FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 61

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE. DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 61

SERIALS 4451-4524

(May 1964)

121 pages

Section 61

NY105-8999-4457	same as	HQ100-399321-107		
" " 4474		" " "	Not Recorded after	
" " 4475		" " "	" "	105
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" " 4510		" " "	- NR after 107	
" " 4520, 4521		" " "	" "	"

FD-336 (Rev. 5-22-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC New York (105-8999) DATE: 6-18-64

FROM : SA [redacted] (43) b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY [illegible]

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - MMI

In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated as above. The review for this report was made from serial 3871, vol. 53 through serial 4494, vol. 61.

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
58	4221, 4222, 4254, 4259.
59	4283, 4284, 4296, 4297, 4304, 4305, 4306, 4308, 4310 - 4313, 4317, 4318, 4322, 4327, 4332, 4333, 4335, 4341, 4342.
60	4351, 4352, 4357, 4373, 4374, 4388, 4401, 4412, 4419, 4420, 4421, 4422, 4425, 4426, 4429, 4430, 4434, 4438, 4439, 4446, 4450.
61	4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, 4463, 4465, 4472.

FILE STRIPPED
B[redacted] ON 10/3/67
b7c

Maintain as top serial

No. of copies 4 (#B)
See # A destruction memo for volumes 53 - 57.

Approv[redacted]

Destroyed by [redacted] Date [illegible]

b7c

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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NY 105-8999 - 4524

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FBI/DOJ

Malcolm X Questions LBJ

By LES MATTHEWS

"We want freedom now", said bearded Malcolm X, at his press conference in the Hotel Theresa Thursday evening following his arrival from Africa. In reference to his beard Malcolm said: "I haven't had a shave or a haircut since I left the United States five weeks ago. I may keep the beard for a little while," he said with a broad smile.

"Before I left the United States Senator Richard Russell said the people of Africa were not concerned with the American Negroes. I found him wrong. The State Department have been doing a very good job making the Africans believe that America is doing everything for the American Negro."

"I have received pledges from African nations to support a stand against the United States before the United Nations. The United States would be compelled to face the same charges as South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia. The United States," he went on, "has colonized the Negro people just like the people of Africa and Asia were colonized by Europeans."

Just Words

"Before I left for Africa I spoke at the Audubon Ballroom and once again I was misquoted about my reference to the Mau Mau. I said the British and French have used worst tactics on the Africans and Asians but the press don't refer to those tactics as savage until a black man apply them. I know nothing about the 'Blood Brothers', Malcolm said.

"I am the Minister of Muslim Mosque Inc.," Malcolm answered a reporter's question. "Its important for Negroes to form an united front in the fight for recognition, human dignity. Separation and integration, are just words," Malcolm went on.

"Travel broadens ones scope and when I visited the Holy City of Mecca I saw people of all colors, carrying themselves like human beings, worshipping. The American whites should adopt the Islam religion.

Disgrace

"I think its a disgrace for President Johnson to call Senator Richard Russell his friend when Senator Russell is one of the men in the Senate who is blocking the Civil Rights bill. I am inclined to question Johnson's integrity."

"Africans," he went on is concerned about what is going on in America. The black man can return to Africa physically, psychologically and culturally," Malcolm said.

"We want freedom now," Malcolm went on. "I will try to get the leaders together to bring about a united front. My position is flexible," Malcolm went on.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Amsterdam News

EDITION

DATE 5/30/64

PAGE 49

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ✓

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105-8999-4503

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
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- 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

b7c

"My Next Move--" Malcolm X An Exclusive Interview"

Asserting that most Negroes and Negro organizations "have a very narrow approach to the whole race question," Malcolm will shortly launch a new national organization to work in the political, economic, and social areas in the struggle for Negro advancement.

Back Home

"We hope within the next eight days to make known the aims and objectives of this organization which will be open for the participation of all Negroes, and we will be willing to accept the support of people of all races," Malcolm told the Amsterdam News in an exclusive interview.

Fresh from a five-weeks trip to Africa, the black nationalist leader said the new organization would be a chance where Negroes can help themselves.

Objectives

"We don't want white people to think we need them, but if whites want to help, good. If they don't want to help, that's good too," he said.

The first major objective of the new group, he asserted, would be to get the case of the American Negro before the United Nations this fall, indicating that during his travels in Africa he

MALCOLM X

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Amsterdam News

EDITION

DATE 5/30/64

PAGE 1

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105-8999-4522

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
1964
FBI - NEW YORK

b7C

received strong encouragements that this was highly possible.

"During my travels I told Africans that the could not justify their indictments of racism in South Africa and Angola and at the same time keep a closed mouth to situations against the 22 million black Americans," Malcolm said.

He stated that his trip had helped him to become more aware that most Negro organizations and leaders see the race problem only "in the scope of their own organizations and individual selfs. This new organization intends to make it possible for Negroes to form one solid front," the former Black Muslim leader declared.

Regarding his future, Malcolm said he would work on formation of the new organization for the time being.

Blood Brothers

He blasted back at officials who have sought to link him with the so-called "blood brothers" asserting that "these officials should be worrying about the crooks roaming their boroughs. If they can indict me through their statements, perhaps we need some blood brothers."

Seeks Settlement

Regarding the attempt by some of his former Black Muslim associates to evict him from his East Elmhurst home, which was postponed in Queens Civil Court Monday until June 3, Malcolm said he had informed the Mosque that if they would permit him to address their group and defend himself against false charges which have been made against him and then the members asked him to move, "I'll give the house up.

"I want to settle this situation quietly, privately, and peacefully, not in the white man's court, whom the Muslims preach is the devil," he declared.

RETURNS HOME — Malcolm X holds his daughter in one arm as he exhibits a walking stick he received during his five weeks visit in Africa. Malcolm, who was greeted by some 60 of his supporters as he returned last Thursday, wore a beard and needed a haircut, claiming he was too busy on his trip to do them.
(Haggins-Photo)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND
declassified
DATE 1-26-84 [illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, DETROIT (100-1334) DATE: 5/27/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
IS-SWP

CONFIDENTIAL

On 5/8/64, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available for photographing material maintained in the New York Headquarters of the SWP, 115 University Place, NYC.

b2
b7D

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN UTILIZING INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM [redacted] IN ORDER TO AVOID COMPROMISING THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE.

b2
b7CD

[redacted] made available correspondence between [redacted] concerning various policy matters of the SWP. This material is being quoted below for information of appropriate files:

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/WEB/TCJ
ON 1-24-84

4-Detroit (100-1334) (RM)
(1-100-) (SWP Member "L")
(1-100-) [redacted]
(1-100-) [redacted]
1-New York [redacted] (44)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X)
1-New York (100-151715) (FREEDOM NOW PARTY) (44)
1-New York (100-146608 (SWP-DISRUPTION PROGRAM) (44)
1-New York [redacted] (44)
1-New York [redacted] (44)
1-New York [redacted] (44)
1-New York (100-) ("LIBERATOR")
1-New York [redacted] (44)
1-New York (100-4013) (44)

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

105-8999-4519

b7C (14) [redacted]

Classified By [illegible] on 1/14/75
Exempt from GDS Category X
Date of Declassification Indefinite

[redacted]

b7C

NY 100-4013

b7c

[redacted]
Detroit, Mich. 48206
April 14, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

b7c

Dear [redacted]

This is about Malcolm's visit.

After receiving N.O. approval to proceed with a direct approach, L wrote him a letter expressing the hope that he could have a few minutes alone with him. Our decision was that L should identify himself as a party member, offer active support, find out if M is going to build an organization here, find out about plans for the projected August conference, etc. We felt that this was better than presenting ourselves as just anonymous militants, for it would clearly indicate M's attitude to us and create clear conditions of collaboration if any collaboration ensued.

After the letter was sent. L was chosen by GOAL, the committee sponsoring Sunday's rally, whose leaders know his politics, to be one of three 'guards' who would stay with M from around Saturday noon through his departure right after the Sunday meeting. This was a good break (and a sign of GOAL leadership's estimate of L and us as both trustworthy and tough) since it would be likely L could find a few minutes alone with him that way. Unfortunately, the plans were changed and M did not come until Sunday afternoon and L was never able to be alone with him. (But he did tell L in the presence of others that he wants to build a group here too.).

Saturday we learned there would be a press conference before the rally, and decided I should attend for The Militant and young [redacted] for the Young Socialist. Again, unfortunately, I was too exhausted Sunday and could not attend either the press conference, the rally or our branch meeting that day. (I feel better today.)

b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

"So we sent [redacted] as the representative of The Militant. When [redacted] introduced himself and his paper, as the dozen or more others at the press conference did, M gave him a friendly smile. [redacted] was later added to the guard on duty at the rally. That's about all.

b7c

"Our comrades here are disappointed at the failure of the comrades in New York to make contact, join there, etc., where it is so much more handy and permanent an opportunity. Saturday I got an enthusiastic letter from [redacted] perhaps he is now in a position to participate in decisions and execution of decisions? I intend to write him a letter telling him frankly we think he should and expressing our inability to understand why he did not attend the PC meeting of March 27, where the matter was discussed. I may ask him to show you that letter and urge you to show him this one in the hope that your getting together to look at letters may lead to bettter collaboration on the New York end.

b7c

"M ducked the FNP question at the press conference and rally. But he told a few people, and L overheard this, that the FNP leaders are split or splitting, haven't decided what they want to do, still haven't really decided about the all-black question; and therefore he can't take a position toward them publicly. This seems to confirm rumors we have heard fourth-hand about [redacted] being ousted, [redacted] becoming inactive, which we tended to regard as only rumors. Do you know anything about this or can you find out and let us know? Thanks very much for the tape. It was useful. What do you want done with it?

b7c

"Affectionately,"

* * *

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-4013

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]
Detroit, Mich. 48206
April 27, 1964

Dear [redacted]

b7C

"I got the May Liberator when I came home from work Saturday (thanks to [redacted] and had to concentrate on a talk for our seminar Sunday. I am sorry to have lost this time because I think an effort should be made to get a letter from [redacted] into the June Liberator, if possible, and I hope you will cooperate in getting the ting done as fast as possible, because they go to press early.

"The theoretical etc parts can wait, at least under after the second part of [redacted] article appears. But we should try to clear up this business about the FNP right away. Enclosed is a first draft of a letter on this point that I want the N.O. to go over, and fix up if necessary; then shoot it to [redacted] wherever he is now, and have him go over it and make any changes necessary; then have him mail it to [redacted] as soon as possible (if advisable, enclosing a short note appealing to [redacted] to print it in the June issue) by airmail special delivery. If it isn't printed in the June issue, then we should print it in the Militant as soon as the June issue is cut; we should also of course reprint it if they do run it. Meanwhile we can think over who should undertake an article on the bigger points, where it should be printed, etc.

b7C

"Please impress on [redacted] that the L goes to press early and that it should be handled with dispatch, as I hope I have impressed on you. Better send him at least 2 copies of your draft, an envelope addressed to the Liberator, etc.

b7C

"I am annoyed that you have not sent back the copy of the letter I had sent to [redacted] which was my own copy and which I wanted back right away. Will you please take

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-4013.

CONFIDENTIAL

"care of this at one? Thanks.

"Affectionately,
s/[redacted] b7C

* * *

"April 28, 1964

"Dear [redacted]

"Enclosed is a letter and self-addressed envelope which we propose you sign and send to the Liberator. They have an article in the recent issue strongly criticising the SWP. b7C

[redacted] sent in a draft of the letter and I cut it down drastically.

"If you feel that you have to change the letter and have it retyped before you send it in, be sure to send us a copy as we will publish the letter in The Militant if they don't print it. We may even publish it if they do print it for that matter.

"If the letter is o.k. with you, drop it in the mailbox as soon as possible since they go to press quite early and it would be very good to have them get it in time.

"Comradely
"s/[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL -5- b7C

5/26/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41040)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS - X
(OO: New York)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-25-84 BY [illegible]

Re Chicago airtel and letterhead memo concerning captioned organization dated 5/25/64.

Paragraph 3, column 2, section 1A of the 5/23/64 issue of the "Chicago Tribune" a Chicago, Illinois daily newspaper contained an item captioned "MALCOLM X Says He Will Form Chicago Mosque."

This item stated as follows:

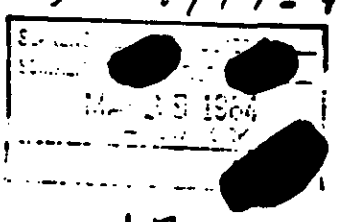
"MALCOLM X, Head of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. said yesterday he plans to establish a mosque in Chicago. He said the group is known as an organization for the militant Negroes. He said he has received a number of applications for membership but declined to say how many."

3-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (100-152759) (RM)
1-Chicago

CES/jas
(6)

Original in 100-152759

105-8999-4518



b7c

Chicago has previously alerted sources in this matter and no pertinent information whatsoever has been developed in this regard to date. Sources and informants in the racial field are being realerted in the above regard.

b7CD

[redacted] advised SA [redacted] on 5/26/64, that [redacted] has absolutely no information whatsoever indicating that MALCOLM X has organized a mosque at Chicago or has made any preliminary plans in that regard to date.

Chicago, as in the past, will continue to be exceptionally alert for any information in the above regard and the Bureau will be appropriately advised.

The Bureau's attention is directed to a newspaper clipping of the Four Star Edition of the "Chicago Sun-Times" dated 5/24/64, page 12, column 1, which has been furnished to the Bureau. This item described the MALCOLM X-LEWIS LOMAX debate held at the Chicago Civic Opera House on 5/23/64. No information contained therein was different or not specifically contained in referenced letterhead memo.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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FBI/DOJ

FD-36 (Rev. [illegible])

FBI

Date: 5/25/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-41040)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
SM - X

OO: NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-25-84 BY 8269 SHE/WEB/

ReBuairtel dated 5/18/64, authorizing the attendance of SA [redacted] at the LOUIS LOMAX-MALCOLM X debate to be held on 5/23/64, at the Civic Opera House, Chicago.

b7c

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 9 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning the LOMAX-MALCOLM X debate held on 5/23/64. The information is from SA [redacted] who was in attendance and who prepared his observations in the LHM following the debate in its original form as, in view of the mixed attendance and racial aspects of the debate it was felt inadvisable to take notes. Five copies of the LHM are enclosed for New York and one copy each for information for Memphis and New Orleans in view of remarks made by Dr. LOMAX.

4 - Bureau (Encl. 9) (RM)
(1 - 25-330971) (NOI)
1 - Memphis (157-0) (RACIAL MATTERS) (INFO) (RM) (Encl. 1)
1 - New Orleans (157-0) (RACIAL MATTERS) (INFO) (RM) (Encl. 1)
5 - New York (100-152759) (RM) (Encl. 5)
(1 - 100-8999) (MALCOLM X)
(1 - 105-7809) (NOI)
(1 - 100-) (LOUIS LOMAX)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

105-8999-4516

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
MAY [illegible]

CES:kzh
(13)

b7c

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

No incidents whatsoever occurred and the Negro portion of the audience appeared to be more receptive to MALCOLM X than Dr. LOMAX.

MALCOLM X never mentioned "rifle clubs" or advocated initial violence in a racial dispute. As set forth in LHM he advocated violence as a self-defense measure only. He never mentioned Muslim Mosque, Incorporated.

The information furnished by [redacted] in enclosed LHM was furnished to SA [redacted]

b7CD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

MAY 25, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

The March 13, 1964 edition of the "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York contained an item on Page 20 which reflected that Malcolm X, the former head of the Nation of Islam (NOI) Mosque in New York, had broken with the NOI and Elijah Muhammad on March 8, 1964, and that on March 12, 1964, had announced he would form his own mosque in New York and it would be a meeting place for his Muslim followers as well as the base of a political oriented Black Nationalist Movement.

On March 16, 1964, [redacted] Supervisor, Business Section, Clerk of Court, New York County, New York, advised that on March 16, 1964, incorporation papers were filed for Muslim Mosque, Inc., that Malcolm Little was one of the trustees of the corporation, and that the principal place of worship was to be in the Borough of Manhattan, New York County, New York.

b7CD

The NOI, which has not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 is referred to in the latter pages of this communication.

The Sunday, May 17, 1964, issue of the "Chicago Sun-Times" a Chicago, Illinois daily newspaper contained an item in its "entertainment section" that John Golden Productions presented another "Debate of the Year" featuring Louis Lomax, forceful philosopher of non-violent action, and Malcolm X, "America's most radical Negro" on the subject "The Negro Revolt". The item stated the debate would be held in the Civic Opera House, Madison and Wacker, Chicago, Illinois.

b7CD

On May 21, 1964, [redacted] Chicago Civic Opera House, advised that John Golden and his John Golden Productions was a legitimate organization which sponsored various theatrical events, lectures and debates in the Chicago and Midwest area.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-25-84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

b7C [redacted]

105-8999-4515

Re: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

On May 23, 1963, a Special Agent of the FBI observed the Louis Lomax-Malcolm X debate at the Chicago Civic Opera House.

Irving Kupcinet, described in the official program as the moderator of a Chicago television panel program called "Kup's Show", was the moderator of the debate.

The audience appeared to be predominately Negro by a ratio of approximately 5 to 3.

Dr. Lomax spoke first and in his remarks stated that he was an American, born in Georgia, intended to stay in America and help obtain complete democracy for his race and for all races. He said the Negro wants one main thing - freedom for jobs, and once he has that freedom he will be on his own the same as the white man. He said it would then be up to the Negro to show what he could do in the way of being capable and qualified to hold a job. He said the Negro is not an African, but an American despite certain injustices which are against him because of his race.

Dr. Lomax stated he was for continued civil rights demonstrations, particularly in the south and it is his declared desire to improve conditions for the Negro in the south. As an example he said there were some 3,000 young Americans, both Negro and white who are presently training to peacefully infiltrate some of the cities of Mississippi in the summer of 1964 and peacefully conduct sit-ins, picket lines and the like despite the extra training southern law enforcement officials have taken to combat such tactics. He spoke of these things in general terms and was not specific as to times and places.

Dr. Lomax emphasized that the American Negro, living in America had to improve his living conditions here strictly on his own as he could see no indication of any Negro move back to Africa. He again reiterated that he was an American first and a Negro second and he felt most American Negroes felt the same way. He added that he felt the American Negroes loyalty and lives depended on demonstrative procedures in America and that all efforts to improve Negro conditions should be made in that light. When asked by a member of the audience if he did not consider himself an African he replied, "As I stated previously, I am an American".

Re: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

Malcolm X stated that since his recent return from Africa, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca he had changed his mind to a certain extent regarding the white man. He said he found a number of blue-eyed caucasians from many countries, including America, converted to the Moslem faith who were good people and believed in the Moslem principle of the Brotherhood of Man. He added that these individuals had no hatred for the black man as that found in the American white man. He stated that their ideas do not necessarily pertain to all white men, but there was some hope in that regard.

Malcolm X stated that he believed that neither integratio nor separation would work in America and when asked by the moderato what he thought would work in their place he replied, "Re-education for both the whites and the blacks". He was not specific in that regard.

Malcolm X stated he was for non-violence in the racial field and that he was in no sense a racist. He added that he felt that the black man should defend himself by any means if attacked. He said this pertained to white people sicking dogs on black people, shooting fire hoses on them and any other form of what he termed degrading offenses against members of the black race by the white race or white law officials. He said that any violence he mentioned was only in the light of self-defense for the black man.

Malcolm X said that the present Civil Rights Bill pending in Congress is a farce and that for 350 years the Negro in America has never attained civil rights. He added that after 10 years since the Supreme Court decision calling for the integration of schools in America less than 1% of the schools had been integrated. He said the black man should not talk civil rights any longer but should talk of human rights and take their problem to the United Nations in order to get satisfactic and equality for members of his race by means of a United Nations resolution.

Malcolm X said that one of his main concerns was the younger generation of the Negro who resides in the larger cities such as New York and Chicago. He said these young men by forming guerilla gangs in the larger cities could cause a serious problem in the racial field as they are so fed-up in the racial aspect of equal opportunities to obtain good jobs. He offered no solution in this regard.

Re: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

Malcolm X referred to Governor George Wallace of Alabama, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia and former Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi as segregationists and "racists" who had no desire whatsoever to help the Negro in his fight for equality in the United States. He referred to President Johnson as a "dixiecrat and democrat". He reaffirmed his previous statement that civil rights was not the answer to the black man's problems but that the matter should be submitted to the United Nations. He said the United States Government was a racist government as it was controlled by southern leaders who hold all the responsible positions in the government.

As an example of Malcolm X's argument regarding the racial problem, he referred to the United States as a great white luxury liner at sea which sprung a number of leaks which caused the boat to begin sinking. Malcolm stated he (and Dr. Lomax), rather than help repair the leaks, would have to jump from the boat, climb on a log and reach safety, in order to preserve their lives. Dr. Lomax then asked Malcolm where he could find a log in mid-ocean and where, if he found one, he though he could go. Malcolm appeared taken aback by Dr. Lomax's question and stated he was "unable to answer that one". Dr. Lomax then replied he would cooperate with the white crew of the ship to go at all lengths to repair the leaks so that all, black and white, could reach their destination safely.

An estimated 1500 persons, both Negro and white, attended this debate.

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2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to characterize "Nation of Islam," "Muslim Girls Training" and/or "Fruit of Islam." Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.

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FBI/DOJ

MALCOLM REJECTS RACE SEPARATION

Tells of 'Spiritual Rebirth' During Trip to Mideast

CHICAGO, May 22 (AP)—Malcolm X said tonight that he now rejected separation of the races as a goal for the Negro because of a "spiritual rebirth" in which he had found a new kind of brotherhood.

"Separation is not the goal of the Afro-American," Malcolm told a mixed audience of 1,500 in the Opera House. "Nor is integration his goal. They are merely methods toward his real end—respect and recognition as a human being."

The black nationalist leader from New York said he had experienced a "spiritual rebirth" during a five-week tour of the Middle East and Africa, during which he visited Mecca.

"I saw a spirit of unity and brotherhood between blue-eyed blondes and dark-skinned Negroes that I have never seen before," he said.

"In the past," he added, "I committed myself to the indictment of all whites. But no longer do I subscribe to a sweeping indictment of any race."

[In a letter from Mecca to a friend in New York, Malcolm told of having gained new insights on race relations during his pilgrimage, it was disclosed earlier this month. He said then that for the first time in his life he had felt no antagonism toward whites.]

Malcolm is former leader of the New York mosque of Black Muslims. This group is a religious sect seeking a separate homeland apart from white-dominated society.

Debates Author

Malcolm made the statements tonight during a debate with Louis Lomax, the Negro author. The men agreed on their necessity for dignity and freedom for Negroes but differed in their approaches to the civil rights movement.

At one point Mr. Lomax said: "I hate to admit this, Malcolm, but you've become a moderate."

In his opening statements, Malcolm chided the United States Government as preaching integration but allowing racism and as being afraid to take the racial issue to the United Nations.

"We cannot expect the help of our black brothers in Africa as long as civil rights is an issue," he said.

"I propose we lift the issue of civil rights to the level of human rights by bringing it before the United Nations."

Malcolm called President Johnson "as much a Dixiecrat as a Democrat."

Malcolm's greatest applause came when he said that "unless

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NY Times

EDITION Late City

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FBI - NEW YORK

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the race issue is quickly settled, the 22 million American Negroes could easily adopt the guerrilla tactics of other deprived revolutionaries around the world."

Cites Jews' Progress

By M. S. HANDLER

The experience of the Jews in achieving an important place in American society within a relatively short time can, according to Malcolm X, provide valuable lessons to the 20 million American Negroes who are struggling for equal status.

The black nationalist leader expressed this view at a news conference Thursday, after his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca and a tour of many newly independent African nations.

Before journeying to Mecca, Malcolm withdrew from Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim organization to form a new movement open to Negroes of all religions.

At his news conference, which was held at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem, Malcolm said:

"The American Jews have raised their own status in this country through their philosophical, cultural, and psychological migration to Israel.

"In the same way, the American Negroes can raise their own status by becoming deeply involved philosophically, culturally and psychologically with the new African nations."

In interviews before his journey to Mecca, Malcolm formulated his ideas in more concrete and elaborate terms. He said:

"The Jews have strengthened their own group consciousness, and their own individual consciousness as Jews through their strong emotional attachment to the state of Israel. This close identification with Israel has intensified the individual Jew's personal identification with the great Jewish historical tradition, and he knows who he is as a man.

"This knowledge of one's self has enabled the Jew to become a highly effective man in this society and explains the psychological foundations of his tremendous success.

"This is an important lesson for the American Negroes who have no sense of cultural or historical identity because they don't know who they are. Their historic connections with Africa and African culture were destroyed by the slave owners.

"The result is that the American Negroes, ignorant of their African past, and therefore lacking in any justifiable pride in this past, are in a sense zombies because they don't know who they are."

WASHINGTON FOCUS:

Malcolm X Brands Peace Corps 'Spies'

By CHARLES BARTLETT

MALCOLM X, the Negro Muslim leader, did serious damage to the United States in his just-concluded tour of Africa. He declared in Ghana that all the Peace Corps volunteers are government spies and denounced the United States for recruiting Negroes to serve as "espionage agents." He said that Afro-Americans now realize they cannot speak to White Americans in polite language because they only understand force.

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DATE MAY 24 1964

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Is Mecca Trip Changing Malcolm?

By JAMES BOOKER

Has the visit of Malcolm X, now El Hajj Malik El Shabbazz, to Mecca and with Muslim leaders in Africa changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious?

This is the feeling of this reporter following receipt of a new letter this week from Nigeria in which Malcolm, who is due to return to New York next week, said that he was being received with warm hospitality throughout Africa where he said "they love us as their long - lost brothers."

Asserting that his trip to Mecca had officially established his new religious Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm said his trip had also established that Africans are interested in the plight of the nation's 22 million African Americans.

A possible clue to Malcolm's suspected change in his militant racial attitudes was seen in a new letter received this week by the Amsterdam News.

Firm Stand

"As far as the Muslims of Asia, Arabia, and even Europe, are concerned, in regards to the plight of the 22 million African-Americans; The Koran compels all people who accept the Islam religion to take a firm stand on the side of anyone whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasion of the victims may be.

"On the Hajj to Mecca, I learned that Islam is a religion that concerns itself with the human rights of all mankind, despite race, color or creed. Islam recognizes everyone as part of one human family. So the Muslim world must concern itself with America's violation of the human rights of the 22 million African Americans," Malcolm wrote.

Urging all Negroes to visit Africa, Malcolm said that in each city he has visited high officials have shown open hospitality, forcing him to remain longer than he expected.

Loved Him

"In the Arab world they loved me as soon as they learned I was an American Muslim, and here in Africa they opened their hearts and their arms to me when they learned that I was an African American, and I must confess that their joy and respect was greater still when they discovered I was "Malcolm X" of the Militant American Muslims. Africans in general and Muslims in particular, everywhere, love militancy," Malcolm declared. He has been speaking in Africa on the race problem in America.

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NY Amsterdam News

EDITION

DATE 5/23/64

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FBI - NEW YORK

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Fresh from a visit to the Muslim holy city of Mecca and a tour of several African nations, Malcolm X is scheduled to return to New York Thursday afternoon, May 21, to launch a drive urging closer ties between American Negroes and Africans.

Malcolm hinted his new philosophy in a letter to the Amsterdam News in which he said that "We can learn much from the strategy used by the American Jews. They have never migrated physically to Israel, yet their cultural, philosophical and psychological ties to Israel has enhanced their political, economic and social position right there in America.

"Pan Africanism will do for people of African decent all over the world the same that Zionism has done for Jews all over the world," Malcolm wrote.

Malcolm's letters to this newspaper during his almost two months in Africa indicate something of a change in his position to work for closer ties with civil rights leaders and a lessening of his anti-white attitudes. During his visit to Mecca he was the guest of the government for 12 days and was treated as a dignitary in most of the places he traveled, his letters asserted.

Malcolm X Objective—African Aid for Negroes

Malcolm X, who seceded from the Black Muslims to organize his own black nationalist movement, said yesterday he will try to bring the numerous Negro civil rights groups of the nation into a united front in an effort to win support in the United Nations from the African nations.

In a press conference at the Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and Seventh Ave., he said he would soon call a private meeting, "secret if necessary," of various Negro leaders to form a single civil rights organization.

The ultimate purpose, he explained, is to bring "the plight of Afro-American Negroes" before the United Nations.

He said leaders of African nations he had talked to told him they would help the civil rights movement in America if the Negroes here "form a single group, no matter how loosely." He recently returned from a trip to Africa.

As the best method of winning recognition for American Negroes, he said: "We'll try one method. If that doesn't work, then we'll try another. And if that doesn't work, then we'll try another, that's all."

He refused to elaborate or explain what "that's all" meant.

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NY N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

EDITION Late City

DATE MAY 22 1964

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MALCOLM X WOOS 2 RIGHTS LEADERS

Asks 'Forgiveness' for Past Remarks and Seeks Unity

Malcolm X was quoted yesterday, in a letter to two civil rights leaders, as asking "forgiveness for the unkind things that he has said in the past."

The letter was signed by his secretary, James Shabazz.

Malcolm formerly headed New York followers of the Nation of Islam. He split with Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, and now heads the Moslem Mosque, Inc., a black nationalist organization.

Malcolm was quoted as referring to "new areas for mutual cooperation" that would be "beneficial to all our people and [that] should considerably shorten our struggle."

The letter said Malcolm had been surprised, on his recent pilgrimage to Mecca, at the "graciousness" displayed by "people of all colors." It mentioned his "new position" and added:

"We pray that it will be attractive to you and herald in a new era for all of us. Certainly he is looking forward to the day (in the near future) when all leaders of all organizations will be able to present a united action front."

The letter said that Malcolm did not intend to attack "any persons or organizations that are engaged in the [civil rights] struggle."

Letters were received by Bayard Rustin and the Rev. Dr. Milton A. Galamison.

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28 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 5/19/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: TURNER CATLEDGE
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

☒ Being Investigated

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1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)

67- Philadelphia
1 - 25-26094
66- Other Appropriate Files

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Trip to Mecca Changes Malcolm X

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. He said that there were more than 226,000 Moslems from all parts of the world present in Mecca for this year's pilgrimage.

"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-Muslins 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 non-believers. According to James Shabbaz, the administrator of Malcolm's organization, and himself a Black Muslim, Negroes of all religions and sects are flocking to Malcolm's banner.

The intellectual and emotional impact of Malcolm upon all segments of the Negro communities in the United States is said to have become one of the principal imponderables in trying to assess the trends in the civil rights struggle.

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 practice 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.

"This 'adjustment to reality' wasn't too difficult for me to

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Page 12

The Philadelphia Independent

1-24-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TC

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Edition: Local [illegible]
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Submitting Office: Philadelph.

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undergo because, despite firmly expressed convictions in whatever I believe, I have always tried to keep an open mind, which is absolutely necessary to reflect the flexibility that must go hand-in-hand with anyone whose intelligent quest for truth remains unending."

Finds 'True Acceptance'

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.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Malcolm X Is 'Converted' From Hatred of All Whites On Pilgrimmage to Mecca

Malcolm X, the Black Muslims' stormy petrel who has been undergoing a series of ideological transitions lately, now has experienced the greatest change of all by evidently renouncing his blanket hatred of whites.

In a letter to a friend, sent from Mecca where he is participating in a pilgrimmage to the Holy City of Islam, Malcolm X wrote that he will return to the United States with competely new insights on human relations due to a religious experience which has enabled him to feel no antagonism toward whites, for the first time in his life.

Furthermore, he said he has sensed no antagonism on their part toward him.

Written at a time when there are more than 226,000 Moslems from all over the world in Mecca, the letter stated, "During the past seven days of this Holy Pilgrimmage, while undergoing the rituals of Jajj, 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 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 my

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

1 CHICAGO COURIER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-16-64
Edition: WEEKLY
Author:
Editor: S.B. FULLER
Title: MALCOLM X
Character: or 100-33595
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

New York
4504

b7c [redacted]

close association with them.

"In fact what I have seen and experienced on this pilgrimmage, has forced me to 'rearrange' much of my own thought-pattern, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions.

"This 'adjustment to reality' wasn't too difficult for me to undergo because, despite firmly expressed convictions in whatever I believe, I have always tried to keep an open mind which is absolutely necessary to reflect the flexibility that must go hand-in-hand with anyone whose intelligent quest for truth remains unending."

Peering into the future, Malcolm also struck a surprising note, in contrast to the statements for which he has become famous. He wrote "But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path nearer the 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 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."

Malcolm's pilgrimmage marked the first time a Black Muslims had visited Mecca at the time of Hajj, though Elijah Muhammad and his two sons had visited the Holy City in other seasons. On this visit, Malcolm X said he had been showered with honors in Mecca, Jednah and Mina, and was informed on his arrival that he was to be the state guest of crown prince Faisal.

This marks the second great change which the controversial leader has undergone in recent months. Not too long ago he split with Mr. Muhammad to form a Muslim group of his own which would be aimed at militant civil rights efforts and would not limit membership to those following the Muslim faith.

Meanwhile, back in the states, another is bidding for the spotlight in which Malcolm has basked.

Shaykh Muhammad has announced his intentions of forming a "people militia" called the Freedom Fighters which will be used "as the Vigilantes were used in the Mid-west during the gold rush and restless period of the West" in order to halt "the continued atrocities being committed against the unarmed."

According to Shaykh Muhammad, "These barbaric attacks are gaining in intensity, and they are being inflicted upon my people without cause. We're taking it upon ourselves to protect women and children. "The role of the Freedom Fighters, or 'F. F.,' will be 'to protect the citizens of color of this nation against the barbaric attacks of the police and any other persons, whoever they might be, who interfere with the peaceful petition of these said people."

In addition, the Freedom Fighters will "render protection and support to all civil rights and human rights groups who request it." Headquarters for the outfit is the Voice of Freedom Organization, the African Asian Cultural Center, 2336-38-40 W. Columbia Ave., New York.

4-760 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DOJ

5/28/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-25-84 BY 8269 [illegible]
Copy #2

ReNYairtel and LHM, dated 5/1/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a LHM concerning the activities of CHARLES WRIGHT HALE relative to his purchase of ammunition in April, 1964, and his association with the MOI.

A copy of this LHM is being furnished to G-2 and Secret Service locally.

NY T-1 is [redacted] who requested that his identity be protected [redacted]

b7c D

NY T-2 is NY 3474-S.

3 - Bureau (100-441765)(Encl.8)(RM)
1 - New York [redacted] (ABRAHAM BEY)(43)
1 - New York [redacted] (CHARLES 21X HALE)(43) b7c
1 - New York (105-8999)(MALCOLM LITTLE)(43)
1 - New York (105-7309)(NOI)(43)
1 - New York (100-152759)(43)

ABF:kmk
(9)

105-8999-194

[redacted]

b7c

 b7cD

[redacted] furnished the following information which he requested be kept strictly confidential.

The purchase of the ammunition by HALE at Globe Firearms, 30 Front St., NYC, was made on 4/18/64. HALE had previously been in the store and talked of practising with a rifle at the Brookhaven Recreation Center, Patchogue, Long Island, NY, and of purchasing large quantities of rifle and pistol ammunition. Because HALE was a Negro and because of the recent "rifle club" talk of MALCOLM X, the store owner alerted the NYCPD.

The NYCPD instituted a surveillance at the store and on 4/18/64, HALE was spotted and subsequently identified. He was accompanied by a Negro male who did not enter the store, and who has since been identified from a photograph by the Detective conducting the surveillance as BEY. HALE then drove to BEY's residence and left BEY out and proceeded home.

Since that time HALE has been under daily surveillance with the exception of approximately four days. He works from 5:00 PM to 1:00 AM, and consequently his several visits to the Hotel Theresa have never been at a time when an MMI meeting was known to be in progress. He has not returned to BEY's residence since 4/18/64.

It is not known whom he contacts at Akbar Distributors when he goes there.

A discreet check by the NYCPD of the Brookhaven Recreation Center determined that on a Sunday in mid April, 1964, HALE, JAMES JONES and a third unknown person were at the range. This is a public owned township range where shooters must sign the register. The name of the unknown person was illegible, however this person and JONES gave the address of 73 W. 116th St., NYC, the Akbar Distributors.

The NYO is checking out the above range through established police sources.

NYO indices contain no identifiable references to JONES based on available information. There are no references to JONES in the NOI or the MMI file.

b7CD

[redacted]

The three proprietors of Akbar Distributors are subject of the below listed NY case files:

b7C

ARTHUR 11X NOLDEN [redacted]
HENRY 14X (probably FIELDS [redacted]
REUBEN X

Background, descriptive data and photographs of the above three were furnished [redacted] However, it is not known at this time if they are contacts of HALE.

b7D

Close liaison on a daily basis is being maintained with [redacted] and they will immediately advise the NYO of any pertinent developments. The Bureau will be kept advised.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
May 28, 1964

In Reply, Please
Refer to File No.
Bufile 100-441765
NYFile 100-152759

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-25-84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/

Re: Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

Reference is made to the memorandum dated May 1, 1964.

On March 12, 1964, Malcolm Little publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), the philosophy of which will be black nationalism.

On May 21, 1964, NY T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information concerning the activities of Charles Wright Hale:

In April, 1964, when Hale purchased 1300 rounds of ammunition he was accompanied by another Negro male of unknown identity. This unknown Negro male is now known to have been Abraham Bey of 442 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York. Neither Hale nor Bey are known to have purchased any ammunition since the original purchase.

NY T-1 also advised that to date Hale has not yet picked up the Universal Vulcan .44 caliber Magnum rifle on which he has a deposit.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

105-8999-4493

Re: Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

NY T-1 also advised that Hale on several dates in May, 1964, is known to have gone to the Hotel Theresa, New York City, where MMI headquarters are located, but it is not known if he actually went to MMI headquarters.

Hale is also known to have gone on several occasions in May, 1964, to Akbar Distributors, 73 West 116th Street, New York City.

NY T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 24, 1964, that Akbar Distributors is operated by Reuben X, Arthur 11X, Nolden and Henry 14X. These three were former members of Nation of Islam (NOI) Mosque Number 7, New York City, who in March, 1964, left the NOI and joined Malcolm and his MMI.

A characterization of the NOI and NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, are attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

NY T-1 also advised on May 25, 1964, that Hale was present with a group of MMI members at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, on May 21, 1964, to greet Malcolm Little when the latter returned from an African trip.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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3 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to characterize "Nation of Islam," "Muslim Girls Training" and/or "Fruit of Islam." Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.

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FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 5/26/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-43914) (RUC)

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 SNE/WGB/TC

OO: New York

ReNew York airtel to Detroit dated 5/18/64.

There is no approved characterization for SLATE. SLATE is recognized by the University of California as an off-campus student political action group at the University of California, Berkeley, California, which has presented speakers from a wide-range of views including the Communist Party and John Birch Society. The term SLATE was derived from the fact that when originally conceived the group presented a slate of candidates in the campus elections.

2 - New York (AM REG.)
1 - San Francisco

[redacted] b 7c
(3)

105-8999-4492
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[redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-358 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Return of Malcolm X

By HELEN DUDAR

The face of the Hotel Theresa bore a streamer that said, "Welcome Back, Brother Malcolm," and the welcomers assembled in the eleventh-floor Skyline Room. They included his wife, lieutenants, many friends, a few worshipful Harlem adolescents and some faint-hearted admirers who, only later, confessed that they had been worried that Mecca had mellowed Malcolm X. It hasn't really.

He came back with a beard because his five-week tour of Africa and the Middle East had kept him too busy to shave; with a severe case of traveler's fatigue that cut short a reception that was to have followed a press conference; with head aflame over new approaches to the problem of Negro suppression.

Post Photo by Jacobellis

MALCOLM X AND DAUGHTER
Back from Mecca.

And he came back with unblunted convictions that the white men of this land will never deal justly with the black minority.

It was Malcolm's second trip to Africa, his first to Mecca. Glowing letters from the holy city of Islam had talked in uncharacteristically generous terms of fellow pilgrims of "all colors," of blond Muslims with whom he felt a kinship that experience had convinced him "could never exist between white and non-white."

A shudder of unease had seized a few Malcolm enthusiasts. Both as chief apostle of the Black Muslim movement and in his more recent role as head of his own black nationalist movement, Malcolm X has been the most relentless expression of black hostility and anger—the voice of Negro outrage.

The lyrics are slightly altered, but the melody is unchanged. In the brotherhood of Islam, Malcolm explained, the notion of skin color vanishes. The prospects for the same brotherhood here seems remote to him, contingent as they are on the adoption of Islam by white Americans.

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

3 NEW YORK POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY [illegible]

Date: 5/22/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: HELEN DUDAR
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

XXX Being Investigated

105-8992-[illegible]

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAY 22 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

b7C [redacted]

He was pressed again about his racial views and his reply streamed out in a cluster of cool phrases: "No matter how much respect, no matter how much recognition whites show towards me, as far as I'm concerned, as long as it is not shown to every one of our people in this country, it doesn't exist for me."

Another piece of mail distributed during Malcolm's absence was a letter that went out to all civil rights leaders. He asked forgiveness for any unkind things he might have said of them in the past and urged "mutual cooperation." Although the tone was gentler, the ideas scarcely differed from statements he made two months ago when he departed the Black Muslims.

However, last night, Malcolm said he wanted a "united front" of Negro organizations and would actively seek it in "private and, if necessary, secret discussions." By now a prisoner of his rhetoric, Malcolm X shortly after was making passing reference to "Uncle Tom" integrationist leaders.

His tour took him through Egypt, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia and then Nigeria, Ghana, Morocco and Algeria. He spent much of his time enlisting the support of these nations in a move to present the case of the American Negro before the United Nations as a problem in human rights. He said he had support, but would give no further details.

* * *

He has modified his views about migration. As a Black Muslim leader, Malcolm argued for separate U.S. territory for the Negro and as a newly-fledged nationalist leader last March set a goal of ultimate return to Africa. The new African nations, he said, "would welcome" migrant black Americans, "but most feel the black man would show more wisdom to fight for himself right here in this country."

Malcolm said he came back believing that "philosophical migration, cultural migration and psychological migration"—that is identification with African history and heritage—were sound alternatives to actual migration and would strengthen American Negroes in their struggle for equality.

He was asked about the "Blood Brothers," a young Harlem gang which police have suggested was either inflamed by Muslim rhetoric to anti-white murder and mayhem or trained by some of Malcolm followers. Malcolm said he had never heard of the group until he read about it in a Nigerian newspaper. "If it does exist," he added, "I am surprised that white people are surprised that Negroes are reacting like that."

"Do you condone it?" someone asked.

"I don't think I should be asked whether or not I condone the reaction of any people who are exploited and whose reaction is to criminal exploitation."

Malcolm Back, Beard and All

Black Muslim maverick Malcolm X arrived at Kennedy Airport at 4:30 P.M. yesterday by Pan American jet after a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Wearing a goatee and carrying a stick with a carved voodoo head, he was cleared through customs, then joined his three daughters in a limousine. He lifted the youngest girl, Ilysah, 2, for photographers, and departed in a motorcade of six autos.

He faces a speeding charge in Traffic Court Aug. 5. A bench warrant was issued Tuesday when he failed to show for trial, but this was vacated when his attorney explained he was out of the country.

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CLIPPING FROM THE

NY DAILY NEWS

EDITION Final

DATE MAY 22 1964

PAGE 16

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ✓

105-8999-4488

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SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....

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MALCOLM SAYS HE IS BACKED ABROAD

Asserts U.N. Will Get Case on U.S. Negro This Year

Malcolm X, the Negro nationalist leader, said yesterday he had received pledges of support from some new African nations for charges of discrimination against the United States in the United Nations.

The case against the United States for its treatment of the Negro people, he said, would be prepared and submitted to the United Nations sometime this year. He did not say which nations intended to lodge the formal charges.

Malcolm, speaking at a press conference in Harlem following his return from a trip to Africa and Mecca, said the pledges had been received from the heads of all the countries he visited. Among the nations on his itinerary were Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Morocco and Saudi Arabia.

The case to be presented to the world organization, he asserted, would compel the United States Government to face the same charges as South Africa and Rhodesia.

The United States, he asserted, has colonized the Negro people just as the people of Africa and Asia were colonized by Europeans. He described the American method as neo-colonialism.

Stresses Dignity

"My racial philosophy has only changed to the extent that in Mecca and Saudi Arabia I met thousands of people of different races and colors who treated me as a human being," he said.

Malcolm, who formerly headed the New York followers of the Nation of Islam, recently split with the group and now leads the Moslem Mosque Inc., a Negro nationalist organization.

Earlier, he was greeted at Kennedy International Airport yesterday by a crowd of newsmen. A detail of airport police accompanied Malcolm to a side area where his wife and children awaited him.

Also on hand was a heavy detail of Malcolm's own security men, wearing dark blue suits, white shirts and distinctive red or gray bow ties.

A court warrant for Malcolm's arrest on a speeding charge on the Triborough Bridge before he left on his tour was vacated yesterday by another court when Malcolm's lawyer explained that the Negro leader was out of the country when his hearing was called.

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The New York Times
5/22/64
Late City Ed
P. 22 C. 5

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AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) OF Classified
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CONFIDENTIAL

FBI NEW YORK

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

FBI PHILA

908AM EEDST URGENT 5-21-64 NWW

TO DIRECTOR /100-441765/ & NEW YORK /100-152759/

FROM PHILADELPHIA /100-47471/ 1P

b2 MUSLIM MOSQUE INC., IS-X.

b7D [redacted] ADVISED THIS DATE THAT MALCOLM LITTLE WOULD RETURN FROM AFRICA ON PLANE ARRIVING IN NEW YORK CITY FOUR PM TODAY. MEMBERS OF MMI WILL LEAVE BY CARAVAN FROM NEW YORK MMI HEADQUARTERS AT THREE PM. (X)

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12-19-84 Per release 190-10585
+190-5009-13

END

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FBI NEW YORK

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Orig to 100-152759 [redacted]

105-8999-4485

b7C

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SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAY 21 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, DENVER 5/21/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-97078)

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
NEW YORK LOCAL
IS - SWP

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b1 [redacted] (C)

b1 [redacted] (C)

1-24-84
Classified by 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY
Declassify on: OADR

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AND FIELD OFFICES
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DATE 1-26-84 RKS

45-8999 4/84

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FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-7809) DATE: 5/21/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

INFORMATION CONTAINED
1-25-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TC

b2
b7D

On April 29, 1964, [redacted], reliable, made available the following:

b7C

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMAD he had received a telegram from [redacted] in which [redacted] stated he had heard MALCOLM (LITTLE) was on his way from Mecca to Cairo, Egypt on the 24th. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD ridiculed MALCOLM stating he would not be able to do it that fast as it was impossible to make a pilgrimage that rapidly. MUHAMMAD stated MALCOLM does not know his prayers so he would be working down instead of working up. He further commented "Allah will not pay any attention to him as he has told me so."

b7C

[redacted] stated that they (probably himself, [redacted] and others) are planning on leaving the last part of this week or the first part of next week. [redacted] said [redacted] is on his way here from [redacted] now. He added that the thing that was holding them up was that [redacted] had not received his passport for his new name and they say they cannot issue him two passports and he has to turn his other one in first.

2 - New York (RM)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
2 - [redacted] (Info.) (RM)
1 - Phoenix (100-ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) (Info.) (RM)
5 - Chicago
(1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(10)

b7C

105-8999-4983

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] then stated that [redacted] does not want to put his name in the paper ("Muhammad Speaks"), but wants all the credit both from them and the public and also wants their respect. ELIJAH commented that they do not want people who are afraid and added they could get hundreds of white editors who will do as well as [redacted] or better.

b7c

He stated now have a white printer who is doing a better job than any of our people.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-7809) DATE: 5/21/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
1-24-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

b2
b7D

The information set forth below was made available by [redacted], reliable, on the dates indicated:

May 5, 1964:

A brother Minister (believed to be [redacted] of Newark, New Jersey,) told [redacted] they had a very good meeting on Sunday and had had about 500 people in attendance. He stated [redacted] had visited the temple. [redacted] reported that [redacted] who works in the restaurant, is going to marry a girl in the temple. He stated that the other night the couple had left the restaurant and had driven to a park in "devil" territory and were talking and the "devil" police came up and arrested him because Negro people were not allowed in that part of town. [redacted] stated [redacted].

b7C

3 - New York (RM)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
[redacted]
2 - Los Angeles (105-2604) (Info.) (RM)
[redacted]
1 - [redacted] (Info.) (RM)
2 - Newark (14-169) (Info.) (RM)
[redacted]
1 - Phoenix (100-ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) (Info.) (RM)
10 - Chicago
(1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
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[redacted]
(19)

b7C

105-8999-4482

25

[redacted]

b7C

was not doing anything wrong and actually did not know he should have not been there. [redacted] stated [redacted] has been suspended until he hears from the Messenger. [redacted] replied that he did not think there was much of a case for suspension, but added he should await his answer from the Messenger.

b7c

[redacted] (Chicago cannot determine whether [redacted] is from the New York or Newark NOI Temple).

May 6, 1964:

[redacted] stated that they should be moving into their house within two weeks. She also commented she would like to go to Egypt and see [redacted] She stated that it probably would not be until next year before she could do this.

b7c

May 7, 1964:

[redacted] was in long distance contact from Cairo, Egypt, with CLARA MUHAMMAD and asked for [redacted] phone number. He was told it was [redacted] and he was also told that Daddy's (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) phone number was 276-9041.

b7c

[redacted] asked CLARA to tell daddy that "the man who made the pilgrimage, the man who went to Mecca, passed through here and left two days ago, but I don't know where he went and I want to know if he came back to the states". [redacted] stated she could find out by having [redacted] ask [redacted] (of Temple Number 7 in New York). (Probably MALCOLM X LITTLE).

b7c

[redacted] stated his phone number was [redacted] He commented that if he is not there his wife will always be there and will know how to get in touch with him.

CG 100-35635

May 8, 1964:

An unknown brother captain (believed to be [redacted] of Mosque Number 27 in Los Angeles, California) told [redacted] that the news had a flash on about the Messenger and that other fellow (probably MALCOLM LITTLE) and it is understood that he is going to integrate as devil aint the devil no more, and that they made a statement in reference to the Messenger that his solution was a peaceable solution of separation, but that he would teach men karate and judo for self defense. The brother captain stated it was also commented that this man recently made a tour of Mecca and found that all people and all religions would make it. The brother captain stated he feels that man is walking on thin ice. [redacted] stated that the man is completely backwards and his mind is turned. [redacted] stated the Messenger teaches that "any time one turns his back on Islam, Allah appoints them a devil as a companion." [redacted] continued: "the man will come back if he lives and if Allah pleases him to live he will come back crawling. We have been told that we have the handle that will not break off from us as long as we dont break off from it. We hold fast and that is our salvation."

b7C

[redacted] then inquired about the FOI and the brother stated it was all right as long as they kept the money coming in. [redacted] told the brother that whatever ideas he has that will improve the FOI should be forwarded to him.

b7C

May 10, 1964:

It was indicated that [redacted] had been having an argument and [redacted] had told his wife [redacted] that he had been staying with [redacted] and [redacted] would go to hell. It was further indicated that

b7C

CG 100-35635

[redacted] is pregnant again and [redacted] is also pregnant and [redacted] hopes she looses her baby because she is extremely upset.

b7C

May 10, 1964:

It was indicated tha[redacted] may possibly be having some kind of mental disturbance and had been taken to Room 300 at Providence Hospital.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DOJ

MALCOLM X. LITTLE —A SPEEDING TRIAL

By Newton H. Fulbright
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

They called him by his rightful name in Traffic Court yesterday, but Malcolm X didn't answer.

Four times the clerk called for Malcolm Little. But even if the call had been for Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader's adopted name, he wouldn't have answered.

He wasn't in court. He isn't even in the country.

Friends say he will return to the United States tomorrow after completing a pilgrimage to Mecca.

At noon, Criminal Court Judge Kenneth M. Phipps, sitting in a third-floor courtroom of the Old Tweed Court House, 52 Chambers St., signed a bench warrant for Malcolm X's arrest because he failed to appear on a speeding charge.

Present since 9:30 a. m., on a rear bench in the rickety, lofty old courtroom, was Patrolman Dominic A. Giarraputo, who gave Malcolm X a ticket for speeding on the Triborough Bridge last March 6. At the time, the Negro nationalist told reporters it had been handed him by "a prejudiced cop."

Patrolman Giarraputo would say nothing about the case yesterday. "Police regulation prohibit me from discussing the matter," he said.

According to the complaint, Malcolm X was clocked doing 55 miles an hour in a 40-mile zone, between "pole 40 and pole 50" on the bridge. He was driving a 1964 Oldsmobile and gave his name as Malcolm X. Little, and h' address as 23-11 97th Flushing, Queens.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

EDITION

DATE MAY 20 1964

PAGE 11

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1-24-84 8269 JHE/WEB/

105-8899-4479

b7C

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Warrant for Malcolm As Speeder Is Issued

Criminal Court Judge Kenneth M. Phipps issued a warrant yesterday for the arrest of Malcolm X, Black Nationalist leader, for failing to appear in Traffic Court at 52 Chambers Street to answer a speeding charge. Malcolm has been traveling recently in Africa and the Middle East.

The defendant was scheduled to appear for trial on a charge that he drove 55 miles an hour in a 40-mile-an-hour zone on the Triborough Bridge last March 6.

Malcolm, when he pleaded not guilty to the speeding charge on May 16, claimed he had received the ticket from "a prejudiced cop."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

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

33 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 5/20/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: TURNER CATLEDGE
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

Being Investigated

105-8999-4478A

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
43 MAY 20 1964
FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]

67C

X

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765) DATE: 5-20-64

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-52995) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED
IS - X
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY [illegible]

Rebulet to New York, dated 3/25/64, captioned MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, IS - X.

The following informants, familiar with certain phases of activities relating to the Nation of Islam (NOI) in the San Francisco Division were contacted by SA [redacted] on the dates set forth after their symbols in connection with the contemplated activities of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and in connection with rifle clubs being formed in connection with the civil rights movement: b7C

[redacted] contacted on 4/7,14,24/64 and 5/1/64.

b7D [redacted] contacted on 4/16,29/64.

[redacted] contacted 4/17,20,24/64.

These sources stated that they had no specific information concerning the MMI or such rifle clubs in the San Francisco Division.

b7C On May 1, 1964, [redacted] advised that it had been mentioned at a recent meeting of the NOI at Muhammad's Temple of Islam (MTI) #26, 1872 Post Street, San Francisco, California, that MALCOLM X LITTLE might be coming to the San Francisco area, but that this information appeared to be only a matter of conjecture. This source stated that he would furnish any specific details concerning any anticipated visit of MALCOLM X as this information becomes available.

4 - Bureau (RM)
4 - New York (RM) (100-152759)
3 - San Francisco (100-52995)
EOR/cs (100-51473) (NOI)
(11) (157-245) (RACIAL MATTERS CONTROL FILE)

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
FILED [redacted]
MAY 25 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

X

b7C

106-8999. 4/4/78

SF 87-52995
ECR/cs

On April 14, 1964 [redacted] and on April 9, 1964, SF 2426-S, who are familiar with activities in the negro communities in the San Francisco area, were contacted by SA [redacted] in regard to the same matters. They advised that they had no information in regard to these matters in the San Francisco area.

b7CD

On 4/9/64, [redacted] was contacted by SA [redacted] and advised that he had no information concerning such matters.

b7CD

On 4/14/64, SA [redacted] contacted the following, who stated they had no information concerning these matters:

[redacted] San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, California.

[redacted] San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, California.

[redacted] San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, California.

b7CD

b7C

On 4/3/64, SA [redacted] contacted the following who also advised that they had no information concerning the above matters:

[redacted] Sacramento, California.

[redacted] Sacramento County, California.

b7CD

All of the above were requested to advise if any such information came to their attention. When such information is received, it will be reported expeditiously to the Bureau and New York.

Receptions Awaiting Malcolm X

Malcolm X, the militant Black Nationalist Movement leader, is scheduled to return tomorrow from his Middle East tour—and face two contrasting greeting groups:

- His own Harlem followers, who plan to escort him from Kennedy International Airport in a gala motorcade to his Hotel Theresa headquarters, at 7th ave. and 125th st.
- Police, who plan to escort him in a more subdued atmosphere to Traffic Court to answer a charge of speeding before he raced off to visit Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria and Lebanon.

The gala reception was planned for the former Black Muslim leader before Judge Kenneth M. Phipps issued a warrant for his arrest yesterday.

The arrest order came after Malcolm X failed to appear as scheduled to answe rthe speeding ticket, given him last March 6 for doing 55 mph on the Triborough Bridge, a 40 mph zone.

He is scheduled to arrive at 4:30 p. m., tomorrow, aboard Flight 115, Pan American Airways.

James Shabazz, secretary to Malcolm X(who now heads the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with offices at the Hotel hTeresa, disclosed plans for the "welcome home" party.

"He is coming back after completing his pilgrimage to Mecca," the secretary announced, "and we intend to welcome him."

RECEPTION SET

Mosque members were to greet Malcolm X at the airport, then whisk him in the motorcade to the hotel, where a "reception" in his honor was arranged for 8 p. m., tomorrow, in te hotel's Skyline Room.

His secretary also announced that Malcolm X would hold a pres conference at the Mosque headquarters an hour before the reception.

Whatever side triumphs—the Mosque members or the police with the arrest order—Malcom X is returning with an olive branche.

OFFERS OLIVE BRANCH

Before he departed for his "pilgrimmage," he created considerable dissent among his followers when he split with Elijah Muhammad, the national Black Muslim leader.

Two days ago, his secretary disclosed that he had sent out letters to various integration and civil rights leaders, quoting Malcom X as asking "forgiveness for the unkind things" he has "said in the past."

The letters stated that Malcolm X had intended no attack on "any persons or organizations engaged in the struggle," referring to civil rights.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N Y JOURNAL AMERICAN

NY _____

EDITION _____

DATE MAY 2 0 1964

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1-24-84 8269 JHE/WEB/

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FBI/DOJ

PD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Traffic Court Orders Malcolm X Arrest

By JOHN MILLER
Of the World-Telegram Staff

The arrest of Malcolm X was ordered today by a Traffic Court judge after the Black Nationalist leader failed to appear for trial on charges of speeding.

The name of Malcolm X. Little was called four times in a span of two hours and 22 minutes, but on each occasion neither Malcolm nor any representative answered.

After the fourth calling of the docket, Judge Kenneth Phipps signed the arrest order. Malcolm has been in the Middle East recently, but had been expected back about this time.

Malcolm, whose address was given as 23-11 97th St., Flushing, Queens, was given a speeding ticket by Patrolman G. A. Giaraputo of Motorcycle Squad Four on March 6 on the Triborough Bridge. Giaraputo said Malcolm was traveling at 50 miles an hour in a 40 mile an hour zone.

When Malcolm subsequently pleaded innocent to the charge, his trial was set for today in the Trial Part of Traffic Court at 52 Chambers St.

Associates of the controversial Negro leader said they did not know where Malcolm was today.

Malcolm, a former official in the Chicago-based Black Muslin movement, was suspended by its leadership for remarks he made following the assassination of President Kennedy. Earlier this year, Malcolm broke away from the movement to form his organization.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 1269 SAP/WEB/TCY

X

b7c

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

1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 5/19/64
Edition: 7 SPORTS
Author: JOHN MILLER
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

☒ Being Investigated

105-8999-4473

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
13 MAY 19 1964
FBI—NEW YORK

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DOJ

Cassius Raps Malcolm

Accra, Ghana, May 18—The allegiance of heavyweight champion Cassius Clay to rebel Muslim leader Malcolm X seems to be over.

When Malcolm X flew to Morocco yesterday, Clay stayed here with Herbert Muhammed, son of the Black Muslims' high priest, Elijah Muhammed. But Cassius had these parting shots for Malcolm:

"Maud, did you get a look at him? Dressed in that funny white robe and wearing a beard and walking with that cane that looked like a prophet's stick? Man, he's gone so far out he's out completely."

"Doesn't that just go to show, Herbert, that Elijah is the most powerful? Nobody listens to that Malcolm any more."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY POST

EDITION LATE CITY

DATE 5/18/64

PAGE 4

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Make 1 xerox copy for [redacted] 5/19/64

Done [redacted] 6/19/64

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FBI/DOJ

Rustin Rips Into Mr. K's Policies

NEW YORK (NNPA)—A sharp attack on Malcolm X for urging policies of "violence and ugliness" was made last week by Bayard Rustin, the man known as "the strong right arm of A. Philip Randolph".

"The Negro struggle can be won only as part of a great effort for a greater America, in which Protestants, Catholics, Jews and organized labor join together," Mr. Rustin told 500 members of the American Jewish Congress national women's division at a luncheon in the Plaza Hotel.

"The history and spirit of the American Negro reject the idea of rifles, bullets and gun clubs," Mr. Rustin said, in an allusion to suggestions by the Black Muslim leader that Negroes take up arms to defend themselves.

1-24-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

[redacted] b7C

THE NEW CRUSADER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

WEEKLY EDITION

DATE 5-2-64

PAGE 2 COL 5

EDITOR:
BALM L. LEAVELL,

CHICAGO OFFICE
New York

105-8999-4462

[redacted] b7C

5/18/64

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: SAC, DETROIT

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.
IS - NOI
(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 1269 SAE/WEB/TC

NYO preparing report on subject.

Detroit, by return airtel, advise if Independent Socialist Club at Wayne State University is characterized. If so, furnish copy of same.

San Francisco, by return airtel, advise if SLATE at University of California at Berkeley is characterized. If so, furnish copy of same. Also advise what "SLATE" means or stands for.

2 - DETROIT (RM)
2 - SAN FRANCISCO (AM RM)
1 - NY 105-8999 (43)

Searched [redacted]
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

[redacted] (#43)
(6)

b7c

105-8999-4456

SAC, NEW YORK (100-152755) 5/14/64

SAC, CLEVELAND (100-26833) (P)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, Inc.
IS - X
(OO:NEW YORK)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 6269 [illegible]

Re Cleveland letter to Director, 4/17/64.

There is enclosed for New York, two copies of verbatim transcript of the complete program concerning MALCOLM X' appearance on Radio Station KYW on April 7, 1964.

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The original of this verbatim transcript is filed in Cleveland file [redacted]

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[redacted]

One copy of this transcript is being filed in instant Cleveland file, and one copy is being placed in Cleveland file 15[illegible]-229.

2 - New York (Enc. 2) (NY)
3 - Cleveland
(1 [redacted]
1 - 15[illegible]-229)
[redacted] (5)

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105-8999-4455

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-28-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/21/64

(1)

Source:

Source furnished a tape recording of a radio appearance on the program, "Contact," on the part of MALCOLM X on April 7, 1964, on Cleveland Radio Station KYW. Source stated that "Contact" is a nightly audience participation type program featuring various personalities of the public interest. These personalities are interviewed by HARVE MORGAN, Station announcer, and the public is subsequently invited to furnish questions or to make statements concerning the subject matter being discussed.

b7D [redacted]

The following is a verbatim transcript of the tape:

MORGAN: Tonight's Contact subject, the Black Muslims and Negro freedom. Our special guest in the Contact Studio here is MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X: Thank you. I am very happy to be here. Well, I am a Muslim. My religion is Islam, and my political philosophy is black nationalism. My economic and social philosophy is black nationalism and the collective philosophy of Black Nationalism is designed to show the Black man in this country how to do something toward solving his own problems instead of sitting around waiting for people outside the community

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On 4/15/64 at Cleveland, Ohio File Cleveland [redacted]

Searched

b7C by SA [redacted] Date dictated 4/15/64

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(2)

to come in and solve the problems of our community for us.

MORGAN: Does it also embrace, MALCOLM X, Black Supremacy.

MALCOLM X: No, I don't think you should call it, I don't think it Black Supremacy anymore than you can call, unless you are going to call the fact that whites control their own community white supremacy, or the fact that whites control the country white supremacy or the fact that whites get all of the guarantees of the Constitution, white supremacy. We are fighting for the same thing that whites have always said that everyone in this country is supposed to have. That is complete freedom, justice and equality. Equality of opportunity, but whites have a tendency to get on the defensive when the Negro beings to go too fast and say that what he is advocating is Black Supremacy, or something that is extremist, or something that is unAmerican.

MORGAN: From many of your remarks I got the strong impression that you believe that the Press of America, the collective Press of America, has maligned greatly the whole Muslim movement in many respects.

MALCOLM X: Oh yes, they have distorted, they scientifically and purposely

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distorted not only the Muslim image and the Muslim objectives and the image and objectives of Black nationalism, but the image and objectives of Negroes period has been distorted by the Press and this creates misunderstanding in the white community oft times of the real issues and because they can't get to the real issues they end up fighting shadows.

MORGAN: Well to bring us completely into focus, what is, as far as your understanding goes, and it should be definitive, what is the complete understanding of Black Muslim or Muslim in America?

MALCOLM X: Well, the Muslim philosophy, religious philosophy is the religion believed in by over 750,000,000 people in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world. Strictly religious and the most widely known Muslim religious group in this country is the Nation of Islam, which I was until recently a part of, and the only difference between me now in my present position in capacity and my former, formerly when I was with the Nation of Islam I was involved with a religious group who is behind the spiritual leadership of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and that group has perfected the art of reforming the immoral habits of many of the people who live in our neighborhood.

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Now I am still the Minister of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, in New York City but now I can become actively involved in other groups and other persons in eliminating any of the political, social and economic evils that afflict our people in the so-called Negro community. We have a political action program, an economic action program, a social action program, whereas in the Nation of Islam, the Muslims could not take an active part in many of the things that the action groups become involved in.

MORGAN: It has been printed that your break with the Black Muslim movement came over the statements you made regarding the assassination of President KENNEDY.

MALCOLM X: Well probably that, I don't know whether I should say it, started it or expedited it, but when I made this statement concerning President KENNEDY, number one, it was distorted. I said that.

MORGAN: What was the statement?

MALCOLM X: Well, about the chickens coming home to roost. I had taught a subject that day at Manhatten Center in New York titled God's Judgment of white America in which I tried to show where all of the nations in the past that had been destroyed by the seeds

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that they had sowed and I pointed out that America being a slave empire whose economy was founded upon the enslavement of Black people in this country and whose political structure today is still perpetuated upon the exploitation of the political rights of Black people in this country. That all of these bad seeds that America had sowed or has sowed are coming up to date and are giving her a crop that she can't digest. So chickens coming home to roost only means that whatever is happening to you are the chickens coming back home now that left in the morning, or as most of the reporters called it the climate of hate. They said that President KENNEDY's assassinati was a result of the climate of hate. Climate of hate and chickens coming home to roost have the same meaning. So this statement was again taken by the Press, distorted and projected around the world to make it look like I was gleefully expressing joy over the death of the President. I was expressing my mind on what brought it about and I don't think that what I said was any different than what was said by most reporters, most news commentators that I heard speaking about it.

MORGAN: And for the record you were not in fact expressing joy.

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MALCOLM X: No, I wasn't expressing joy. I pointed out that it certainly didn't sadden me knowing that all of these things that were coming about had been predicted in the Bible. They were all a part, that is why I said God's judgment of white America not our judgment, but God's judgment of white America and I had pointed out in my speech that day that all of these things that were coming to pass today had been predicted and were in religious scripture. In the Jewish religious scripture, the Christian scripture, Muslim religious scripture. All of them were part of the fulfillment of prophecy and if you believe in God and yu believe in the word of God and its ultimate fulfillment then you can't be sad when you see all of the things the prophets thousands of years ago predicted coming to pass right during your day and time.

MORGAN: What brought you back to your belief in God, as I understand it you were the son of a preacher who became an agnostic then an atheist and now back to God through Islam.

MALCOLM X: Right, my father was a Baptist Minister and I grew up in the Christian churchand probably every facet of it, every phase of it and some of the things I

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(7)

saw happening disillusioned me. I never saw any real Christian practice that equalled the preaching that was done and so I became doubtful, agnostic, and then finally I guess you might call it, graduated to atheism. And when I heard about the religion of Islam immediately it touched my heart. I began to study it and I saw the brotherhood that is really practiced in Islam. I learned that in Islam you never judge by the color of your skin and it is practically the only religion on earth that has completely eliminated the judging of a person based upon the color of his skin. In Islam a man is judged by his deeds, his intentions by his conscious behaviour and this type of religion really creates the spirit of harmony, unity and understanding, that is necessary for brotherhood. So this is why I became a Muslim and accepted the religious teachings of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. The religion of Islam.

MORGAN: I've heard you say for the first time today that you became acquainted with Islam while you were in prison. Was this also because of the fact that you are a Negro that you were in prison.

MALCOLM X: Well, I think and I don't say this

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defensively because I committed a crime to go to prison. I wasn't framed or anything like that. But then when I look at it in its whole overall context, I think that the original collective crime that was committed by white society that almost forces a Negro, an aggressive Negro, into committing crimes in trying to survive or trying to live. So I met many other Negroes in prison who were intelligent, who weren't criminal, who weren't criminal perse, but conditions forced these particular Negroes into the walk of life that they alternately were in that led to their being in prison. So although I did commit crimes that led me to prison I think that most crimes that are committed by Negroes today, they are forced into it by the society that is fashioning itself around them. Cruel, hard segregated society.

MORGAN: How long were you in prison?

MALCOLM X: I was in prison for 77 months, just 7 months short of 7 years.

MORGAN: It has been also charged again or is this a part of the newspaper

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issue, say scientific campaign to malign the Muslim movement. It has been charged that the Muslims recruit as a matter of fact very much in prison.

MALCOLM X: This is incorrect actually. There is no recruitment program specifically aimed at men who are in prison. But the hectic pace that life travels at here in America, makes it impossible for one to become involved in meditation or any kind of deep thought. So when a man goes to prison, he is put in, he is confined, he can think so that the average Negro who is in prison today, he is, his mind is open, he is thinking and he can analyze the conditions that he is living in. So when he hears the analysis that the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD gives of the race problem in the position of the Black man in this society, well that Negro being in solitary confinement practically where he has nothing to do but think can analyze it and say that what Mr. MUHAMMAD is saying is true. Plus he is experienced so you'll find that Negroes in Prison by and large are very receptive to the reality of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's

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analysis in this particular position or predicament that we find ourselves in in this country.

MALCOLM X: Oh, definitely. I think if you go right back to Birmingham, Alabama, a year ago when Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING was demonstrating he had the demonstrators in the minority and every day Doctor KING and his followers would march down the street but the masses of Black peple were standing on the sidelines watching. They were spectators, the reason you find the spectators were in the majority is because the masses don't endorse this turn the other cheek. The organized, nonviolent element of Negroes are in the minority so this doesn't mean that those who don't get involved aren't sympathetic but at the same time they don't get involved because they are not going to turn the other cheek. So in Birmingham last year everyday the spectators grew and they grew and they grew until finally when the police began to brutalize the children and the women with the fire hoses and the dogs and things of that sort, the number of nonviolent spectators was way beyond the proportion of the nonviolent demonstrators.

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And when the eruption finally took place, it wasn't the non-violent demonstrators who were involved, it was the spectators who aren't committed to nonviolence and in Cleveland today, I wasn't out there, but you have the same situation because if follows the same pattern across the country. All Black people in this country are interested in the problem, but all of them don't endorse nonviolence or turn the other cheek. So usually the Negro who is not committed to nonviolence, he doesn't get involved in the actual demonstration but when violence erupts against the nonviolent demonstrators and naturally the spectators increase and they come out and then when they get involved you have a situation where you are going to turn the other cheek. I imagine this is what happened here in Cleveland. This is why it is wrong for the white community to deal with civil rights leaders as if they are the only voice in the Negro community. Usually they represent that organized element who are integrationists and who are known as civil rights fighters. But at the same time, in the minority where the Negro community is concerned, the masses of black people in the Negro community aren't actually committed to any

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organized action or organized group, but at the same time their heart beat here reacts to the same thing that makes the heart of the other Negroes beat.

BOB HAGEN: Is it possible, MALCOLM X, that sometimes these civil rights groups are accomplishing something and are at least getting publicity and doing something active? Does this satisfy the masses to a certain extent.

MALCOLM X: No.

BOB HAGEN: Does it give an outlet?

MALCOLM X: No, that's tokenism. You see whenever you take, as it has been done in most situations and for instance, solve your school integration problems with token efforts, usually the type of Negro benefits from this tokenism is a hand-picked Negro, upper crust Negro, a bougeois Negro and this, once you integrate a community with just a handful of hand-picked Negroes, you solve the problem for that handful of Negroes, but the masses of Negroes are still in the ghetto. They are still in the slum. They are still in what you would call them in Algeria the Casbah. So you haven't really solved the situation until you solve the situation for those Negroes who are still unemployed and still living in the ghetto, and still getting the worst form of education.

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So this is why I say the problem can never be solved as long as the white power structure only recognizes a few hand-picked leaders in the Negro community. They have to go out there and find out who speaks for the Negro in the alley, in the pool room and on the corner within the slum and the ghetto.

BOB HAGEN: Who does speak for the Negro there?

MALCOLM X: Well, usually as he just said, they are running rampant up there as if no one speaks for them. Usually the type of Negro who does speak for them, the power structure will label that Negro as a racist, supremacist, and extremist, seditious or unamerican.

HAGEN: Are these the kind of people you are trying to speak for?

MALCOLM X: No, I say that I'm one of the 22 million black people in this country who happens to be completely dissatisfied disillusione disenchanted, impatient and I think that all of our people fall into that category by one degree or another or to one degree or another.

HAGEN: Well, what would have happened if MALCOLM X were the leader of the Cleveland Negroes and something like this happened?

MALCOLM X: Well, probably I would surprise you in this sense. Frankly I for one, don't believe that Doctor KENNETH CLARK's finding that he placed before the Supreme Court and it became involved in Supreme Court desegregation decision

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really solved the problem when he said that Negroes who go to Negro schools come out with a crippled mind in so many words. What he said in essence was that if Negroes are going to, if you find an all black classroom and there are some white students there that these children will graduate with an incomplete education. Well, what this has done during the past ten years, it has indirectly told all of the Negro children, who have been growing up, that they themselves are so inferior that just the presence of a few white children in their classroom in what they call an integrated situation will give them a better education. Whether they realize it or not what you are telling most little black children is that they are so far below white children that just the presence of a few white children will balance out the situation. If an all white classroom doesn't take away from the academic diet for white children, I don't see why an all black classroom takes from the academic diet of the black children, but the difference is the standard of the black school and the standard of the teachers of this black school. The curricular that is involved in teaching the children in an all black school

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has to take into consideration the psychological factors that are unique with a children that is born and reared up in the ghetto and the slum of the Negro community. So it isn't the all Negro school that's the segregated school. If it is an all Negro school that is completely controlled by the power structure in some other section of the city that doesn't really have the good or the intelligence of these little children at heart, then that school is going to produce children with an inferior or low quality mind or low quality capabilities even after they graduate. So the best solution to the problem as I have often heard Mr. MUHAMMAD himself say, is give us our own schools. But at the same time, we need the type of teachers in those schools who realize the psychological problems of a child who is growing up in the ghetto and who has been, is constantly being reminded, that for 400 years he has been a slave who has been stripped, castrated in a sense where his own culture and history is concerned, where he has absolutely no incentive, no kind of racial pride. All of these factors have to be faced up to if in the mind of a teacher who is going to teach Negro children in a Negro school. So here in Cleveland when you start building

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now schools in Negro communities actually you are not doing wrong. But you are doing wrong if you don't include in those Negro schools the type of teacher who understands the problem and also put the type of books in there that have within them the missing ingredients that are necessary to offset the unbalanced diet that the Negro children had been getting all these years.

HAGEN: Believing as you do then in that case, Malcolm, why weren't you able or why did you not feel it was incumbent upon you to perhaps go to the site of this school today since you think this is a good thing and that the Negro community should perhaps be helping to construct the thing rather than preventing it. Why did you not go there?

MALCOLM X: No, I think that, you see I will never allow myself to be used by any faction of the power structure against any group of Negroes who are struggling against segregation and by that I mean this. The segregated school

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system of this city, as well as other cities, has been allowed to exist for so long and the white power structure has used so much hypocrisy in dealing with the civil rights groups who are trying to eliminate this segregated school system, until now the blind objectives that you find that are being followed by many civil rights groups are not the fault of the civil rights groups but are the fault of the power structure itself. And I for one don't intend to come and clean up anybody's dirty house once they have refused to clean up their dirty house themselves.

MORGAN: MALCOLM you have just heard that report, that late report from the construction site by CHUCK BERRY, our news reporter, on the scene. Any observations on that?

MALCOLM X: Yes. They are going about it wrong. What the policemen are doing out there right now will lead to a race war in this country. You got a new Negro. They can't frighten Negroes today with water hoses. If they couldn't do it in Birmingham, you know they can't do it in Cleveland. I think that it is a situation that has been created by the dilly-dallying and pussy footing

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(2B)

of the people in the power structure right here in the city, and the Negroes, who are out there in the street, who are the victims of the segregated system are not the ones who should today be washed down with water hoses or be the victims of police attack. As Mr. MUHAMMAD has always said when you try and force integration you are going to need a police state, you are going to need marshal law. So when we have said that we have been classified as being extremists and as being antiintegration and all of that. But any place you try and force Negroes into a white community against the will of that white community, you are going to have a situation that will lead to riots and not just riots alone today, it will lead to a race war. It will lead to a racial violence to one end of the country to the other here in this country. Because if it happens in one city it will have a spontaneous explosion in all cities. And when it happens in all of the cities in America this will sweep not only the American continent, but you will find repercussions of it on the African continent and on the Asian continent and you will find it in Latin America. The spark of it could start right here in Cleveland, Ohio, tonight

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if they don't use more intelligence in dealing with those people.

CALLER: How far do you think that the Negroes will get with the rifle clubs they have formed?

MALCOLM X: Well, I don't think that the rifle club, all of the apprehension over rifle club is the question at all. Originally what I said when I made the statement to the press was that in areas of this country where the government, and by government I mean, the Federal, the State and the City Power Structure, law enforcement agencies, in areas where they have proven either that they are unable or unwilling to protect Negroes, then in those instances Negroes have to protect themselves. And I think that any white person, any thinking white person who is fair minded, would expect Negroes to do this because if the Government isn't going to protect the white man, the white man is going to protect himself. And all of these years the Negro has just sat around and watched his churches being bombed, his little girls being murdered and his leaders being shot down in cold blood and the Negro has never done anything. Not only has he not fought back he has not even tried to protect himself. So all we are saying is, that not that Negroes should take a rifle and a shotgun and go out and try to shoot somebody

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or attack someone, but in the face of what is developing in this country, a Negro is out of his mind if he doesn't put himself in a position to defend himself in case he is attacked.

MORGAN: Are not white groups very militant, equally militant white groups, white supremacy groups going to do perhaps the same thing?

MALCOLM X: They are already doing it. They have already done it. The only difference is as long as white supremacy, when yu say white supremacy groups that is just a white gang period. Because usually when you say white supremacy groups you are implying the clan or the citizens council. While you have white Masons that Negroes can't belong to, you have white Elk that Negroes can't belong to. Any white outfit whether it is north, south, east or west, This all white is an all white supremacy group. Now they have been doing these things. They have been organized. They have been bombing churches. They have been not retaliating. They have been initiating acts of aggression against Negroes. So what we are saying, not for Negroes to initiate acts of aggression as

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whites have done, but to be in a position today in areas where the Government has proven unable or unwilling to be in a position in those areas, to defend yourself. That is all we say. Not break the law because you know it is Constitutional. If you read the ten original amendments, called the Bill of Rights to the Constitution, Article two says this, The right to keep and bear arms, 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. This is the United States Constitution. Well, a Negro is within his Constitutional rights to defend himself when he is attacked. Any civilized government on this earth gives a man the right to defend himself and this is all we are saying. I have said nothing about going out and attacking white people or attacking anybody else. But defend yourself. And one of the largest portions of this government's budget is for defense and when you are living in a country that believes in spending billions of dollars for defense, I don't see how anybody in that political structure or power structure can chastise or class as criminal a Negro who spends five or six dollars for a rifle of B-B gun to keep the wolf away from his door.

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CALLER: I would like to ask about the issue today, the crisis, about a Negro man being run over by a bulldozer and certainly I would like to ask him what his opinion is about an all Negro state.

MALCOLM X: It was a white man today who was run over by a the bulldozer and I thinkyou will find right there is a sign of how serious this is getting. Many white people in the white community are swiftly finding themselves realizing the seriousness of this situation so you find many whites in the white community who are trying to take an active part in eliminating those injustices.

MORGAN: Doesn't this kick your philosophy right in the teeth, though?

MALCOLM X: No, it doesn't kick our philosophy right in the teeth. Our philosophy is Black Nationalsim, the political, economical and social philosophy of Black Nationalism and my religious philosophy says that you judge a man by his intention, by his motive, by his conscious behavior so that any person who consciously does good should get a good reward and any person who consciously does evil will get an evil reward. So, many people think we judge the white man because he is white. No, our attitude toward the American white man isn't because he is white, you have many people in the Muslim world whose skin is white as the people of Europe and America. We judge the

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American because of the deeds, the collective deeds that Americans have done against Black people in this country collectively.

MORGAN: This is the word I was going to use. Today on the MIKE DOUGLAS Show you made that statement very strongly that white man collectively is guilty.

MALCOLM X: Yes, he is.

MORGAN: All right. Then what about this, a man whose life is taken from him because of his belief, his concern, his involvement with civil rights for Negroes. Does this not justify this man. Does this not say that no he is not guilty.

MALCOLM X: Well, the white person who becomes sincerely as I just told you, a man is judged by his conscious behavior.

MORGAN: What happens to collective guilt?

MALCOLM X: It is still collective guilt. The so-called Negro in this country, of which there are 22 million, consists of some who are lawyers, some who are doctors, some who are intellectual giants and some who are intellectual midgets. But a Negro can be an intellectual giant and he is placed in the same category as the

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intellectual midget. Doctor RALPH BUNCH, who is an internationally respected diplomatic was JIM CROWED down in Atlanta, Georgia. As I mentioned here Couple days ago, Congressman DIGGS from Detroit was in a house bombed in Mississippi. Despite the fact that he has attain to his particular political level and BUNCH has attained to his particular political level of diplomacy on an international scale, still he receives the same JIM CROW discrimination and mob reaction as a Negro who is born in the alley or in the ghetto receives.

MORGAN: And this Reverend today who died is to blame for that?

MALCOLM X: Just as Doctor BUNCH and Congressman DIGGS can't rise above being victims of America society because of their skin, they are the victims collectively, no matter what individual intellectual level they attain or professional level they attain, in America they are still Negroes. They are guilty because of the color of their skin. Well, what white people have to realize today is, just as the Negro is victimized collectively, whites are collectively guilty. And just as the Negro as an individual can't rise beyond the

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color of his skin today no matter what the white man in America does, he cannot escape the color of his skin. Either the problem is solved completely so that all Negroes escape these shackles collectively, then the whites can escape it collectively. Only until the Negro in this country is free collectively, not a handful of hand-picked Negroes, but everyone of the Negroes have to be recognized and respected as human beings, as the Constitution says we are supposed to be, then every white man in this country can turn around and feel that he is not guilty of the acts that are committed by some other segment of the white community. So I'm not in anyway taking away from the sacrifice that this young clergyman made. But still his individual sacrifice has not eliminated the fact that you have a mob situation existing in Cleveland right now. There are enough of them. Those well-meaning whites have to get together and devise some kind of intelligent program not to change the Negro community, but to work on the white community and let the Negro leaders work on the Negro community and then perhaps we can then get some kind of meaningful solution.

CALLER: I would like to ask MALCOLM X if he approves of the Negroes robbing

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and looting stores and throwing bricks at any white, people with white cars. You know.

MALCOLM X: No, No.

CALLER: And if he approves of them committing all breaking laws in the country and committing pagan tactics like throwing themselves in front of tractors.

MALCOLM X: It is not. No see what this young gentleman is doing is placing the burden back upon the Negro in order to understand why the so-called Negro in this country is reacting. He is not acting, he is reacting. In order to understand why he is reacting, the way he is reacting today, one has to keep in mind that our people are for the past ten years have lived in a society which is supposed to be governed by what is known as the law of the land, and the highest court in this country or in this society is the Supreme Court. One of the most famous decisions that handed down in its history was that which was known as the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision in 1954. Ten years ago. And our people who have been the victims of this segregated society for ten years, have lived to see every form of deceit, of treachery, on the part of various governmental figures that is, that has been designed to keep from having to implement this decision.

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Behind of all these false promises and those disillusionments and these disenchantments, the Negro now has gotten to the point where he feels no matter how he acts, not no matter how he acts, no matter how he reacts he sees he has nothing to lose but his chains, chains of segregation, chains of discrimination, chains of second class citizenship. So a white person can't judge the Negro. The white person is not in a moral position to judge the Negro's behavior today. I don't care how loose or how wild that behavior happens to be. On the same, by the same token, I for one, don't approve of looting of breaking store windows and of destroying public property. But at the same time I don't approve of it, I at least understand why our people are so deeply involved in it. And they are not the ones to be blamed for it. The power structure that has allowed this criminal situation to exist for ten years, since the Supreme Court desegregation decision, is the one that is going to be indicted after this is all over. They will be indicted by the will if they are not indicted in their own courts.

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CALLER: I would like to know if MALCOLM X believes in, Up with the black and down with the white? If so, why doesn't he go to Africa and establish his own form of government.

MALCOLM X: What is that he asks? What is that. I'm sorry I didn't hear your question.

CALLER: I would like to know MALCOLM X, believes in, Up with the black and down with the white, and if so, why doesn't he go to Africa and establish his own form of government of is he afraid that the Africans will reject him as an intruder and a trouble maker.

MALCOLM X: If I understand this young gentleman correctly, he wants to know if I believe with, Up with the black race and down with the white race. The United Nations and its activity during the past ten years is one of the best yardsticks that one can use to show that the black man or the non-white people all over the earth are rising. They are emerging becoming independent they are developing some type of economic security and as these dark nations rise in power as their, I should say as their

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power increases, naturally the influence of the white man decreases. This is only natural. For instance there was a time when England could brag that her empire was so vast that the sun would never set on it. This was just a few years ago. Today when the sun rises, you can't hardly find the British empire. And this a small indication of the power of the white man all over the world. Now it is not a case of me advocating the rise of the black man and the fall of the white man, it is just facts that have to be faced. The white man through his ability to colonize Africa and Asia and exploit it of its wealth built up a strong economy in Europe which was actually based upon the exploitation of the natural resources from Africa and Asia, which they got free. Since these people in Africa have emerged into their own independence and also in Asia, today this source of cheap material is cut off and this has affected the economy of the European nations. It has forced them in

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fact into what we call some kind of unified action in the European common market. It has also effected the economy of America as many of these nations now independent they can trade with whom they wish. Some of them are industrializing themselves. Japan is a highly industrialized nation. She is competing with America for her markets and all of this has a tendency to effect the American economy, to weaken the American economy, to weaken the economies of the west, to weaken the military might of the west, to weaken the military prestige of the west. And I think one would have to agree, if they look at it objectively, that it is impossible for these dark people to increase in power without doing so at the expense of the whites, who in the past, had unlimited power. So when you ask me, do I believe in the rise of the black man and the downgrading of the white man, whether I believe in it or not, it is taking place in out lifetime, right before our eyes, and when you go into the U.N. and see how when it was founded, it was in the complete control of your white powers or your western powers. And just in recent years now, as those dark nations have gotten their independence, now they are in a position of

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power to out vote the white nations. So in the U.N. it is under the control of the majority. And when I went to school in this country they taught me about democracy, about the rule of the majority and all of that. And whenever you have a world government, or a world governmental body such as is represented by the United Nations, then naturally wherever you are in this world scheme of things, you have to take your place, and on the earth the whites are in the minority, they are not in the majority. So in any governmental body that is based upon world affairs, the voice of the white man is actually going to decrease rather than increase. I believe in that and I don't think it is wrong to believe in that because this is believing in reality.

BOB HAGEN: What puzzles me about MALCOLM X and his philosophy is he talks much about having his own black state of actually being a segregationist in that regard.

MALCOLM X: I haven't said anything tonight about a black state nor about being a segregationist.

HAGEN: Well, no you haven't. I have certainly heard of that before.

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MALCOLM X: That's propaganda.

MAGEN: Explain that.

MALCOLM X: All Mr. MUHAMMAD has always said is that if America can't accept the 22 million African Americans into the main stream of American life immediately. So by degrees, which will take another thousands years, but immediately right now. If she can't give us what she says the Constitution is supposed to provide for us right now, then to keep from having explosions or family squabbles he says the best alternative solution is to let our people become involved in a mass exodus back to Africa, to our own land where we can live among our own people and develop our own independent society. And he has also said that if the American Government does not want this to take place, does not want our people to become involved in a mass exodus from here back to Africa, then, and since they can't bring about freedom, justice and equality mixed up here together, then the only alternative is to give us a separate territory here. This is what his program has been. Now instead of whites admitting their inability to give the African American justice

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right now, they put the burden on Mr. MUHAMMAD by saying he wants a separate state. This is not what he wants.

MORGAN: Are any of those two alternatives realistic though, really?

MALCOLM X: Well, I don't—. When you say are they realistic . If the Supreme Court is for integration. If the President is for integration, his cabinet, the Senate, the Congress and all over the machinery of government and the majority of whites are for integration and you still can't get it, is it realistic? Is integration realistic?

MORGAN: I said are the last two of your alternatives realistic?

MALCOLM X: Well, seeing.

MORGAN: Africa or a separate state here.

MALCOLM X: It is more realistic than integration because integration is causing civil war in Cleveland right now. Integration is causing a race war in Cleveland right now.

MORGAN: How would you implement either of those last two.

MALCOLM X: Well -

MORGAN: It was tried during the Civil War. It could not be done.

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MALCOLM X: What?

MORGAN: The exodus to Africa.

MALCOLM X: No, it was tried during the Civil war in a very hypocritical way. Right after the Civil war, the black man just from the loose from the chains of slavery did n't even know west from east, north from south. He was in complete ignorance. He didn't know he was an African. He didn't know he was from Africa. The white man had given him the image that Africa was a jungle where there were lions and tigers, where everybody lived in mud huts. Why the picture that the white man painted of Africa made the black man afraid when you would even mention the name Africa.

MORGAN: How would you implement it today?

MALCOLM X: Whereas today, the black man is becoming more intellectually mature. He can see that Africa is the richest continent on earth. Africa is one of the most beautiful continents on earth, in fact the only area in America that is comparable to Africa is Miami Beach with its tropical atmosphere and sunny California and the black man is also beginning to see where if something in Africa wasn't so beautiful

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and so wealthy the blacks in Africa wouldn't have such a hard time getting the white man out of there. So any American black man who has visited Africa, as I have visited myself in '59 and seen the beauty of it, seen the warmth of the people and the hospitality of our African brothers, why there the barrier or the distance that use to exist between us and our African homeland and our African people is eliminated in one shot. So it is not that we are saying separation is the answer, we are saying we want to be respected as human beings. Then if we can't be respected as human beings here we got to go where we can be respected as human beings. That's all.

MAGEN: So how about all those black people in America who consider themselves Americans who wouldn't want to go to Africa?

MALCOLM X: Well, they could stay here and continue to boycott and picket and demonstrate and become involved in race riots by saying they are Americans.

MAGEN: Why don't you just go to Africa and take anybody who wants to go with you?

MALCOLM X: I think that you are getting right to that point right now.

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I was in Africa in '59. But see you can't solve the problem as an individual. As the black man in this country awakens and as he gets a higher degree of education, this black man is going to want the same the something the white man has as the black man gets an education comparable to the white man and begins to demand the same things the white man has, this is where your racial trouble comes. Not only will he demand your school and demand your neighborhood and demand your factory and demand your economy, he is demanding everything you have. Well, whites will put up with it for so long and as they being to see where they are being backed into the wall, the reaction of the white man is going to be violent. It is going to be bloody and I think he is going to meet with a surprise when he gets violent and bloody with the Negroes today.

HAGEN: Well, you weren't going to solve any of our problems at all. You were just going to go over there and leave us with out problems.

MALCOLM X: Now I think, sir, whenever you, it should not be a problem when black people ask for freedom. Why is it a problem? Why is it a problem when black people want justice or equality? Why is it a problem when the black man wants

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better housing, better education, better food? Why should this be such a problem in America which professes to be the land of the free and the home of the brave. It shouldn't be a problem unless this is hypocracy, that they are using to make Negroes think that it is the land of the free and home of the brave. You would solve the problem easier by communicating with the Negro on the basis of reality. The day the white man can sit down and tell the black man what he likes and doesn't like and expects the black man to tell the white man what he likes and what he doesn't like, then there will be lines of communication established on the basis of reality. But whenever you find a white man and a black man come together across the table, both of them are lying to each other. And it is these lies that they do to each other that makes the problem more complicated rather than bring the causes of the problem to light and make it possible for the two to get together and eliminate them.

HAGEN: Would you like to see complete segregation here in this country, if it were possible?

MALCOLM X: No, not segregation.

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HAGEN: Well, if it were possible to have what people call separate, but equal and -

MALCOLM X: Separate but equal is separate is equal, but segregated isn't equal. So there is a difference between segregation and separation. Segregation is that which is forced on inferiors by superiors. Separation is done voluntarily.

HAGEN: Well do we have voluntary segregation in this country?

MALCOLM X: Not voluntary segregation.

Both: Voluntary separation?

HAGEN: You would be for that?

MALCOLM X: Well, if white people can live in a white community where there are no black people and they aren't effected by the absence of black people, then black people should be able to live in a black community where they are no white people and not be effected by the absence of white people. And if the white man can do without the black man and the black man can't do without the white man, then the black man is admitting his inferiority. So all we are saying in the philosophy of black nationalism to teach the black man the truth about himself, about his ancestors, about his contributions to science and civilization. Let him know

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where he was on the family tree when all of this skulduggery started and once his true cultural roots have been restored, once his true history has been taught to him and he knows his contributions to science and civilization, the achievements and accomplishments of his forefathers, then he becomes a complete man. He feels then he can stand on his own feet, in his own separate society, independent of the white man, the same as the white man has been able to do on his feet in his own separate society independent of the black man. And it is this refusal of the white man to let the black man learn the truth about his past that makes it impossible today for the black man to realize that he can live in a separate society and that society be equal. If an all white community is sufficient in itself, then an all black community should be sufficient in itself, then an all black community should be sufficient in itself. But in the black community usually the economy of the black community is controlled by the white outsider; The politics of the black community is controlled by the outsider. The school system of the black community is controlled by an outsider, a white outsider and this is what we call a segregated economy

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a segregated political system and a segregated community with a segregated educational system.

CALLER: I would like to ask Mr. MALCOLM X why when a Negro becomes a black Muslim, his last name is replaced with X?

MALCOLM X: Well, what the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has always taught us is that the black people in this country, when we were brought here from our own homeland had names that actually were African names. After we were brought to this country we were stripped not only of our mother tongue, we were stripped of our names, we were stripped of anything that would enable us to identify with any type of highly developed cultural pattern anywhere on the earth. So that right now if you were to see a Chinese person and that Chinese person said his name was PATRICK MURPHY, you wondered how in the world that Chinese became a name PATRICK MURPHY. MURPHY is an Irish name, a white man's name and the Chinaman is yellow and he has the Irish name just doesn't fit a Chinaman so just as an Irish name doesn't fit a Chinese person who is yellow, it is even more absurd to see a black man running with an Irish name, a French name or an English name. These names that the black people have in this country today were names that

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were given to our great grandfathers during slavery by the slave master, not to elevate us but to identify us as the property of our master. If there was white man whose name was SMITH, and he had 50 slaves, everyone of those slaves' last name was SMITH. He would be given a first name to identify him as an individual but that last name identified him as the property of Mr., a white man named SMITH. And to slaves across the field who might be owned by a man named WILLIAMS would get the last name of that particular slave master. And when the Emancipation Proclaimation was issued, all of the slaves in this country because our own names had been destroyed, all we had was the name of our slave master, and today when you find Negroes from coast to coast running around with names like JOHNSON, and BUNCH, and POWELL, and names of that sort, all they are doing is letting you know that they don't know who they really are. So when we become Muslims and we learn that our identity was destroyed, we accept that as a fact and we use X which stands for the unknown and the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD does teach us that this is in the Bible, this is in Biblical prophecy where it

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says there are, lost people would be on this earth and they are symbolically described as the lost sheep. And it says they would be without a home, without a country, they would be without a history, they would be without a shepherd, they would be without a name. And it is written or predicted in the last days, God, himself, would come and find the lost sheep in the west and when he finds them he would restore to them the names of their forefathers, he would give them a name out of their own mouth but until that time they would have the X which means they don't know who they are. They would be an unknown people.

MORGAN: MALCOLM from a purely governmental or functional standpoint though wouldn't this be impractical if you had a telephone book full of X's for example.

MALCOLM X: Well, we have in New York JAMES 84 X, JAMES 105X. What the so-called Negro does who accepts that particular organizational tab he uses, if his name is BROWN he'll say his name is JOHN X, then he will use the name BROWN, JOHN X BROWN or JOHN X WILLIAMS, in his daily duties.

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MORGAN: I've heard you use that expression so many times. You used it on the MIKE DOUGLAS show today, a couple of times here tonight and in many of your speeches you always say the so-called Negro.

MALCOLM X: Yes, well that is negative actually, but the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD also taught us the black man was not called Negro prior to coming to this country and right to this day you don't find any black people on this earth who will accept the term Negro, but these descendants of the slaves in this country. The blackest African can come here and if you call him a Negro, you insult him. So what our so-called Negro intellectuals, they have been taught, they have been brain-washed into looking down upon black so if you call one of them black, he gets insulted. They say don't call me black call me Negro. Then if you ask him what he means by Negro, he says well Negro means black in Spanish so what he is telling you, don't call him black in English call him black in Spanish, which is absurd, and he can't even speak Spanish. Don't call him black in English, but call him black in Spanish.

MORGAN: What would be the scientific equal to the term Caucasian for white man?

MALCOLM X: Well, no-just as you call the white people white no matter what their complexion is, our

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black are black no matter what our complexion is. I know white people who are darker than some Negroes. Some Jews are darker than Negroes. Some Italians are darker than Negroes.

MORGAN: They're the Caucasian race though.

MALCOLM X: And still they are called white. So what is good for the goose is good for the gander. If a white man is white, no matter how dark his complexion is. When you put this thing down in terms of black and white, you can understand each other better.

MORGAN: Racial, what would the, as you say the so-called Negro be as a white man is Caucasian.

MALCOLM X: Where Caucasian is a term that he has designated for himself, his particular anthropologist I guess you you would call it, have used the term Caucasian in which category they classify some people whose skin is as black as this microphone and if you will notice they classify the Ethiopians, the people of Abyssinia as Caucasians?

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MALCOLM X: Yes, they classify the people of Egypt as Caucasians who are just as black as the people in Ethiopia. Usually you will find most of the anthropologists classify, even in India, they have people in India who are also as black as this microphone. They are called Caucasian. They usually will accept any dark skin people into their Caucasian category as long as that dark skinned people have some kind of highly developed culture that the archaeologists have discovered or that that jungles haven't covered up. But usually when they got a person who they won't classify, as Caucasian he is in an area of this earth where the jungles or something have covered up his civilization so they don't want to accept him.

CALLER: I would like to know if the black Muslims are primarily a violent group, like the clan or if they do have a peaceful policy?

MALCOLM X: No, we are not violent at all. In fact a Muslim can't be a Muslim unless he believes in the religion of Islam. Islam itself is an Arabic word that means complete submission to the Will of God, and anyone can be. There is no such thing as a black Muslim when we never called ourselves black Muslims. We are Muslims.

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The press calls us black Muslims. Anyone can be a Muslim who accepts a law as God and practices the principles of Islam. So that you can't say black Muslim, brown Muslim, red Muslim or yellow Muslim. A Muslim is a Muslim. It is only when you get into Christianity that you have such things as white Christian and black Christian. And because Christians have this particular method of dividing on terms of race, they try and do the same thing with us. So we are not violent, but we do believe in protecting ourselves. We believe in peace. We believe in obeying the law. We believe in respecting the rights and property of others. We believe in hospitality. We believe in friendship with everybody who will be friends. But at the same time we are taught that we are within our religious rights that anytime anyone attacks us, we retaliate no matter what the odds against us are. You will find a Muslim is supposed to retaliate. Not initiate an act of aggression but retaliate in selfdefense.

MOHAMAN: Have not the powers that be in Mecca rejected to so-called black Muslim movement as not Islam.

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MALCOLM X: Mr. MUHAMMAD and two of his sons visited Mecca in, I think December of 1959.

MORGAN: I've seen it reported and quoted from the higher sources, higher echelons of the Islam religion that no this is not a branch of our church, of our belief.

MALCOLM X: I think that you'll find in Islam what makes you a Muslim is the profession of faith. When you say a (talks in foreign language), — which I bear witness that there is no God but ALLAH and I bear witness that MUHAMMAD is the Apostle of ALLAH. Once that profession of faith is made that person is a Muslim. Now the black people in America have a very unique problem once they accept Islam as their religion. After accepting Islam as their religion, they still have a political fight, an economic fight, a social fight and our people are so busily engaged in fighting the injustices that we encounter in this country that when we are Muslims we are projected abroad instead being of being projected abroad as a religious group, the press projects us abroad as a hate group. Simply because we are involved in a 24 hour a day battle against the injustices that inflict our people in this country.

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CALLER: I would like to ask why is it that the stores in the black neighborhoods must be chained up and barred up. The doors at night when the store owners close up, not in the white neighborhoods even in the poorer sections you have no trouble with breaking in and things of that sort.

MALCOLM X: Well, this is a very good observation that the brother here has pointed out. It is true that in the so-called Negro community almost all of the law enforcement is actually designed to protect the property of the merchants who control the economy of that community. And in white communities when you see police officers usually they are there as police officer and they act in a very intelligent way. But the whole structure and behavior pattern in the so-called Negro community is designed to imply that these people are criminal, these people are destructive, these people are uncontrolable and this has the psychological effect of making little children grow up and fall right into this image. Or they begin to follow the behavior pattern that the society itself has stamped upon them. And it is a disgrace to think in terms

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of putting iron bars in every community where you find Negroes, and at the same time there is property of greater value in the white section but it is not necessary to put iron bars there. Whites had been taught to believe that most Negroes are criminals. I might even point out one of the tactics they use to spread this image, the police department itself oftimes feeds the public through the press. Statistics that are actually designed to give the white public the impression that most Negroes are criminals because the Negro community has such a high crime rate. And because they blow up the high crime rate of the Negro community this makes the average white think that the Negro is a criminal. And then once this image is acceptable to the white community, it opens the door for the white police in the Negro and make him put up his hands, search him, use police-state tactics with him. And the white public doesn't make an out cry because they have already been sold the picture that most Negroes are criminals so that you can be a Negro lawyer, a Negro doctor a professional Negro and when you walk in the street, you're the potential victim of almost any policeman in the community. And this is not the case in the white community where whites live.

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CALLER: Well, there have always been minority groups in this country and they have been in neighborhood schools and different neighborhoods, The Slavs, the Poles, the Italians and Mr. ROBERT KENNEDY even included the Irish people in it. Now I can't understand why the Negro teachers don't want to teach in the Negro schools and be such good teachers that they could help their children to understand. After all a Negro understands a Negro's problem much better than any white teacher would. Why do they want to integrate into the white schools?

MALCOLM X: I blame the whites themselves for misleading the Negro and for deceiving the Negroes. It is true it is impossible to destroy a neighborhood school. You can't destroy a neighborhood school unless you destroy a neighborhood. You can't destroy a community school unless you destroy the community, but it is the fault, this misconception that the Negro teacher has, or that some of the civil rights leaders have, concerning what they call quality education

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and the inability to get it in an all black school. It is not the fault of the Negroes. This is the fault of the white themselves, because they never sit down in an honest discussion with Negroes and point out the factors that enable the schools in the white community to keep a high caliber of education and at the same time point out the factors that they know destroy high caliber education in the Negro community. So if the whites will deal justly and honestly in these integration problems when they are dimssing them with Negroes, and feel free to give scientific proof as to how a black community can stay black and a school in that community can stay black and still get quality education, then you have your problem solved. But as long as these white liberals, so-called liberals, some of them are probably for real and others aren't so much for real, become involved in the struggle just to satisfy their own ego or their own masochistic tendencies then you are going to have Negroes barking up the wrong tree. Our problem will never be solved until we take the responsibility as we are taught in the political, economical and social philogophy

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of black nationalism. Our problem will never be solved until we take control politically of our own community and socially of our own community. And we have to then do what is necessary to elevate the standard of our own community at all levels, But the whites will not allow this to happen because everytime a black person comes along and tries to show black people the necessity of having something of our own, owning something of our own and controlling that which is our own, instead of the whites helping us, they accuse anybody who advocates that as being a black supremacist or racist or some kind of way out expression as that.

CALLER: I would like to know how MALCOLM X justifies some of the more physical disturbances that are caused and how someone as myself who is found in sympathy with them, I suddenly find myself not wanting to be in sympathy with them when I see some of the stuff pulled up in the North. And I like to know how he thinks they are going to be able to keep the support of those people that support them now, when they are trying things out like this.

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MALCOLM X:

Well I think. This is a good point. Most whites are very liberal in contributing their services and their help as long as they live in the North and the Negroes are crying about the injustices of the South. But as soon as the Negro in the North realize that he was the victim of just as strict a segregation system in the North and he began to demonstrate against the segregated system of the North many of the whites who formerly was with him pulled out. So this right here should make the white person revaluate his own motives. When you become involved in the Negro struggle or the Negroes' hopes and aspirations as long as those hopes and aspirations are a long ways from your own door then you are not really involved. But if you are really involved in seeing that the black man in this country gets freedom, justice and equality, then you should be involved with him wherever those injustices exist and you should be just as sincerely involved in active participation here in the North as you were when it was going on in the South. I think one of the most frightening aspects of the entire Negro struggle has been the fact that has come to light here in the past year, that you have as much segregation in the cities of the North as you have in the cities of the South.

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My contention is, if an effort on the part of black people to eliminate the segregated system of the North meets with violence that it has met with in the city of Cleveland, Chicago, in New York and these other places, what do you think, would happen if an honest effort was truly made to eliminate segregation in places below the Mason-Dixon Line.

MORGAN: I wonder if you see anything in the wording of that particular question. MALCOLM X the gentleman said several - these people, their problems, instead of ours, in contact to humanity problems.

MALCOLM X: Well that is why he asked the question that he asked. He actually thought that he was identifying with the problem, and that he was sympathizing with the problem, but he still looked upon a segment, 22 million African-Americans as those people, someone else from some place else and whose problem was actually someone else's problem. He doesn't really say that the problem of the black people in this country is actually the white man's problem. More so than it is the black man's problem because the white man is guilty of committing

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the initial criminal act that created the problem that has involved the chickens coming home to roost upon the white man here in America today.

MORGAN: Actually many people seem to think that this militant aspect of the civil rights struggle is something very new brought into dramatic front page scope by yourself, by the Black Muslim movement. But actually your own father was a Garethite and involved in a militant movement. Was he not?

MALCOLM X: My father was an organizer for MARIST GARVEY and was killed in Lansing, Michigan, in 1931. Was put under a street car, so you don't have to go- as I say I always say this is Michigan where my father was thrown beneath the street-car. You don't have to go to Mississippi to run into these things. You can run into them right here in the North and I think if the whites in the North and the blacks in the North would just sit down and have some honest communication and feel free to express themselves on these subjects without fear of being classified as a bigot or extremist, then you would probably bring up some

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facts that would enable us to get the problem solved.

MORGAN: A lot of this talking and this discussion has been done by a man like, for example, MARTIN LUTHER KING. Now would you in your judgment blame MARTIN LUTHER KING is guilty as many white people is guilty for this condition.

MALCOLM X: Well, I don't think that it is giving an honest picture of black people in this country to make white people think that our people are nonviolent, and will turn the other cheek and are going to love those who hate us. Anytime this distorted image is projected then you are going to have whites who will continue to be complacent because they think no matter what you do to the Negro you are just going to be doing it to a person who will be willing to be patient, loving and continue to turn the other cheek for a long period of time. So in this sense, a dis-service is done but on the other hand a great service is done anytime you find a man who can hold people in check who should have exploded a long time ago.

CALLER: I would like to know as a short time after the Civil War our teacher told us in school, the

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Negroes were offered a chance to return to Africa and those that did made slaves of their own people while they were in Africa. I would like to know if Mr. X knows if this is true and if this is true, what about it and also -

MORGAN: Lets just take the first part of that.

MALCOLM X: This country set up Liberia as a colony for black people who wanted to return to Africa and it has been said that those who returned enslaved the people who were already there, which this is untrue. You'll find that Liberia has the most trick laws today against any kind of injustice than many of the countries over there, but on the other hand you'll find that there are interests here, American interests like the Firestone Rubber Company that has gone in there and exercised now a great deal of control over the economy as well as other aspects of the Liberian life that makes the country the type of place that is almost a sort of colonial, colonialism, some form of colonialism.

CALLER: Lets say you do obtain a black state. What would you do with the people who have on relief for generations and find it less

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complicated working and also the many deserved mothers and the numerous children. How do you think they could be encouraged to give service and not go back to demonstrations that you taught them at this time?

MALCOLM X: Well, the very fact that you have generations that have been on relief, right there is an indictment of the American system. A system that perpetuates welfare recipients so that sometimes third generations, right on down to the third and fourth generation they have done nothing but live off handouts is an indictment of this system that you call capitalism or Americanism. The philosophy of black nationalism is designed to eliminate number one the immoral aspects that create children being born out of wedlock, that destroy the moral fiber of the so-called Negro community. The political, economical and social philosophy of black nationalism, especially coupled with the religious philosophy of Islam is sufficient in itself to eliminate all of these weak factors from the black man's character and enable him to stand on his feet and develop his own society in the same way that others have developed theirs.

MORGAN: I want to find out your opinions on, now for years and years, generations actually, those

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who believe in equal rights for all races have been going to great pains, great troubles to prove scientifically, psychologically, anthropologically, biologically, physiologically that there are no superior races, and yet you have been quoted as saying that the white man is a devil and the black man is a superior.

MALCOLM X: Well, after all these years when the American system and the American textbooks have spread a doctrine of white supremacy and this is what the American school system has done. It has spread white supremacy, it has castrated the Negro by whiting history and leading him right on out of history. So much so until a black child can go to these schools here in America for a thousands years and learn nothing of the accomplishments of black people. Now today, now that the whites have used racism and white supremacy to rise to the top, they want outlaw any tendency on the part of the Negro to dove into the past whether it be historically as you say anthropologically, or any phase of science to prove that he, too, is a human being. But when you studied biology which is a science of life itself, the genetic phase of biology classifies

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people under certain characteristics and those who are dark, with dark characteristics or dark genes they classify as dominant. Those with light characteristics, they classify as recessive. Blue eyes recessive. Brown eyes dominant. Dark hair dominant. Blond hair recessive. Light skin recessive. Dark skin dominant.

MORGAN: Only in the reproduction of the species not in characteristics.

MALCOLM X: Still, this is the genetic phase of biology which shows that there is a human who has characteristics that are biologically dominant in opposition to another human who has characteristics that are biologically recessive, which means weak. Dominant means strong. Recessive means weak.

MORGAN: That's a false use though of the meaning of the word. You are using a scientific meaning of the word.

MALCOLM X: Genetically, speaking genetically two black people can produce a white child. It is called an Albino. Two people pure black, cool black can produce a white offspring called an Albino. Two white people can't have a black offspring. The black one is dominant, can produce the white and can produce black,

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but the white man can produce nothing but another white man. It is absolutely a biological impossibility for two white people to have anything but white offspring.

MORGAN: But that white -

MALCOLM X: Now if there is a time -

MORGAN: Created was an inferior being. Are they not? If there was a time on this earth when there were one people or one man had he been white or had they been white, black people, brown people, red people, yellow people couldn't be here. If every there was a time when there was one people or one man on this earth, he would have to have been a black man in order for the rest of these people to be here. And all the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD says in regards to the black man being superior is that he is the original man. He is the first man and all other people you see on this earth came from that black man and LEAKY (PHONETIC), I think his name is pronounced in that way, a noted anthropologist, just discovered in Africa Tanganyik the other day the remains of a man that is older than any other man that they have ever heard of. In fact, all of the ancient men that they find, they find in the black part of this earth, showing you that the black man is the original man. He is the first man. He is the father of all of the others.

MALCOM X FEELS 'AT HOME' IN AFRICA

Special to The New York Times

ACCRA, Ghana, May 12—Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, said today that everywhere he had been in Africa he "felt more at home than I have ever felt in America."

Malcolm, who left the United States about a month ago to visit Mecca and Africa, arrived here last night from Nigeria. He has also been to East Africa.

He said at a press conference today that African nations should not restrict themselves to "pointing a finger" at South Africa in the United Nations, but should take up American racial segregation at the world organization.

What is going on in the United States, he said, is worse than what is going on in South Africa.

He said the American system "perpetuates the enslavement of the Negro."

Malcolm said the essence of his trip to Africa was to establish communications and good relations between "the Africans at home and the Africans in America."

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Malcolm Urges UN Action

Accra, Ghana, May 13 (AP) —Malcolm X, dissident Black Muslim leader, urged African nations to take the question of U. S. racial segregation to the United Nations. Malcolm made the appeal at a news conference after flying in from Lagos, Nigeria, for a visit.

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