malcolm X Men Threatening Harlem Muslims

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Armed with two rifles, six followers of Malcolm X drove up to the Harlem Mosque of the rival Black Muslims last night.

About 35 Black Muslims menaced the gunmen, but police arrived in time to prevent bloodshed.

The six, arrested for violating the weapons law, were described as former Black Muslims who switched to the Negro nationalist movement formed by Malcolm X after he left the Muslim fold.

Malcolm was leader of the Harlem Mosque until Elijah Muhammad, national head of the Black Muslims, suspended him last December for remarks he made about the assassination of President Kennedy.

Informed sources said the real reason for the suspension was a personal feud between the two leaders.

Subsequently, the New York mosque began eviction proceedings to oust Malcolm from the home it had given him at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst. But Malcolm refused to move.

Charges Threat

At a hearing on the eviction case this week, Malcolm charged the Black Muslims were out to kill him.

Last night, police said, six of his followers tried to phone him but received no answer. Fearing something had happened to him, they armed themselves with the rifles and drove to his Queens house. There, Malcolm assured them he was in no trouble.

The six then drove to Muslim Mosque No. 7—also called Muhammad Temple or Islam—at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. As

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 6/17/64
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM- NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

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they got out of their car, 35 Muslims poured from the mosque and its ground-floor restaurant.

Improvised Weapons

The Muslims armed themselves with sticks, rocks and other improvised weapons. One of Malcolm's men, identified by police as William George, 35, of 115 W. 118th St., loaded his carbine with a clip of 30 shells. Someone called police.

As a sergeant and two patrolmen arrived in a radio car, the six men jumped in their auto and started to drive away. Other police converged on the scene and captured them. In addition to the weapons charge, George was booked for felonious assault.

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Miss Gandy

Malcolm X, 'Angriest Muslim,' Changes Mind

By BRYCE B. MILLER

Until a few months ago Malcolm X, known as the "angriest Black Muslim" of them all, went about the country preaching the cult's message of "hate-all-whites" and complete segregation—of a separate black state somewhere in the United States.

For 12 years he was chief lieutenant for Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult, and its chief spokesman. He whipped audiences of Negroes to a fever pitch against "white devils" and the Christians he claimed gave him his light coffee color by raping his grandmother.

"I rejoice when a white man dies," he would say, his face contorted with hate.

Quotes Axiom

On President Kennedy's assassination he described himself as a farmboy "who had always believed in chickens coming home to roost."

It was shortly after that statement that Malcolm X was expelled from the Muslims, although he claims the real reason was a "moral crisis" that he could not live with.

But what has gone generally unnoticed is that this forceful and eloquent man has done a complete about-face on the question of separation of the races and is now preaching to his fellow Negroes a message of "brotherhood" with the whites.

It still is a militant and even violent message. But the hate-all-whites doctrine that once marked his every word is no longer there.

In an interview he explained why he has rejected the teachings of Muhammad and is now preaching coexistence with whites to his followers.

Admits About-Face

"I have done a complete about-face and I'm man enough to admit it . . . even if it makes me look ridiculous in the eyes of the world," Malcolm X said yesterday.

"The only reason some people might think my about-face is ridiculous is my inability to bring to the eye of the public the main ingredient—it is of such a nature that it can't be brought into public before it is brought into court.

"There was a moral crisis involved.

"When I lost my confidence in Muhammad as a person, I began to re-examine his philosophy, perhaps objectively for the first time, and his doctrine—his entire organization and behavior pattern.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

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Date: 7/3/64
Edition: METRO
Author: BRYCE B. MILLER
Editor: RICHARD D. PETER
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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Malcolm X Gets Guard

NEW YORK, July 4 (UPI)—Police were keeping the home of black nationalist leader Malcolm X under surveillance today after a reported attempt on his life.

Malcolm X told police two members of the Black Muslims tried to attack him near his home in Queens last night.

Malcolm X had been the New York leader of the Black Muslim movement until his split with Elijah Muhammad several months ago.

There have been a number of incidents between the two groups in recent weeks that have resulted in the arrests of several persons, police said.

Malcolm X said two men "came out of nowhere" when he left his home last night to move his car. He said they tried to force their way into the car, but he locked the doors and quickly drove off.

He said he drove around the block and back to the house, ran in and grabbed a rifle.

"I have weapons I would use without hesitation," he said. "But I would hate to use them against Muslim brothers who are just dupes of Elijah Muhammad."

Elijah Muhammad preaches separation of the races. Malcolm X, after a visit to the Moslem holy city of Mecca, made an about-face on the racial issue and now preaches that Negroes and whites should cooperate.

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"He teaches hate and offers something that is unobtainable. I believe the black man needs something more. I try to show my followers how they can get something more.

Rejects Separation

"We don't believe in any of Muhammad's philosophy of separation. We believe the Afro-American should have his full part in the entire American experience," he continued.

Only a few months ago, on March 17, 1964, a young Negro writer from South Africa, Lewis Nkosi, wrote for the London Observer:

"Malcolm X is the only black man in America whose face I have watcher turn radiant with hate against the white people."

Malcolm X still hates. But his hate has shifted from the entire white race to the "white racists."

He made it clear that his followers are being taught only to hate "oppression, segregation and injustice which some white people practice."

'Not All Bad'

"We realize that all white people are not bad," he said.

"Elijah Muhammad taught that the whole white race was a race of devils. When I went to the holy city of Mecca (earlier this year) I found white men walking arm and arm with black men. I wrote back to that effect and it infuriated Muhammad. He was in a rage."

When Malcolm X left the Black Muslims, many followed him into what he called the Black Nationalist Movement. It weakened Muhammad's position and authority.

Last Sunday, while Elijah Muhammad was speaking in Harlem, Malcolm X held an organizational meeting of a new group to be called the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Another meeting will be held this Sunday to announce the objectives of the organization. It is designed as a "grass-roots" movement drawing its membership from all strata of America's 22-million Negroes.

A Replacement

The OAAU will replace the Black Nationalist Movement. Malcolm X has been named its chairman.

"When I formed the Black Nationalists, I said at that time we would encourage students across the country to undertake a new analysis of the problem and come up with a solution or organizational structure that would enable us to work on the problem," Malcolm X said.

"We formed a brain trust of intellectuals, celebrities and students—sat down for four weeks almost in secret and discussed this thing. All the ingredients ended up . . . by forming the OAAU which is political, economical and social.

"For the Afro-American to control his own destiny, he must control the decisions that affect his destiny."

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Malcolm X Warns Police Of Tactics, Says Harlem Negroes Are Armed

CAIRO, Egypt (NPI) — Black nationalist leader Malcolm X declared here last week that Negroes in New York's Harlem district are the best armed Negroes in the world, and warned that there could be a racial explosion unless the police change their tactics in dealing with them.

Malcolm X, attending the summit conference of African leaders here, advocated recently that Negroes, in the South in particular, arm themselves against attacks by racists.

Commenting on news of the Harlem riots, Malcolm X indirectly blamed the scare tactics, used by the police, on Commissioner Michael Murphy. He said:

"I am surprised that the trouble has been contained to the degree it has. Until two years ago, New York City used wiser methods than any other city to deal with racial problems.

"But under police Commissioner Murphy, for some reason, tactics have changed. Now it is a case of outright scare tactics. This won't work because the Negro is not afraid. If the tactics are not changed, this could escalate into something very, very serious."

Alluding to Negroes being armed, Malcolm X said:

"There are probably more armed Negroes in Harlem than in any spot on earth. If the people who are armed got involved in this, you can bet they'll really have something on their hands."

After drawing a 90-day suspension for ridiculing the assasination of President John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X left the Black Muslim organization headed by "The Honorable" Elijah Muhammad a few months ago to found his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., group.

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2 THE NEW CRUSADER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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INSIDE LABOR

Malcolm X, Calling For Violence,
Meets with Communists in Cairo

By Victor Riesel

Cairo, United Arab Republic: -- Malcolm X, whom the Chinese Communists call the "Chairman of the Afro-American Unity Organization," spent a considerable amount of his time in the presence of international Communist propagandists here.

Not only did he endorse the rioting back home, but he publicly called for retaliation against the white community. He said the time had come to meet "violence with violence; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

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He prepared a series of inflammatory anti-U.S. documents here on the pretext of presenting them to the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and it was reported across the world that he attended the conference. This is nonsense. He did not get near the parley. He was not accredited to it.

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Streets were roped off. Hotels which the heads of states and foreign ministers occupied were cleared of all but official guests. Only those with special blue cards and lapel badges, which were changed daily, were able to get anywhere near the conference area. All but the short formal opening session were executive meetings.

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I was at that session. I talked later with several heads of state--many of them old friends whom I had helped in the U.S. when they were in exile. They are now amongst America's best friends in Africa.

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Malcolm X was not at any of the conference sessions. I was informed that it "is ridiculous" and "undignified" to think for a moment that anyone such as Malcolm X would be heard by the African counterpart of the Organization of American States.

Malcolm X's activity here was strictly a propaganda operation which he set up at the Hotel Semiramis, where some newsmen gathered. He made certain that his violent anti-U.S. diatribes were put in the hands of the Chinese Communist correspondents planted here by the New China News Agency.

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But when Malcolm X wanted to be with his pro-Communist friends he came over to the Hotel Omar Khayam (on Zamalik, an island in the middle of Cairo), a former palace. I vouch for this personally. I was there when he met Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late Dr. W. E. DuBois, in the lobby. When the aged Dr. DuBois died recently, he was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and had switched his citizenship to Ghana.

The Hotel Omar Khayam was also the headquarters of the violently anti-U.S., pro-Communist Ghanaian delegation to the African States' conference. On Thursday, July 16 Malcolm X and his frequent companion, Mrs. DuBois, met for hours in the garden restaurant of the hotel.

Mrs. DuBois and her late husband, one of the most active of Negro Communist leaders in the U.S., spent much time in Peking. They were frequent guests of Mao Tse-tung himself. Dr. DuBois delivered many anti-U.S. speeches which were broadcast across the world by the powerful Chinese mainland radio.

Mrs. DuBois has long been active in world Communist circles. Her background is important here to show the strange inter-weaving of characters now attempting to infiltrate and agitate the Negro communities of the U.S.

Mrs. DuBois knew the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raoul, in Mexico as far back as the late forties. She now is associated with the pro-communist "Freedomways," a publication allegedly devoted to the Negroes.

In the past few years she has been a prolific writer in defense of the pro-Communist dictatorial state of Ghana.

She even praised the appointment of a convicted British spy as the head of the dept. of physics at the comparatively new University of Ghana. The spy, who served a long prison term in England, is Dr. Alan Nunn May, once a member of the most secret British atomic research agency.

--MORE--

Intelligence agent of several countries now are e er to learn just how Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X made contact with such Communist activists as Mrs. DuBois. Of considerable interest is the source of Malcolm X's funds now that the Muslims under Elijah Muhammad have declared war on him.

Malcolm X has been making expensive and extensive trips across Africa. I ran into his trail in several cities--especially in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered speeches so anti-U.S., so incendiary, that they could be printed only on asbestos.

It is also being noticed that the Chinese Communist broadcasts have been featuring him and his splinter sect.

Why?

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Malcolm X

Organization of Afro-American Unity

SET up this year, the Organization of Afro-American Unity is a local organization headed by Malcolm X, former Eastern representative of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims . . . Malcolm, 38, is a resident of Flushing, Queens . . . When Malcolm broke with Mr. Muhammad, he organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Theresa Hotel . . . On this following he set up the Afro-American organization as a broadly based nonsectarian movement . . . Malcolm seeks to recruit Negro intellectuals and professionals who cannot accept Islam but favor separation of the races in the United States as a solution to the problems of race relations . . . In recent visit to Cairo, Malcolm circulated an appeal to delegates of 34 African nations asking them to raise the issue of prejudice against the Negroes in the United States before the United Nations . . . In that message, he asserted the "right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors."

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
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The Worker
The New Leader
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Malcolm X in Cairo Urges African Aid to U. S. Negroes

[On July 17, Malcolm X, militant U.S. black nationalist leader, addressed the conference of the Organization of African Unity, under whose auspices 33 heads of independent African states met in Cairo, United Arab Republic. He urged the African nations to take the plight of black Americans to the UN. The following are excerpts from his speech to the conference.]

We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and, like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

We were taken forcibly in chains from this mother continent and have now spent over 300 years in America, suffering the most inhuman forms of physical and psychological tortures imaginable.

During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high-pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

And, all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American governmental authorities, the police, themselves, for no reason than that we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America . . .

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times

Malcolm X

when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And, if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a *domestic* issue.

Many of you have been led to believe that the much publicized, recently passed Civil Rights Bill is a sign that America is making a sincere effort to correct the injustices we have suffered there. This propaganda manuever is part of her deceit and trickery to keep the African Nations from condemning her racist practices before the United Nations, as you are now doing as regards the same practices of South Africa.

High Court Decision

The United States Supreme Court passed a law ten years ago making America's segregated school system illegal. But the Federal Government has yet to enforce this law even in the North. If the Federal Government cannot enforce the law of the highest court in the land, when it comes to nothing but equal rights to education for Afro-Americans, how can anyone be so naive as to think all the additional laws brought into being by the Civil Rights Bill will be enforced? . . .

Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning-the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are . . .

In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights . . .

"No one knows the master better than his servant." We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "Uncle Sam." Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, "friendly" American dollarism.

The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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"The Militant"
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UPI-86
(MALCOLM X)
CHICAGO--MALCOLM X WAS QUOTED TODAY AS SAYING "THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT WILL CRUMBLE BECAUSE THE ORGANIZATION IS HELD TOGETHER BY COERCION, BY A GESTAPO-TYPE POLICE FORCE WITHIN ITS OWN RANKS.
MALCOLM X, A FORMER LEADER IN THE BLACK MUSLIM ORGANIZATION, SAID IT IS NOT TRUE, AS HAS BEEN REPORTED, THAT HE WAS OUSTED FROM IT BECAUSE OF DISPARAGING REMARKS ABOUT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION.
"THE REAL REASON", HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF EBONY MAGAZINE, WAS JEALOUSY OF MY GROWING INFLUENCE AND MY OBJECTINS TO A BREAKDOWN OF MORALITY."
MALCOLM X SAID THE ORGANIZATION HE FORMED AFTER HIS SEVERENCE WITH THE BLACK MUSLIMS IS NOT OPEN TO CAUCAUSIANS.
"IF JOHN BROWN WERE STILL ALIVE," HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WE MIGHT ACCEPT HIM."
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Malcolm X Sees End of Muslims

CHICAGO, Aug. 29 (AP). — Malcolm X predicts the Black Muslim organization, to which he once belonged, will crumble.

"The organization is held together by coercion, by a Gestapo-type police force within its own ranks," he is quoted as saying in the September issue of Ebony, a Negro monthly magazine.

Malcolm X quit the Black Muslims after differences with sect leader Elijah Muhammad and formed his own Black Nationalist movement.

The magazine says he has mellowed to the point where he no longer hates all whites, although he still doesn't want them in his group.

By the same token, Malcolm says he has no use for non-violent Negroes. "If you show me a non-violent Negro, I'll show you a Negro whose reflexes don't work, one who needs psychiatric care," he stated.

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Malcolm K. Little

Judge Tells Y Malcolm Home Isn't Xactly His

If Malcolm X, militant Negro nationalist, doesn't come home soon from his racial politicking in Egypt, he won't find any home to return to.

Queens Civil Court Judge Maurice Wahl yesterday ordered him to give up the six-room $16,200 home at 23-11 97th St., Elmhurst, which he has held since late 1959.

Rules It Muslim Property

Wahl's decision was given on evidence taken at a trial June 16-17 in which the Black Muslims of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, Inc., sought Malcolm's eviction. Judge Wahl held that the property clearly belonged to the temple, which had bought it as a residence or parsonage for Malcolm, as East Coast Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm lost his right to remain the judge ruled, when he left the Muslims and formed a new cult.

What Caused the Split

Malcolm—legal name Malcolm X Little—parted with the Muslims after Elijah Muhammad, leader of the movement, suspended him last December because of a speech in which termed the assassination of President Kennedy a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Judge Wahl stayed execution of his ruling until Jan. 31 to give Malcolm time to find a new home for his wife and four children.

Percy Sutton, Malcolm's attorney, announced he would appeal.

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Around the Nation:

Malcolm X-pelled

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, the erstwhile leader of the Black Muslim sect, must vacate his $16,000 parsonage in Queens, a civil court judge ruled.

The court found that the house had been purchased by the Temple of Islam Inc. as a parsonage before Malcolm X was ousted as Black Muslim leader, and that the house rightfully belongs to the organization.

Attorneys for Malcolm X, currently in Egypt, said they would appeal.

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Malcolm X Hits Both Goldwater And Johnson

Malcolm X, the militant black nationalist leader, has publicly declared that he will not vote for either Goldwater or Johnson in the coming presidential election.

This statement, along with other views on the current election campaign, appears in a lengthy article, entitled "I'm Talking to You, White Man," in the Sept. 12 *Saturday Evening Post*. The article consists of excerpts from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley and Malcolm X which is soon to be released by Doubleday & Co.

"Johnson and Goldwater," Malcolm X writes, "I feel that as far as the American black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. 'Conservatism' is only meaning 'Let's keep the niggers in their place,' and 'Liberalism' is meaning 'Let's keep the *niggrows* in their place, but tell them we'll treat them a little better. Let's fool them more, with more promises.' Since these are the choices, the black man in America, I think, only needs to pick which one he chooses to be eaten by, because they both will eat him."

Goldwater, Malcolm writes, "isn't another liberal just trying to please both racists and integrationists, smiling at one, and whispering to the other. Goldwater flatly tells the black man he's not for the black man." After comparing the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, Malcolm concludes: "I wouldn't put myself in the position of voting for either one, or of recommending to any black man to do so."

Malcolm X

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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page 8

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MALCOLM REJECTS RACIST DOCTRINE

Also Denounces Elijah as a Religious 'Faker'

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By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of black racism and denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm said he had embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in [Elijah Muhammad] even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad, who advocates black separatism, earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam—ranking scholars of Islam—and working with the Muslim World League.

A 'Strait-Jacket World'

In his letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudo religious philosophy that he preaches. But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason.

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did. If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of True Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

All Men Brothers

Malcolm continued:

"I declare em "I declare emphatically that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait jacket,' and I don't intend to replace h[illegible] with one woven by s[illegible] e. e. I am a Muslim in the n[illegible] orthodox sense; my religion [illegible] Islam, as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the Holy City of Mecca."

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind. I totally reject Elijjah Muhammad's racist philosophy, which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he was neither anti - American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man who was trying to weigh everything objectively.

Vows Belief in Allah

He said he was "fed up with strait-jacket societies.'"

"I respect every mans right to believe whatever his intelligence leads him to believe is intellectually sound," Malcolm said, "and I respect my right to believe likewise."

After reaffirming his belief in Allah as the Supreme Being and in the Prophet Mohammed, Malcolm said, "yet some of my dearest friends are Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, agnostics, and even atheists—some are capitalists, Socialists, and Communists—some are moderates, conservatives, extremists—some are even Uncle Toms.'

"It takes all these religious, political, economic, psychological and racial ingredients," he said, "to make the Human Family and the Human Society complete."

Turning to the racial situation in the United States, Malcolm said, "no one has to stir up the Negroes," and that the "sociological dynamite" stemming from unemployment, bad housing and inferior education existed in American society."

Asks 'Meaningful Actions'

"It takes no one to set it off . . . Putting the bl[illegible]me on me and other militants will never decrease nor stop these racial explosions tdoay. Nothing will stop [them] but real meaningful actions, sincerely motivated by a deep sense of humanism and moral responsibility to remove once and for the very basic causes that produce the 'materials' for these explosive conditions.

"We must forget politics and propaganda and approach this as a Human Problem which all of us as human beings are obligated to correct. The well meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also [illegible] equal responsibilities."

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'I Want To Undo My Wrongs' — Malcolm X

The New York Times

NEW YORK — Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of racism and has denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm X said he has embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him (Muhammad) even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

The erstwhile national spokesman of the Black Muslim movement broke with Elijah Muhammad earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian Nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam and working with the Muslim World League.

In a letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket-world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudoreligious philosophy that he preaches.

"But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason.

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did.

"If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of true Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

"I declare emphatically," Malcolm continued, "that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait-jacket,' and I don't intend to replace his with one woven by someone else. I am a Muslim in the most orthodox sense; my religion is Islam as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the holy city of Mecca.

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind.

"I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist-philosophy which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else, for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelistic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he is not anti-American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man trying to weigh everything objectively.

MALCOLM X

pg 16A
The Miami News
Miami, Fla.
10/4/64

Submitted by Miami Office

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Mr. Trotter
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Gregory Sees Malcolm X Rise

TUCSON (AP)—Dick Gregory, Negro comedian and civil rights worker, said last night at a Tucson Press Club forum Malcom X is America's No. 1 strong man, and he will be even stronger when he returns to the United States from visiting Middle East nations.

Gregory, on a 30-day tour of the United States, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, said he was happy CORE and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were having a feud.

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PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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MALCOLM CLAIMS NEW MUSLIM ROLE

13

Reports World League Has Authorized Center Here

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a friend here, in a letter sent from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that the World Muslim League has designated him an official representative in the United States, with authority to open a Muslim Center in New York.

Malcolm, former national spokesman of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, broke earlier this year with Elijah Muhammad, the head of the movement. He said he had renounced racism in any form, and denounced Elijah Muhammad as a religious "faker."

In his letter of Sept. 23 announcing his designation by the World Muslim League, Malcolm said the Secretary General of the supreme religious body in the Muslim world had promised to send him authorized teachers and to provide 15 scholarships for study at the Islamic University in Medina, Saudi Arabia.

Malcolm reported that he had worked all summer and into the fall at the headquarters of the World Muslim League to prepare himself for his new role as a Muslim evangelist in the United States.

Certified by Document

A document dated Sept. 9, a photostat of which was received here, certified Malcolm as a true member of the Muslim faith. Among other things, the document, signed by the Rector of Al-Azhar, stipulated that "it is his [Malcolm's] duty to propagate Islam and offer every available assistance and facilities to those who wish conversion to Islam."

The World Muslim League is not the same as the Arab League, a political organization of Arab states. The World Muslim League, Malcolm wrote, was founded in Mecca, May 18-20, 1962, and is governed by a constitutent council of 23 grand imams, the leading religious teachers in the Muslim world.

The Secretary General with whom Malcolm is working was identified as Sheik Muhammad Sarur Al-Sabban. Malcolm described him in the following terms:

"He is a tall, thin, ebony black man. He was formerly a slave, who rose to become the minister of finance, and is reputed to be still the richest and most powerful figure in Saudi Arabia today. His allegiance to the royal family is unquestioned, although many very responsible Arabs refer to him as the 'real' king of the Hejaz [Saudi Arabia]."

Malcolm said the World Muslim League's function was to "coordinate all other organizations and produce a greater degree of cooperation and working unity in the Muslim world."

He wrote that he intended to return to the United States after the Nov. 3 election. He said he felt it was a mistake for the Negroes to become identified with the Democratic or Republican party.

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UPI-24
(MALCOLM X)
DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANGANYIKA--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST MALCOLM X SAID YESTERDAY HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE NOV. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. "IF ANYTHING HAPPENS, THEY'LL BLAME ME," HE SAID.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 5-27-)

Malcolm X Will Distribute 35 Scholarships

Malcolm X

Malcolm X, whose recent activities in Africa were instrumental in getting the Organization of African Unity to pass a resolution condemning racism in the United States, announced that he has received a number of scholarships from African and Arab countries which will enable young Afro-Americans to go abroad to study — expense-free.

Twenty scholarships were made available by the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs at the University of Al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt, where Malcolm X has been guest of state for several months. Fifteen scholarships were granted to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia.

The scholarships are to be distributed to Afro-Americans between the ages of 16 and 30. Distribution will be nation-wide. For further information write: Malcolm X Scholarships, 2090 Seventh Ave., Suite 128, New York 27, N.Y. Letters must be received by Nov. 15.

According to an Oct. 11 *New York Times* account, Malcolm X plans to return to the U.S. after the Nov. 3 elections. He also reiterated his earlier position on the presidential campaign that it was a mistake for Negroes to become identified with either the Democratic or Republican parties.

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UPI-169
(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--NEGRO LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CONGOLESE MOISE TSHOMBE SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SHOOTING OF WHITE HOSTAGES BY CONGOLESE REBELS IN STANLEYVILLE.

"WHEN LYNDON B. JOHNSON BEGAN TO FINANCE TSHOMBE'S MERCENARIES, IT WAS ONLY NATURAL TO EXPECT SUCH A DISASTROUS UNDERTAKING TO PRODUCE THE DISASTROUS RESULTS THAT CAME ABOUT TODAY," HE SAID.

"TSHOMBE IS A MURDERER, AND AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TAKE SIDES WITH A MURDERER, THIS MUST BE EXPECTED," HE ADDED SHORTLY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL FROM AN 18-WEEK TOUR OF AFRICA AND EUROPE.

MALCOLM X, WHO CHANGES HIS NAME TO MALIK AL SHABAZZ WHEN HE BECAME CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, WAS LOUDLY CHEERED BY ABOUT 30 SUPPORTERS AT KENNEDY AIRPORT.

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MALCOLM SPEAKS

ACCRA—Malcolm X, Afro-American leader visiting in Ghana said in an interview with Hsinhua (New China News Agency) that China's successful explosion of its first atom bomb was "the greatest thing that has happened to the black people in the twentieth century." He praised the Chinese Government's proposal for a world summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons as "a very good suggestion."

Referring to the present freedom fight of Afro-Americans and the firm support given to this struggle by the Chinese people, Malcolm X said that the U.S. imperialists would never loosen their grip on the 22 million Afro-Americans before the people of Asia and Africa cast off the yoke of imperialism. "Bearing this in mind," he said, "we appreciate the great strides that the Chinese people have made towards true independence and the unlimited contribution they are making to help the oppressed peoples in other parts of the world throw off the chains of imperialism."

Malcolm X, commenting on the recent U.S. presidential election, said that the only difference between the two candidates was that while one "would use the method of a wolf," the other "employs the approach of a fox." "Both are trying to eat us up," he concluded.

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UPI-207
(MALCOLM X)
OXFORD, ENGLAND--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM CHIEF MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT HE BELIEVED STRONGLY IN EXTREMISM IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.
HE SAID ONLY WHEN THE NEGRO TAKES UNCOMPROMISING STEPS TO BRING ABOUT HIS FREEDOM WILL HE WIN THE RESPECT OF WHITES.
"THERE WILL BE MORE WHITES THEN ON THE SIDE OF THE NEGRO THAN THERE ARE NOW WITH THIS WISHY-WASHY 'LOVE THINE ENEMY' APPROACH THEY (THE NEGROES) HAVE BEEN USING," HE SAID.
MALCOLM SPOKE AT AN OXFORD UNION SOCIETY DEBATE.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

Boston Minister Tells of Malcolm— Muhammad's Biggest Hypocrite

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By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

MEMBER OF NATION OF ISLAM

It is hinted, according to the *New York Times* newspaper (Sunday, Nov. 8, 1964; pg. 48, column one) that Malcolm is returning to the States. We, therefore, would like to ask the questions:

IS Malcolm bold enough to return and face the music—since he ordered the notes to be played — after bowing out and leaving the musician with untrained dancers? Would he like to face Mr. Muhammad? Would he like to face his deceived lieutenant, James (the former James 67X), who recently held a meeting to deliver a message from his chief? His meeting consisted of approximately 100 people, only 23 of whom were originals.

At this meeting, Malcolm's lieutenant ~~denied~~ what he said represented

Minister Louis

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Saved—By Messenger's Guidance

GAINING HIS guidance directly from the Messenger of Allah, (center) rather than from defectors, world heavyweight champion, Muhammad Ali (r.) and his brother, Rahaman Ali (l.) have moved steadily towards unprecedented success in their fields, with the respect of admirers around the world, in sharp contrast to attempts by once-Minister Malcolm to defame and destroy his former teacher. Here the champion and his brother take a lesson from the Holy Qur-an from Mr. Muhammad.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Thousands of shocked black Americans have become deeply resentful of the shameful attempts by defector and hypocrite Malcolm to slander and destroy the great Islamic leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who lifted him from obscurity and placed him in a position of national prominence and trust. The vicious slanders of this particular defector, while doomed to failure, have caused concern not only among the ranks of Muslims, but among many fair-minded non-Muslims.

The divinely-guided mission of Mr. Muhammad, however, has exposed the envy, jealousy and emptiness of this defector, which has disgraced not only himself but all those who have associated with him.

The following objective article from Minister Louis of Boston is printed in response to demands for a definitive statement on the acts of this particular character, who has resorted to becoming an international hobo, without home or followers. It is a lesson on how a slanderer and hypocrite becomes the victim of the traps he attempts to set for others.

his own opinions, but that he was speaking as authorized by Malcolm.

Life of Muhammad The Prophet Like That of Messenger Muhammad of Today

Would Malcolm like to face such a weak lieutenant who has bowed out as a true brother and officer of his master? Would he like to meet the brothers whom he lead into trouble before fleeing the city?

"HOW THE GAME IS BEING PLAYED"

Malcolm constantly asks, through mail to various hypocrites and weak believers of Messenger Muhammad, how the game has been played. It has been played to the dissatisfaction of you, Mr. Malcolm Little. You are now the target of the dissatisfaction of both your own followers (which are very few) and the followers of Muhammad.

"MALCOLM LIKE THE REBEL, KORAH"

Malcolm is like the famous rebel, Korah, in the times of Moses. Korah thought he was playing the game well, claiming to be an aid to Moses, but turned out to be Moses' deadliest hypocrite. Korah was successful in getting a few to follow him, but Allah caused an earthquake to open its mouth and they all were dropped to their death into a crevice of the earth. This proves that Allah had chosen Moses and not Korah.

Another parable depicting Malcolm is that of Judas, who tried to deceive Jesus into believing he was one of his best followers and treasurers. He could get the money from the people, but when Jesus spoke of using the money in a way that Judas did not like, he went out and joined the enemies to trap Jesus. Judas' trapping was successful, but not without the knowledge of Jesus, who knew it from the beginning.

Judas had hugged and kissed Jesus many times, as was the custom of the decipies and Jesus. So has Malcolm hugged and kissed Muhammad many times in the public, and Muhammad had hugged and kissed Malcolm, though Muhammad knew Malcolm's hypocrisy. He kept reminding a certain group of laborers of the intentions of Malcolm with the wisdom given to Muhammad by Allah, Who made Muhammad a genius in maneuvering an affair wisely to bring a strong opponent to his knees.

"MALCOLM REPEATS MOSEILMA'S WORK"

Messenger Muhammad is like Muhammad of nearly 1,400 years ago, (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), who had a rebel by the name of Moseilma. I shall name characters

(Continued on page 12)

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"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
Page 11 & 12

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(Continued from page 11)

mentioned by some of the writers on Muhammad's life, especially those identified by Washington Irving in his book on the history of Muhammad and his Successors (chap. 2, page 15).

Speaking of the false prophet Moseilma, who, encouraged by the impunity with which, during the illness of Mahomet (Mahummad), he had been suffered to propagate his doctrines, had increased greatly the number of his proselytes and adherents, and held a kind of regal and sacerdotal sway over the important city and fertile province of Yamama, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia.

"MOSEILMA AND SEDJAH"

There is quite a flavor of romance in the story of this impostor. Among those dazzled by his celebrity and charmed by him was Sedjah, wife of Abu Cahdia, a poetess of the tribe of Tamim, distinguished among the Arabs for her personal and mental charms. She came to see Moseilma in the manner of the Queen of Sheba who came to witness the wisdom and grandeur of King Solomon. They were inspired with a mutual passion at the first interview, and passed mr of their time together in der, if not religious, intercourse.

Sedjah became a convert to the faith of her lover, and caught from him the imaginary gift of prophecy. He appears to have caught, in exchange, the gift of poetry, for certain amatory effusions, addressed by him to his beautiful visitant, are still preserved by an Arabian historian and breathes all the warmth of the Song of Solomon.

"MOSEILMA, KILLED BY ETHIOPIAN, WACKSA"

This dream of poetry and prophecy was interrupted by the approach of Khaled at the head of a large army. Moseilma sallied forth to meet him with a still greater force. A battle took place at Akreba, not far from the capital city of Yamama. At the onset, the rebels had a transient success, and 1,200 Muslims were killed. Khaled, however, rallied his forces; the enemy were overthrown, and 10,000 cut to pieces. Moseilma fought with desperation, but fell covered with wounds. It is said his death blow was given by Wacksa, the Ethiopian, the same who had killed Hamza, uncle of Muhammad, in the battle of Ohod, and t he used the same spear. nce his pardon by Muhammad, Wacksa had become a zealous Muslim.

"SURVIVORS TURN TO ISLAM"

The surviving disciples of Moseilma promptly became converted to Islam under the pious but heavy hand of Khaled, whose late offense in the savage execution of Malec was completely atoned for by his victory over the false prophet. This is the story—given by Washington Irving — of this rebel of Muhammad's (from pages 15 through 17).

"MESSENGER MUHAMMAD'S HISTORY COMPARES"

The followers of Elijah Muhammad should give special attention to the Messenger's history here in America as it compares almost 100 per cent with the history of Muhammad and his followers, hypocrites and enemies almost 1,400 years ago.

They should study Muhammad's history, if they would like to learn, in words and deeds, how they compare with each other in his-

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tory, and how closely Muhammad's hypocrites and enemies compare with all the prophets' hypocrites and enemies, from Noah to modern times and, with Messenger Muhammad in the U.S.A.

The Holy Qur-an states that Noah had a disbelieving son who did not believe in his father's preaching that there would not be an escape for anyone from the flood except those who were with him in the ark. This son and his wife (wife of Noah) disbelieved (see Holy Qur-an); and David's son, Absalom, disbelieved. Messenger Muhammad's history compares so closely with histories of former prophets and enemies in their homes and among their followers, that we are just compelled to point them out to you.

"MALCOLM COMPARES WITH HYPOCRITES OF HOLY QUR-AN"

Malcolm's defection from Messenger Muhammad compares so completely with the hypocrites of the Holy Qur-an that it does not take a scholar's eye to discern it. After his defection, Malcolm went first to the public to proclaim that he was going for himself — to the wonder of the world — after his teacher had brought him up to such a great position before the eyes of the world. The world was astonished by the way he turned and jumped off of the springboard of intelligence and honor into the chasm of shame, regret, dispair and hatred. He was so beautifully presented to the people by his teacher, Messenger Muhammad, and was so sincerely backed by his teacher as his number one man. Yet, Muhammad knew his intentions and secretly whispered them here and there to his followers, telling them that one day Malcolm would do just as he is doing.

"MALCOLM UNSUCCESSFUL IN BUILDING MOSQUE"

Malcolm found himself unsuccessful in building a Mosque in opposition to the beautiful mission and message of Muhammad. When Messenger Muhammad entered New York on June 28, 1964 — though Malcolm tried to prevent his coming by putting out the threat of death against him, hoping that his threats would keep Muhammad from fulfilling his promise of visiting New York — he showed the wisdom and strategy of a general leading a victorious brave, and fearless army against the cowardly hypocritical dog (Malcolm). •

Malcolm thought that he had mastered — or could with his oration — New York against the wisdom and cleverness of Muhammad. But he and his followers were so openly defeated and put to a flight by Muhammad's intelligent and well-disciplined F.O.I. members (with their coolness, display of obedience to and love for their leader made them the envy of most organizations in America) that Malcolm changed his mind. He saw that a Mosque in opposition to Muhammad would not be able to bear enough fruit to overcome the wisdom of Muhammad.

"MALCOLM, GENERAL WITHOUT ARMY"

Malcolm then chose politics as his weapon against Muhammad. Malcolm, like a silly general without an army (as a white paper referred to him) offered to send troops to Mississippi to set up guerrilla warfare against the Southern murders of our original people.

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"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
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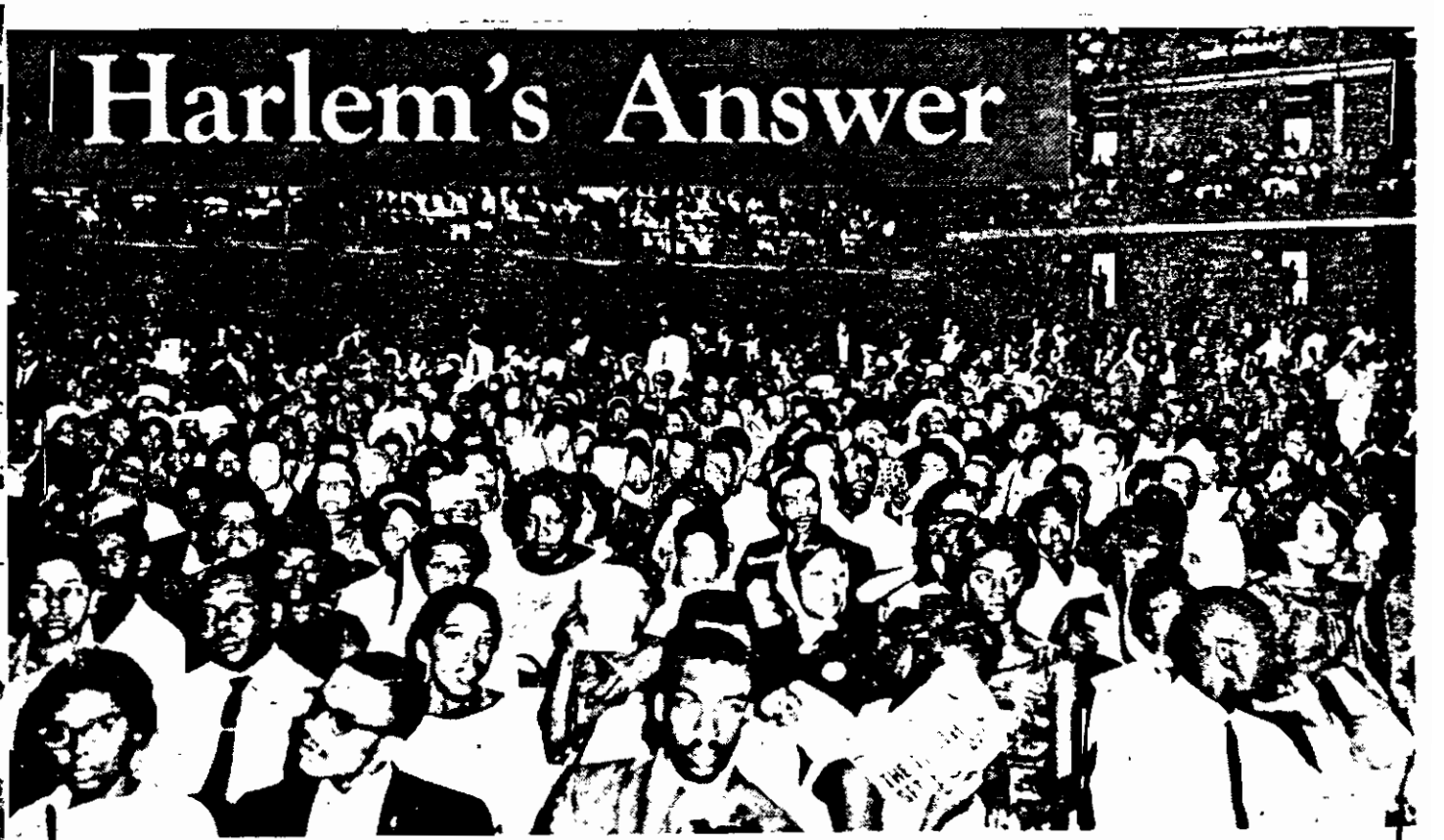
Harlem's Answer



THE ABOVE SCENE taken at Armory when all Harlem this year gave the Honorable Elijah Muhammad the greatest welcome given to a black leader, was the most shocking repudiation to threats and claims made by disgraced hypocrite Malcolm Little.

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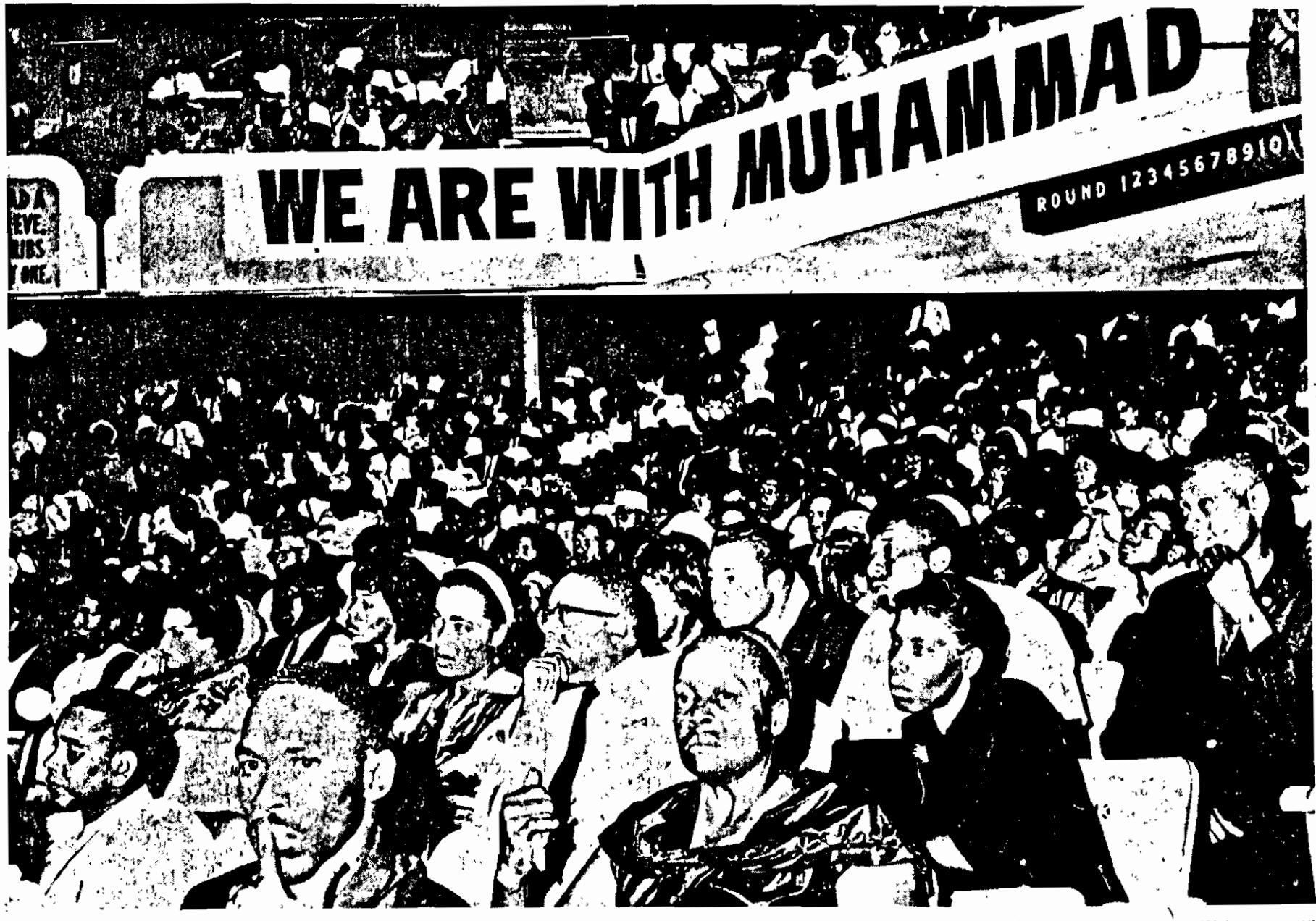

"WE ARE WITH MUHAMMAD" banner emblazoned on mass meeting on West Coast sizes up the overwhelming response to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad who made trip despite threats and slanders.

When he saw he had no one to answer and had no munition plants to manufacture arms for such an army, another step was taken to deceive the poor, black man of America to once again bathe his head in blood.

The Southern devils would have welcomed him to send a shotgun army against machine guns, grenades, and the well-trained state troopers of Mississippi. They would have cut his poorly-armed troop to pieces before they ever reached the state of Mississippi. Malcolm saw that he would have been defeated, having no political training and no knowledge of the science of the government's political machine. He could not verbally defeat them in an argument, not to even think of physical strategy. He, then, was going to set up poor, ignorant black men and women to their doom, while he already had planned to flee for his life to Africa.

"CAN MALCOLM FACE THE PEOPLE?"

Does he have the nerve to face these people? Whenever he thought he could lie and get his lie strengthened in the public, he would use the leaders. He kept intimating that the people would be shocked if they knew the true reasons for his defection from Muhammad. He forgot he had announced he was on his own. He kept hinting until Muhammad wrote and told him to get on a house top or a mountain and shout to the world anything he wanted to shout about. But Messenger Muhammad also reminded Malcolm that only he maintained the keys.

"MALCOLM LACKS THE KEY"

Thus Malcolm found that he had not been successful in opening the door of success without Muhammad's key. So Malcolm lashed out his venomous poison to wash Messenger Muhammad with mud and filth. He searched Messenger Muhammad's family to see how many of them he could get on his side. He remained in Chicago while Messenger Muhammad was sick in Arizona, trying to gather strength to overthrow Messenger Muhammad and bury him. Malcolm had weak-minded Muslims going about talking of voting for him to be the leader after Muhammad, until one of Messenger Muhammad's sons (Wallace), whom the Messenger had nursed from a baby, thinking he would take over after his death. Here is where the unprofitable son shamed Messenger Muhammad. He declared in a letter to his father that he would be willing to follow Malcolm, and that he was not particular whether or not he became a successor.

"NO MATCH FOR MUHAMMAD"

But they are no match for the wisdom of Muhammad. He was directed by God, Himself; to read a list of 104 books by certain authors on his mission and the people he had to teach. Neither Malcolm nor the Messenger's son knew anything about this wisdom of Messenger Muhammad, nor of what Allah had taught him. Messenger Muhammad, acting as a wise, experienced sailor, set his sails and compass, paying no attention to the yells of passengers who could not even read the compass. Messenger Muhammad said nothing, knowing that their ultimate end would be shame and regret.

"MALCOLM FLEES"

Malcolm fled across the Atlantic (where Muhammad had first sent him) to get some knowledge of his people and of Islam, he thought this would make him a better teacher and better aid Messenger Muhammad in a new Islam; now being manifested by Allah, Himself, — for the Muslims in the Hereafter. But Malcolm was so jealous of Muhammad's divine mission that he soon set out to trail the path of Messenger Muhammad made in 1959 in Africa and Asia, to win Messenger Muhammad's influence among the Orthodox Muslims. He left no stone unturned in trying to accomplish this.

"WORLD CHAMP DENOUNCES HIM"

He tried Muhammad Ali, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world. He wanted to share in that honor. Malcolm even claimed he was the one who taught Muhammad Ali, and that he should follow him. But God, Whose proper name is Allah, cut him off and made Muhammad Ali acknowledge and acclaim the mission of Messenger Elijah Muhammad as divine, and turned Malcolm down as a hard, cold-hearted hypocrite.

"MALCOLM GOES TO CAIRO"

Malcolm went to Messenger Muhammad's son, Akbar in Cairo — knowing Akbar did not fully understand the circumstances in America. Messenger Muhammad's son would not have even spoken to him, unless he was telling him, "to rise up now and look at your head down there on the sidewalk," as the Holy Qur-an forbids greetings of peace (As-Salaam-Alaikum) to hypocrites.

Malcolm tried to enter the African Conference of Independent States (held in Cairo) hoping to impress the so-called American Negroes, and especially the followers of Messenger Elijah Muhammad, that he was getting help for them from Africa's newly independent governments; to make them see him as a wise and sincere lover of the freedom of his people, over the divinely-missioned Elijah Muhammad, who not once (while in Africa and Asia) asked them to aid him and his followers.

"MUHAMMAD'S PURPOSE IN AFRICA"

Muhammad did not go to Mecca for that purpose. He was invited there by one of the scientists to meet and have dinner with them. But Messenger Muhammad refused and returned to Jeddah, and from there to Pakistan, as he confessed to all, that he was merely on an observation tour and not there to make speeches, contend with anyone, or proclaim his mission in America. Thus Messenger Muhammad acted wisely, since he had not yet gotten the entire 22 million so-called American Negroes aroused to the divine truth. He did not make such claims as the lying, hypocrite Malcolm, who later proclaimed himself as the chief leader of the so-called American Negroes. When he was among the political people,

(Continued on page 14)

Hypocrite Brought Disgrace To Self, Family and Friends

(Continued from page 13)

he claimed he was the political man for the so-called American Negroes. Among the religious Imams, he proclaimed himself the religious head of Islam in America.

"CLAIMS BACKING OF WORLD MUSLIM COUNCIL"

Malcolm is the great liar and scandalizer of his master, who had taught him more than anyone ever had. Before his defection, he preached of Messenger Muhammad as being "the wisest man of our times." But, all the while, he was jealous of Messenger Muhammad's wisdom, and thought that by his eloquent delivery of the teaching, he could capture the people. So Malcolm went on the warpath, without a complete army and without the wisdom. He now sends such lies back to America that he has the promise of backing from the World Muslim Council in building a Mosque in New York to teach the American so-called Negroes true Islam.

"CLAIM NOT BACKED UP"

We have not heard this from the wise leaders of the East. This is Malcolm's lie. We do not believe that those leaders of the East are so weak as to join a man who knows nothing about Islam, and was not divinely backed, but who has chosen himself. Malcolm had said he would not have religious teaching in his organization after his defeat by Messenger Muhammad in New York on June 28, 1964.

"MALCOLM RETURNED, SEEKS WHITE FRIENDS"

Malcolm returned from Africa trying to make friends with the white people and with the leaders of the NAACP, to see if he could steal leadership or a position somewhere. He played the hypocrite on both sides; against the white man of America and against Muhammad, too. He had blasted the white man and the NAACP for 9 or 10 years. He preached the truth, as revealed to Muhammad by Allah; that the white race was a race of devils, whom the father, Yakub, had grafted out of the black man 6,000 years ago, to try the wicked at ruling the righteous for 6,000 years. Malcolm now pleads to the white man that he had learned they were not devils, by seeing so-called white Muslims in Mecca, and that the religion of Islam is for all men and all nations, and not a "tuxedo" religion, as he referred to the religion that God had given to Muhammad that no religious prophet or scientist has even dared to challenge bore him witness that it was the truth.

"MALCOLM LIKE DOG"

Malcolm had seen Muhammad crush and paralyze the disputes of many scholars and scientists of religion who tried to oppose him. And, now he returns to them, as the Bible says in making a parable of the hypocrite: "The dog that returns to his own vomit." All of them knew he was lying and that he had lied to them and lied to Muhammad in trying to overthrow him. But, the wisdom of God in Muhammad shows the whole world that he cares not if they disbelieve the truth of Allah as revealed to him.

They will not hurt him, but will hurt only themselves because Muhammad did not speak of himself, but of God, and God would back His own words. He is still trying to make the white man be-

(Continued on page 15)

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Messenger's Divine Mission

(Continued from page 14)

lieve that he made a mistake in bearing witness to the truth of God as revealed to Muhammad (that they were devils) and now he wishes to have them accept him as their brother.

"MALCOLM MAKES FOOL OF HIMSELF"

Malcolm made the foolish and ignorant mistake a few weeks ago (as given in the New York Times newspaper) in trying to condemn Muhammad. He said his best friends were among such non-believing people as atheists, infidels, Hindus (whom the Muslim world over despises, as well as infidels), Jews, Christians, Catholics, and even "Uncle Toms." He really made a fool of himself No Muslim is a Muslim who says such people are his best friends. No Muslim can be a Muslim who accepts such people as his brothers.

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

"MALCOLM: UNABLE TO HOUSE FAMILY"

Malcolm hired a lawyer to keep the eviction of his family in court as long as possible, just to give the Muslims trouble in getting him out of the house and lot owned by the Muslims. Messenger Muhammad allowed this to go on, knowing that the longer it went in court, the more people would have time to see him as he is—a foolish rebel and hypocrite not capable of even putting his family in a home. He had gotten popularity, and then became jealous of his teacher and his teacher's place. He now falls, as Lucifer did, from Heaven.

"GOD IS WITH MUHAMMAD"

To prove that God is with Muhammad and will not grant victory to or allow anyone else to aid anyone in getting victory over Muhammad, Muhammad uses no arms. He just allows his hypocrital followers to come to their end — as he did his brother in 1935 — to show them that they cannot be a judge of the Apostle of Allah, nor can they deprive him of his mission, because a mission is from God. Even if Malcolm could get the angels of heaven on his side, this would not help him overtnrow Muhammad as long as Muhammad is divinely missioned. Allah has never asked the angels of heaven to choose one apostle for Him, and the Holy Qur-an teaches you this. So, Malcolm made the wrong move in going around the world, trying to get someone to overthrow Muhammad, because Muhammad is not missioned by us or any other people. Messenger Muhammad has never asked for any outside help. He is able to fight—with wisdom—anyone who attacks him and tries to disprove his apostleship. He takes their own scriptures and shows them that they have misinterpreted them, and defies them to dispute with him in this wisdom. Malcolm has seen this.

"MALCOLM USES WOMEN"

Just as Moseilma went around getting next to the women he once had the strength to use for sweethearts, Malcolm has done the same with Lucille Rosary and Evelyn Williams. He would visit Chicago several days in advance of making an appearance there, in order to call, converse, and ~~roll~~ around with Evelyn Williams, planning Muhammad's overthrow. He tried to make her his ~~special~~ agent in getting other sisters to aid her and Lucille. Malcolm made several calls to other sisters whom he thought were weak enough to side with him, but without avail. He writes from Mecca and sends greetings and messages from Egypt, and other places to Muslim women in the Mosque, whom he thinks are weak with Muhammad and his leadership. He tries to use them, but, most of them are not so weak—since the manifestation of Allah's backing of Muhammad's mission—that they will agree to cast themselves down from the respect of the Muslims and Messenger Muhammad by following such an open and defeated hypocrite as Malcolm.

"MUHAMMAD, THE VICTORIOUS"

Allah is making manifest that they cannot fight his apostle and win with their disbelief in Him and Elijah. No; not even to his own son (Wallace) and grandson (Hasan) who chose the road of hypocrites. They are now being defeated openly, as tthe Holy Qur-an declared they would be.

"MUHAMMAD, THE VICTORIOUS"

Neither hypocrite nor anyone else can win in opposition to those chosen by Allah.

WILL MALCOLM BE BOLD AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO MEET HIS DEFEAT?

(more to follow in the next issue of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS)

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy

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Malcolm X, the angriest black man in America, returned to New York last week after a four-month tour of Africa. In an exclusive interview with the Philadelphia Independent, the fiery leader bitterly condemned U. S. intervention in the Congo and what he called "the cold-blooded murder of thousands of Congolese Freedom Fighters by paid white mercenaries."

"The United States must be held responsible for the slaughter of black men in the Congo," Malcolm said. "The U. S. supported and financed the government of Moise Tshombe who murdered Patrice Lamumba, the first premier of the Congo. The United States supports Tshombe because he can be controlled and through him, the U. S., Britain and Belgium can continue to control the Congo."

Branding news accounts of the slaughter of white hostages in the Congo as "distortions and half-truths", Malcolm declared that while less than 100 whites had been killed by Congolese rebels, more than 4000 Negroes have been killed thusfar by white troops who are paid a bounty for every black man slain.

"The U. S., Britain and Belgium are determined to maintain control of the Congo at any price — even if it means the murder of thousands of Congolese," Malcolm said. "The Congo is the richest piece of property on earth. It has fabulous natural and mineral resources. If the Congo got into the hands of honest Negroes they would be in position to cause the downfall of Angola and eventually South Africa."

'CANNIBALISM' LIES

Referring to reports of cannibalism of murdered white nuns, Malcolm declared:

"That's just another lie used by the U.S. Government to support its intervention in the Congo. Actually, many of those slain white people had lived in the Congo for forty years. If the Congolese Freedom Fighters wanted to eat them, they would have done it years ago when they were young and tender — not now."

Malcolm, who formerly was the number two man in the Black Muslim movement, resigned from that organization last March after a feud with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult. Malcolm has since formed his own black nationalist movement with headquarters in New York City.

The bearded Negro had nothing but praise for Red China and its support of the Congolese rebels.

"I don't call it Red China," Malcolm said. "There is only one China and that is the China of Mao Tse Tung. There are more than 700 million Chinese and they all support the Congolese in their fight for independence.

NEGROES SHOULD SPEAK

Malcolm said that U.S. Negroes should make it their business to let their "Congolese brothers" know they do not support the policies of the U.S. government regarding the Congo. He said that he will call a mass rally next Sunday at New York's Audibon Ballroom to organize a protest march on the United Nations Building.

"The government of Red China has gained stature and respect from Africans in its support of the Congolese while the United States is condemned and despised for its support of Tshombe, a murderer with the blood of Lamumba on his hands." Malcolm declared.

"Many of the paid mercenaries who are fighting in the Congo are former U.S. soldiers from the Southern United States," Malcolm

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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20 "The Philadelphia Independent" Philadelphia, Pa.

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pointed out. "There are many Negro war veterans right here in Harlem. Some of them should volunteer their skills to the Congolese Freedom Fighters. They have as much right to fight side by side with their African brothers as the white U.S. mercenaries have to join Tshombe."

Malcolm said that the U.S. press had attempted to brand him as a convert to Chinese Communism because of his support of the Congo rebels.

SMEAR TACTICS

"It's just another tactic aimed at smearing me and discrediting my views," he said. "When I was in Africa I was honored by the continent's greatest leaders. I lived at President Sekou Toure's home in Conekry, Guinea. I conferred with Prime Minister Milton O. Bote for more than three hours when I visited Uganda. In Kenya, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta invited me to address the members of Parliament."

Malcolm said his affluence among Africans caused certain U.S. powers to seek methods of discrediting him.

"When I was in Kenya," he recalled, "the U.S. Ambassador came to me and asked me not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt our image among Africans. I told him that instead of attempting to quiet me, he should tell the U.S. government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and in Africa."

MALCOLM X

0-19 (Rev. 10-1-64)

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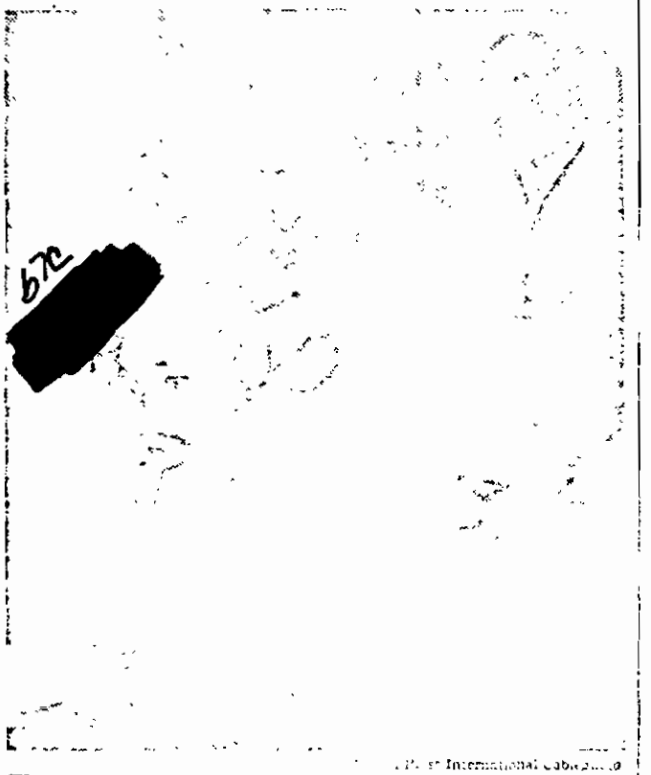
Dr. King Preaches Negro Restraint



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Press International Cable Photo

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. talking with reporters at St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday. The Rev. Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, an associate of Dr. King, is seated at right.

By JAMES FERON
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 6—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. told a congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral today that "the doctrine of black supremacy is as great a danger as the doctrine of white supremacy." Four thousand Britons packed the cathedral to its huge doors to hear the first evensong sermon ever delivered in St. Paul's by a non-Anglican. Dr. King, a Baptist, said, "All over the world, as we struggle for justice and freedom, we must never use second-hand methods to gain it." Speaking in the measured cadence familiar to millions of Southern Negroes in the United States, Dr. King added:

"We must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, substituting injustice of one type for that of another. We must not substitute our oppression for another kind of oppression."

Rebuttal to Malcolm X

The civil-rights leader, visiting here on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace, devoted his sermon largely to noncontroversial themes. But his plea for moderation in the rights struggle appeared directed at the activities of Malcolm X, leader of the militant Black Nationalist movement, who is also in London.

Speaking on television last night, Malcolm warned that the patience of United States Negroes was wearing thin in the fight for equal rights. He intimated that major violence was just under the surface.

At a news conference after his sermon, Dr. King pursued the racial question. "Negroes in the United States are more in line with the philosophy of integration and togetherness," he said, "and not in line with racial separation."

He added that only 75,000 out of 22 million Negroes in the United States "joined groups supporting black supremacy."

Dr. King's invitation to deliver the Sunday-afternoon sermon came from Canon John Collins of St. Paul's. There were Negroes in the congregation, but their representation was small in proportion to their 1 per cent share of the population. There were also a few foreign visitors.

Dr. King spoke for three-quarters of an hour on the theme "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life: Length, a Healthy, Rational Self-Interests; Breath, Honor Thy Neighbor and Height, Love of God."

Quotes His Wife

He quoted Greek philosophers as well as poets, modern authors, world leaders, Mrs. King and the Bible. Occasionally he drew a murmur of amusement from the congregation.

Recalling the parable of the Good Samaritan, who helped a stricken man on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, Dr. King asked why a priest had passed by without stopping. The priest may not have noticed the stricken man, Dr. King said, or he may have been afraid to stop. Then again Dr. King suggested, "he might have been rushing off to form a Jericho Improvement Association."

To many worshipers seated in the transepts or behind the massive columns along the nave Dr. King was not visible.

Loudspeakers discreetly installed in recesses and behind statuary carried his voice throughout the cathedral.

After the sermon, the congregation stood and sang a hymn that began:

Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falseness,
For the good or evil side.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 12-7-64

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Malcolm X Assails U.S. Role in Congo

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BACK HOME. Malcolm X interviewed by television and newsmen on his arrival from Africa at Kennedy International Airport. Among those at the airport to greet him were three of his children, including Ilyasah, who seemed unperturbed by klieg lights.

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — Malcolm X denounced the "criminal action of the United States government in conjunction with Belgium in the Congo" last night at the first Harlem rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity since his return from Africa.

"We want the world to know we don't like what Sam is doing to our brothers in the Congo," the black nationalist leader declared.

At a press conference held upon his arrival at Kennedy International Airport on Nov. 24, Malcolm X was asked about the alleged massacre of white hostages in the Congo. He replied: "When Lyndon B. Johnson began to finance Tshombe's white mercenaries, it was only natural to expect such things to happen. The weight of the guilt is on the white mercenaries. It's too bad they had to die, but when you shed tears for those hostages, shed tears for the Congolese who died too."

"Congolese have been massacred by white people for years and years . . . Chickens come home to roost," he added.

At the Harlem rally, Malcolm charged that Lyndon B. Johnson was responsible for what had happened in the Congo. Characterizing Tshombe as the "worst Negro in the world," Malcolm told the audience of about 1,000: "Johnson is sleeping with him. Man you voted for him. You were insane, out of your mind. I don't blame you. You were tricked."

Commenting on the fact that the U.S. government pays the salaries of the hired white troops in the Congo Malcolm X suggested: "Many of you are vets and many of you are unemployed. We might put on a drive in Harlem to raise some black mercenaries." The audience roared approval.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
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New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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"The Militant"

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...Malcolm X Paris Meeting

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Malcolm X pointed out that he was not against white people, but against all people who were doing wrong. He stressed that he was not and had never been a racist. At his press conference he declared that he wanted to get together with any persons — "white or black" — who were sincerely interested in working for a solution of the problems of Afro-Americans.

At the rally he attacked the United States Information Service as "one of the most vicious organizations that has ever been sent anywhere — it makes Goebbels' organization look like child's play." The USIS in Africa, he said, spreads the illusion that the Civil Rights Act has made the U.S. a paradise for black people.

He further charged that the U.S. government applied a great deal of pressure to prevent American Negroes from participating in the meetings of the Organization of African Unity. The USIS, he said, had in this connection singled him out for a smear attack.

The black nationalist leader emphasized the international character of the Afro-American's struggle for human rights. During his 18-week travels among the peoples of Africa and the Middle East his "main theme was to try and impress upon them that there are 22 million people in the United States who are inseparably linked with them . . . The problem is one; the destiny is the same." He pointed out that the oppressed peoples must support each other's struggles for freedom.

Malcolm X explained to the Harlem audience that when he spoke for the OAAU, he put his religion in his pocket. "Any time I have a religion that won't let me fight for my people, I say to hell with that religion. That's why I'm a Muslim . . . It teaches you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It also teaches you, if someone steps on your toe, chop off his foot."

Described Trip

The recently returned traveler described his trip briefly. About half of his time was spent in Cairo, Egypt, which he described as a city with a revolutionary atmosphere. A great many liberation movements have headquarters there, he explained, noting that "all thinking people who are oppressed are revolutionary . . . This is an era of revolution . . . which means an era of change. They don't want a gradual change; they want a change right now."

He also visited Mecca in Saudi Arabia (for two days); Lebanon; Ethiopia; Zanzibar and Tanganyika (now Tanzania); Nigeria; Southern Rhodesia; Ghana; Liberia; Guinea; Algeria; Sudan, and Kenya.

In the course of his travels he spoke with: Nasser, of Egypt; Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania; Sékou Touré, of Guinea; Nkrumah, of Ghana; Azikiwe, of Nigeria; and briefly with Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya.

The next OAAU meeting will be held Sunday, Dec. 13, at 8 p.m. at Audubon Hall, 166 St. and Broadway. There will be no meeting on Dec. 6, because Malcolm X is flying to England for a debate at Oxford University. The Dec. 13 meeting will be on "The Congo Crisis." Specialists will report on what happened in the Congo giving information suppressed in the newspapers.

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Explained U.S. Put Up Wolf to Sell Fox

Paris Meeting Hears Malcolm X

By Ruth Porter

PARIS, Nov. 23 — There wasn't a square inch of unoccupied space in the meeting room. The seats were filled an hour before the lecture was scheduled to begin. The "late" arrivals stood or sat on the floor. When not another human being could be jammed into the hall, the crowd spilled into the corridors, hoping to stand within earshot. Those who arrived on time could not find standing room in the corridors and had to leave. The speaker himself could barely push into the room over the assorted legs of those on the floor. Africans, Americans black and white, European leftists of all persuasions, representatives of the press, all were intensely interested in what Malcolm X would say.

Invited to speak in Paris by "Presence Africaine," an African cultural organization which only a few weeks before had presented Langston Hughes, Malcolm X began by explaining that he represents two different organizations — one which is religious and one which is non-religious. "Tonight," he continued, "I am speaking for the one that is non-religious." After giving a brief characterization of the Black Muslim movement which split "primarily because it polarized into two groups — those who were militant and those who were more militant," Malcolm described the task of those who had left Elijah Muhammad:

"We also realized that, as Afro-Americans, our problem went beyond religion. To find out the kind of organization that would be most helpful to us, we studied the tactics and the strategy that our brothers and sisters were using in Africa. They tried to unite on the basis of what they could agree on, and formed the Organization of African Unity. We in the United States decided to form a similar organization, called the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

WORLD SIGNIFICANCE. Delegates to Pan-African Conference in Ghana. African struggle has sparked militancy among colored peoples of world.

Since the topic of this lecture tonight has been listed as the 'African Revolution and Its Effect on the Afro-American Struggle,' I feel that I should speak in my capacity as chairman of the OAAU rather than in my religious capacity — since the OAAU is a political movement.

"The spirit of militancy which has become so manifest in the United States and all over the West is inseparable from the spirit of militancy which exists in Africa," he said. "The enemies of our struggle for independence had tried to give Afro-Americans the impression that we have nothing

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The National Observer
People's World
Date 12-7-64
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in common with the people of Africa and the people of Africa have nothing to do with Negroes of the Western World.

"It is true," he continued, "that for many years those of us of African ancestry in the West were reluctant to identify with Africa, but this was [the result of] an image projected by our enemies. This enemy created a negative image of Africa as a jungle, a place full of wild animals, etc. The image was made hateful to us. They knew that once we were made to hate our own origin, we would hate ourselves. And all people of African ancestry throughout the world would hate Africa and hate themselves. They did it so shrewdly and so successfully that they created those of us in the West who hated ourselves — our nose, our lips, our skin, our hair.

"Since 1959," Malcolm X said, "when the African states began to emerge, the image of Africa and the image of Africans has been changing. This threatens the number-one racist society on the face of the earth — the United States. South Africa preaches and practices racism, but the United States preaches integration and practices segregation. It is, therefore, much more hypocritical."

The hall rang with applause as the black nationalist leader added:

"Efforts of 'liberals' to solve our problems for us have been efforts to make us become more American than African. They have no desire or intention to solve the race problem because it would mean *giving up power* — and no one ever *gives up* power. It has to be *taken from them*.

The bi-lingual question period that followed was extremely lively, with many pointed and politically sophisticated queries and comments.

"How is it possible that certain people are still preaching non-violence?" an African asked.

"Easy to answer," replied Malcolm X. "Shows you the power of dollarism. The dollar makes anything possible. When the Sharpeville Massacre took place in South Africa, it brought out the fact that the brothers in South Africa had to go into action, that non-violence had become outdated. So they used their tricks. They gave an African a peace prize for being non-violent. In America, there are an increasing number of black people who have come to the same conclusion regarding non-violence; so they come up with another peace prize!"

Queried on the results of the recent U.S. presidential election, Malcolm replied:

"It is the *same system*. It isn't a President who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America; it is ruling the world. Nowadays, when a man is running for President of the United States, he is not running for President of the United States alone, but he has to be acceptable to other areas of the world where American influence rules.

"If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world — including people who call themselves Marxists — hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater. I have to say this: those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And *at that moment* he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria; mercenaries to the Congo!"

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Millions of Britons See Malcolm X In TV Broadcast of Debate at Oxford

By Roger Protz

LONDON, Dec. 4 — Into the cloistered atmosphere of Oxford University, for centuries one of England's twin bastions of education for the sons of the upper crust, came the voice of American Negro revolt. Last night Malcolm X was one of the guest speakers in the end-of-term debate in the Oxford Union.

The black nationalist leader from the U.S. was speaking in support of the motion set for the debate — the now famous statement by Barry Goldwater: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The student audience, which included many Africans and Indians, gave the American visitor a long ovation for a stirring and vitriolic speech that cut through the traditional stuffed-shirt atmosphere of the Oxford Union, which is closely modeled on the House of Commons — complete with banal repartee and "honorable members."

Malcolm X

Scotch Poet

Speaking with Malcolm X for the motion was the Scottish poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, who is a curious mixture of Scottish nationalist, Communist Party member and Anglophobe. He gave a somewhat clinical appraisal of the need for determined action by the people to win freedom and democracy.

Ranged against them were Humphrey Berkeley, a Tory member of the House of Commons, and Lord Stonham, a "socialist" member of the House of Lords. As they clearly had the most to lose by extreme action by the masses, they spoke fervently in support of moderation.

It was left to Malcolm X to set the debate alight with an impassioned plea for the American Negroes and the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

He began by attacking the latest imperialist intervention in the Congo which had precipitated yet another round of bloodshed and misery. He was particularly scathing in his denunciation of the press which had turned the event into another excuse for racist attacks on "savages" and "primitives."

The Motion

Turning specifically to the motion set for the debate, he said: "I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism, but when a man is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings I do not consider that a vice.

"When a man is a moderate in defense of justice for human beings I say he is a sinner."

He spoke of the day black men would come to realize that they were justified in taking uncompromising steps and any means necessary to bring about their freedom.

"I believe that the day when they do, many more whites will have more respect for them. There will be more whites than there are now on their side with this wishy-washy, love-thine-enemy approach they have been using up to now."

He concluded with the famous passage from *Hamlet*: "To be, or not to be: that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them?"

To thunderous applause, he declared that the latter choice was the only possible one if people are to gain their emancipation.

The debate was televised on the BBC's main national network and must have been seen by at least ten million viewers. Lest they should be indoctrinated by Malcolm X's forceful arguments, the broadcasting company ushered in two of its leading commentators to refute his "wildly exaggerated" picture of the U.S.

The administration in the U.S., they said, was fully geared to pushing through civil-rights legislation. And, with that hypocritical paternalism which is the hallmark of liberal Englishmen, they solemnly agreed that Malcolm X could not be altogether blamed for his views. He had had an "unfortunate" upbringing and extremism breeds extremism!

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Malcolm X, in Paris, is weighing top propaganda job offers from Ghana and Egypt.

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Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
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Mr. Tavel
Mr. Tompkins
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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24 CHICAGO TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Character:
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REPEAT PERFORMANCE. Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York last spring. He will speak for the Militant Labor Forum again on Thursday evening Jan. 7 on "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St., 8:30 p.m.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
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Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
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Miss Gandy

Malcolm Dogma Comes Too Late

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

Nothing in the civil rights situation engages the attention of white Americans more quickly than the suggestion that the long-patient Negro is about to take up arms and wrack vengeance for past mistreatments.

The white public listens with only half an ear to the deadly statistics on Negro unemployment. It gives only part-time attention to the dilapidation, the rats, the filth, the robber rents and the crime of the slums. It yawns over demonstrably inferior schools in the Negro ghettos.

MALCOLM X

But let someone, known or unknown, raise a cry about using guns in a shooting war with white folks and the white community is all ears.

Malcolm X, the split-off Black Muslim, has been garnering gobs of attention for himself by expounding the don't-turn-the-other-cheek philosophy. Not only don't turn it, advises Malcolm, but smack a cheek of your own—a white cheek.

Malcolm went to the Middle East some months ago where he confessed to the discovery that white people are people, too. Commentators hoped, rather wistfully, that white Americans hereafter might expect less cyanide and more of the milk of human kindness in his sermons. It was not to be. At year's end Malcolm made sure of their unease and their apprehension for 1965 by a Harlem speech calling for the formation of a Mau Mau Society.

"If the language (of the oppressors) is a shotgun, get a shotgun," he said . . . "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword." Pointing a finger at his audience of fewer than 500 he urged Negroes to "even the score" with whites.

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43 BOSTON GLOBE
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BOSTON HERALD
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Boston, Mass.

RECORD AMERICAN
Boston, Mass.

Date: 1/3/65
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Author: ROY WILKINS
Editor: VICTOR O. JONES
Title: MALCOLM X

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Enthusiasm Wans

Malcolm X is a persuasive debater and a rabble-rousing speaker in the Adam Clayton Powell class, which is to say, top grade. He also has grievances on his side —deep, callous, cruel grievances. The murderous Simon Legree policies of Mississippi and of areas in several other Deep South states are encouraged by the indifference of non-Southerners. The Malcolms, few though they be in number, have something going for them: The statistics, the history, the burnings, bombings, killings and perversions of justice in the courts.

But going against the Malcolms is the fact that they are probably too late. The forces under the banner of non-violence have at last aroused the nation. History has taken a turn in the years since World War II which has compelled the United States to act on its racial problem.

Even if the attendance figure was off by 200, this number out of 400,000 persons in Harlem does not suggest *overwhelming enthusiasm in that community for the Mau* Mau approach. History reveals that Negro Americans, as a group, have never committed themselves to retaliatory violence as a policy.

If they did not reach for shotguns and rifles when lynchings were at a twice-a-week average and when segregation and discrimination were in humiliating flower, they are not about to immolate themselves now, when things are improving, especially when they consider the 9-to-1 numerical odds.

This is not to rule out violence here and there, nor to suggest that every one of the impatient and frustrated younger Negro generation will abide by historical trends. These are more bitterly aware of their imposed disabilities than they were before better education and better communication opened their eyes. Some may listen to the Malcolms, especially if mobs are egged on by police and if persecution goes unpunished.

But if the United States does not rest on pious declarations and on a law-on-the-books, but moves steadily to eliminate racial bias, the Mau Mau idea will sputter and die.

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WASHINGTON SHOOK UP

Is Malcolm X Clueing In Africans on U.S.?

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — In response to a question at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity here last night, Malcolm X denied he had taken personal credit or responsibility for the unprecedented attack on American racism by African nations during the recent United Nations debate on the Congo.

The Jan. 2 *New York Times* had reported that Malcolm X felt he had "laid the groundwork" for the attacks during his four-month visit to Africa last summer.

The black nationalist leader, however, did not deny he felt it was a good thing for African countries to begin to take an interest in freedom for American Negroes.

It was obvious from the UN debate that victims of racism in this country have important new allies abroad. It was also apparent that the African nations see an identity in their struggle for freedom from white domination and the struggle of Afro-Americans.

The *Times* article accurately reported Malcolm's interest in the internationalization of the U.S. Negro struggle for equality; that he was a guest of many heads of state during his African trip; and that U.S. authorities took an early "interest in Malcolm's activities in North Africa."

Unreported by the *Times*, however, was the consternation among U.S. officials when Malcolm X was given the red-carpet treatment in Africa.

In Kenya, for example, where he was given time on the government radio station and had many top-level meetings with government officials, the U.S. embassy protested against such honors being given to Malcolm X, a person not held in high esteem by U.S. spokesmen. The protest was rejected by the Kenya government.

Malcolm X

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — Films of Egypt, Kenya and Ethiopia taken by Malcolm X on his recent trip to Africa were shown at the regular Sunday night rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity last night at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway. Despite freezing weather and a holiday weekend, about 700 people turned out for the meeting.

The beautiful color films included scenes of the Egyptian Independence Day celebration, showing many of the leaders of liberation movements in Africa on hand to witness the military display. More films — narrated by Malcolm X — will be shown Sunday, Jan. 10, including scenes of Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt.

Okello Odongo, member of parliament and assistant minister of finance in Kenya, was introduced and spoke briefly, supporting what Malcolm X had said.

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(MALCOLM X)

HANOVER, N.H.--MALCOLM X, HEAD OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, SAID TONIGHT THAT HE WILL VISIT MISSISSIPPI NEXT MONTH TO "SHOW THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY NEW METHODS FOR SECURING FREEDOM.

HE TOLD MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE THAT THE SUMMER OF 1965 WOULD BE "THE LONGEST, HOTTEST, BLOODIEST SUMMER EVER."

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A 'ROAD OF LOVE' OR . . .

Malcolm X's Road of Violence

By GEORGE CARMACK
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala., Feb. 5 — Two routes to the right to vote have been dramatically laid out to the Negroes of this Alabama city.

Malcolm X has given the route of the Black Muslims — a route of violence. He told more than 300 Negroes — many of them high school students — crowded in an old brick church here yesterday:

"The black people have the right to the ballot. I am 100 per cent for their effort to get it — and by whatever means is necessary."

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth of Birmingham followed Malcolm X to the pulpit and laid out a route of non-violence — what he called a "road of love."

He said that when he and Martin Luther King Jr. first started working for Negro rights, they took this pledge:

"In our struggle to be free, we hold our affirm that not one hair on the head of one white man will be harmed."

Rev. Shuttleworth asked his Selma audience to take the same pledge.

CRITICAL

Malcolm X was critical of the United States — particularly its actions in the Congo. He accused the U. S. of instigating violence and said our nation "sent its planes to destroy people under the guise of a rescue mission."

"I don't think America is going out of business — not for communism or anything else," said Rev. Shuttleworth. "When I sing 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,' I know it's my country. I thrill at seeing Old Glory flying in the breeze. I consider it a privilege to work in a movement such as this for I know this is what Old Glory stands for."

The contrast between Malcolm X and Rev. Shuttleworth was not limited to the doctrine they preached.

WELL-TAILORED

Malxolm X — a tall man with a light brown beard, horn-rimmed glasses, wearing a dark, well-tailored suit — preached his violence in scholarly tones.

Small, wiry Rev. Shuttleworth

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—UPI Photo

Black Muslim leader Malcolm X enters the picture in Selma, Ala.

—dressed in a loose-fitting brown suit— was every inch the actor as he marched up and down the stage behind the pulpit.

"Walk and keep on walking up and down our streets and to our courthouse to get our rights," he said.

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Radio Interview With Malcolm X

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[Harry Ring, *Militant* staff writer, has been delivering a series of news commentaries over radio station WBAI-FM in New York. His program of Jan. 28 was devoted to an interview with Malcolm X. The following is a transcript of the interview.]

Ring: Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom Now Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

Minister Malcolm, it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

Malcolm X: ~~Well, I~~ have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad. I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

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Ring: Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence? OLITTLE

Malcolm X: Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it. If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

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Ring: A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the [illegible]st warnings of danger of a new outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

Malcolm X: Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he *warns* — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is *China*. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the *causes* of these explosions, he wants to *condemn* the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

Ring: One question that I've wondered about — in several of your lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

Malcolm X: Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and oftimes the president himself is a very shrewdly camouflaged racist. And [illegible] depending upon these grievances being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have refrained from becoming vocally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human ri[illegible] it internationalizes the prob[illegible] and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of *human* rights.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not r[illegible]

Malcolm X

spected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black men who were born here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem or [illegible] problem, but rat[illegible]t a level [illegible] all se[illegible] humanity [illegible]tervene in our behalf.

Ring: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm X: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22

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million b. Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our prob[illegible]n has to be internationalized. I[illegible] the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can *demand*, not as a minority that has to beg.

Ring: I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

Malcolm X: It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

Ring: To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who had been without [illegible] and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A[illegible]w days later I read that the [illegible]ing commissioner had decide[illegible] that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

Malcolm X: Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

Ring: You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

Malcolm X: I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

Ring: But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

Malcolm X: Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

Ring: I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

0-20 (Rev. 12-14-64)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
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Sullivan
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UPI-77
(MALCOLM X)

LONDON--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WAS REFUSED ENTRY BY FRANCE TODAY. HE RETURNED HERE AND SAID DEFIANTLY, "I NEVER GO TO ANY PLACE WHERE I AM NOT WANTED."

HE FLEW TO PARIS TODAY TO SPEAK TO AN AFRO-AMERICAN RALLY THERE BUT FRENCH OFFICIALS MET HIM WITH A GOVERNMENT ORDER SAYING HIS PRESENCE WAS UNDESIRABLE. HE WAS BACK IN LONDON FOUR HOURS AFTER HE HAD LEFT IT.

MALCOLM X SAID HE OFFERED AN ENGLISH PENNY TO FRENCH SECURITY MEN AT PARIS' ORLY AIRPORT AND TOLD THEM TO "GIVE THAT TO DE GAULLE BECAUSE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS WORTH LESS THAN A PENNY."

HE SAID THE SECURITY MAN REFUSED IT, THAT HE THREW IT TO THE GROUND AND THAT A POLICEMAN PICKED IT UP.

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