FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 63

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 63

SERIALS 4584-4610

(June 1964)

93 pages

Section 63

NY 105-8999-4584	same as	HQ 100-399321-125
" " " 4604	" "	" " " 118
" " " 4610	" "	" " " 120

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) DATE: JUN 23 1964

FROM : b7C SA [redacted] #43

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE
IS - MMI

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7D, C

[redacted]

b7D, C

b7C [redacted]

1-New York (100-152759) (MMI) (43)
1-New York [redacted] (43)
1-New York [redacted]
1-New York [redacted]

b7C

b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C

(4)

Send copy of this being made for 100-15330[redacted]

b7C [redacted] b7D

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

105-8999-4609

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
JUN 23 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted]

b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-55)

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NY 105-8999 - 4609

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FBI/DOJ

b7c SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759) JUN 23 1964

SA [redacted] #43

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS - MMI

On 6/9/64, a taped interview with MALCOLM LITTLE appeared for approximately five minutes on the 10:00 a.m. news program of MIKE WALLACE over NBC TV. WALLACE indicated that the appearance had been taped on the previous day.

During the interview, MALCOLM X stated that many white people were fed up with the treatment of Negroes in America and that he is determined that there are "good white people".

When WALLACE pointed out that this was contrary to former teachings of MALCOLM, the latter stated that he is now speaking for himself and previous "anti-white" statements which he made were made at a time when he was speaking for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

He went on to state that the NOI practices violence against fellow Negroes, particularly their own members who break NOI laws.

MALCOLM stated that his own life had been threatened after he had told "certain information" to various NOI officials. The NOI then sent the brother out to kill him, but that brother is now in his organization.

1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (43)
1-New York (105-7809) (NOI)
1-New York

[redacted]
(3)

b7c

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105-8999-4608

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
JUN 23 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

b7c

NY 100-152759

It is noted that MALCOLM X made no mention over the air of the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the closest thing to it being his mention of "certain information" which he gave to NOI officials.

6/23/64

CONFIDENTIAL

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765) AND
SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47471)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS-MMI

RePhiladelphia teletype, 6/22/64.

For the information of the Bureau and Philadelphia, the MMI has a scheduled public rally for Sunday evening at 8:00 PM, 6/28/64, Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th St., NYC.

On 6/22/64, [redacted] advised that in a conversation with an unknown man, MALCOLM X stated that he planned to announce the formation of a new organization next Sunday (6/28/64) at the Audubon.

b2

For the information of the Philadelphia Office, MALCOLM X is known to have been holding meetings with various individuals during the past month for a broad organization apparently in the civil rights field for the purpose of bringing American racial situation before the United Nations. He has referred to this new group as the Afro-American Freedom Fighters and the Organization for Afro-American Unity. Until the organization is actually formed and functioning it is being handled under instant caption. However, a new file (see copies to) has been opened.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

4-Bureau (100-441765) (RM)
(1-100-) (Afro-American Freedom Fighters)
2-Philadelphia (100-47471) (RM)
1-New York (100-153308) (Afro-American Freedom Fighters) (43)
1-New York (105-8993) (MALCOLM X) (43)
1-New York (100-152759) (43)

105-8999-1607

ABF:cka
(10)

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIAL [redacted]
[redacted] 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

1-Sup. #43 Classified by 8369JHE/WEB/dd
Declassify on: OADR
1/25/84

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-152759

CONFIDENTIAL

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b7D

[redacted] is attempting to arrange for the taping of MALCOLM X's speech next Sunday night at the Audubon Ballroom.

CONFIDENTIAL

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

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

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FBI/DOJ

6/22/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

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

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau six copies of an LHM concerning the MMI open rally held in New York City on 6/21/64, at which MALCOLM X LITTLE was the speaker.

The confidential source is [redacted] The information was furnished to SA [redacted]

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DATE 1/26/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

3-Bureau (ENCLS. 6) (RM)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)
1-New York (100-153308) (AAFF) (43)
1-New York (43)
1-Super. # 43

ABF:kgm
(7)

[redacted]

b7C

b7C

105-8999-4601

SEARCHED ___ INDEX[redacted]
SERIAL[redacted]
JUN 22 1964
FBI - NEW YOR[redacted]

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

Characterizations of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), Nation of Islam (NOI), and NOI Mosque #7, New York City, are attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

On June 21, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

On June 21, 1964, the MMI held an open public rally from 8:15 pm to 9:45 pm at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City, with Malcolm X Little, the featured speaker. Approximately four hundred persons were in attendance.

Little's speech was very general with no specific topic. He referred to his recent African tour and talked of Islam as the only true faith for Negroes. He described the Civil Rights Bill passed by the United States Senate this past week as a farce which will not solve the Negro's problem.

Little also told the audience to attend the speech to be made by Elijah Muhammad next Sunday (June 28, 1964) in New York City, then come to his rally next Sunday night and make their comparison.

He also talked briefly of a new group being formed to deal with the racial problem in the United States. He claimed that this new group will have an educational program to instruct Negroes in the contributions their race has made to history. He indicated

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[redacted] b7C

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105-8999-4600

that this new group will not sponsor "sit-ins" as current civil rights groups do, but their policy will be one of "take-in", that is, they will take what is rightfully theirs.

The above source advised that unlike the rally last Sunday night (June 14, 1964), Little had no bodyguards armed with rifles at this meeting.

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

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

FBI

Date: 6/19/64

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) (P)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED
IS - MMI
(OO: NEW YORK)

MALCOLM X appeared on "Kup's Show," Channel 7, TV, Chicago, Illinois, on 5/23/64. This show is moderated by IRV KUPCINET and is a local TV panel show. KUPCINET is a Chicago TV personality and newspaper columnist.

This telecast was tape recorded by SA [redacted] of the Chicago Office. Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the taped transcription. Four (4) copies are enclosed for New York. b7c

This information is not being set forth in LHM form as it contains information which MALCOLM X has previously publicly stated. No new pertinent statements appear in the enclosed recordings.

The tape was transcribed by Stenographer [redacted] b7c

4 - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
(1 - 25-330971) (NOI)
4 - New York (100-152759) (Encl. 4) (RM)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM X)
(1 - 105-7809) (NOI)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

105-8999-4549

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

CES/rms
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DATE 1/25/64 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

b7c

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

IRV KUPCINET SHOW, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1964

KUPCINET: MALCOLM X, stormy petrel of the civil rights movement and number two man in the Nation of Islam under ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and now the founder of the Muslim Mosque. MALCOLM X has just returned from Africa and a visit to Mecca. Next is Dr. LOUIS LOMAX, Journalist, Educator, Author of "When The Word is Given" and an articulate spokesman for a more modern approach to the Negro problem. This is CHARLES SILBERMAN, an editor of "Fortune" magazine and author of a highly-praised book on the problem of the crisis called "Crisis In Black and White," a book that I heartily recommend. Another outstanding author, Dr. RUSSELL KIRK. He is an editor of "National Review." He is an educator and author of the best selling "The Conservative Mind." And from the "New York Times," JACK RAYMOND (PH) who covers the Pentagon for the "New York Times" and he has written a splendid book called "The Power at the Pentagon." A little bit later in the show, folks, you will meet such guests as OLIVIA DE HAVILAND, the star of the motion picture "Lady in the Cage"; JAMES HAGERTY, former White House Press Secretary under President EISENHOWER and now Vice President of the ABC Television Network; ALBERT DEKKER, distinguished actor of stage and screen who is starring in "A Man For All Seasons" at the Blackstone Theater; the Honorable MANUEL URRETIA, the first President of Cuba under FIDEL CASTRO who is now a leader of the Cuban exile movement; and JEAN PIERRE AUMONT, French star of stage, screen and now

supper clubs who is appearing at the Camellia House of the Drake Hotel. I'd like to take just a moment, ladies and gentlemen, to express my thanks to the members of the Chicago Chapter of the National Television Academy of Arts and Sciences for awarding this show an Emmy.

KUPCINET: I wish either one of you would take the floor and explain where you two differ on your approach to this problem. Let's start with Dr. LOUIS LOMAX--your approach to this problem, LOU, and then we'll let MALCOLM X take the floor for awhile.

Dr. LOUIS LOMAX: Well, my approach to the question as to where the Negro goes from here is that the Negro goes to total and complete involvement in every aspect, every strata of American life regardless of what he has to do to get there so long as what he does does not destroy that into which (inaudible). He seeks to become involved. It is my firm conviction that the notion of separatism is not only an affront to the morality of democracy, but it is a complete assault on logistics, some logistical impossibility, to say nothing of the democratic immorality implicit in the notion of separation--in fact, it is my feeling that the cowardly act of the American Negro at this juncture would be to 1) either go back to Africa or to some separate state. I think it is the brave Negro who moves eyeball to eyeball with Governor WALLACE, with WILLIAM BUCKLEY, and say Look, this is not a white man's country, this is not a white man's land,

I have blood in its soil, I have tilled its land, I have picked its cotton, I have grown its corn, my taxes are not segregated, my taxes are not separated, when Uncle Sam points his finger and says I want you, he doesn't say black or he doesn't say white. In essence--I'll stretch it one more point--I am an American. The American Negro is a man-made race. I say it not with any degree of pride, just as a matter of biological reality. I'm partly African and partly a great deal else, and I have no more stake to going back to where I didn't come from in Africa than I have in going back to Holland where my great-grandfather on both sides may have come from. I'm one of the results of it and so is MALCOLM X. America is my Israel, and dammit, I'm going to take it. It is my position whether I go to complete involvement, beyond hamburgers, beyond bathrooms, beyond jobs, beyond housing. I'm going to integrate your money, your politics, everything that there is American belongs to me and the only limitations I will abide are those provided by my own gifts, my own talents and my own mind, and I for one am ready and already have done it and will continue to do it and I have an 11 year-old son who is already starting to take to the streets, to the highways, to the byways to wherever I must go to fight for and win that which is mine, and may I tag it all with just this particular thought, and I hope Dr. KIRK had a dialogue on this point. I don't like the notion, and this may be flippant but it approaches the truth, that the Catholic Church and the Communist Party are the only two people in America to come to realize that without the philosophy, perhaps even a theology,

either way you're going. And I personally have a deep-seated philosophical position which roots itself into what I think America is, what America is about, and my notion that democracy is not the freedom to build ghettos, ghettos in the mind and geographic ghettos, but rather that democracy is a mandate to build ghettos and if this be true, then I am ready to sustain philosophical notion that there is meaning not only in man but meaning in history and there is meaning in America and that the principal meaning today of America is that at long last this by-pass of tribalism, be it ethnetic or religious, is being drawn as it were from the body politic of man as he grows it becomes something else. Until I get the distinct feeling of being a participant in an exciting, you know, like the old 18th century philosophers who had the capacity at least they said they did, to stand outside of themselves and watch themselves as part of the human drama. I think this is the role of the perceptive American Negro today that around me, America is realizing itself it will not go back to the 13th and 15th and 17th century. And I have a very real feeling about this.

MALCOLM X: Well, first I think I would like to point out to Brother LOMAX, Dr. LOMAX here that he has kind of overlooked .....

KUPCINET: You kind of emphasized the X I noticed when you said LOMAX.

MALCOLM X: Yes, not accidentially. You're overlooking something when you say that any tendency to advocate a form of separation is an affront to the morality of democracy, especially when

this same democracy has allowed or permitted the existence of 22 million Afro-Americans who are nothing but second class citizens that this does not, if this isn't an affront to the democracy, nothing can affront, nothing can cast any shadows on it and when a person is regarded as a separationist, as a reaction to the inability of the so-called democracy to practice what it professes or practice what it preaches, then you can't condemn the person who reacts in the direction of separation unless you're going to also condemn that democracy that produced this reaction. If I may finish. Secondly, it is not a case of our people in this country wanting either separation or integration, the use of these two words actually clouds the real picture. The 22 million Afro-Americans don't seek either separation or integration. They seek recognition and respect as human beings and when you think in terms of segregationist or rather separationist or integrationist, it actually clouds the issue. Integration is only a method that is used by some Negroes to get what they really want--recognition and respect as human beings. And separation is a method that is used by other segments of the Negro community to get what they want--respect and recognition as human beings. But the objective, the goal of all factions among our people in this country is the same. The only differences lie in the methods or in the means whereby these goals, these common goals will be achieved so that if we agree that it is respect and recognition as human beings that our people want, then integration and separation is out of the picture completely and the desire, an effort on our part to get this

respect as human beings does not even involve civil rights. It first has to involve human rights and our people have actually clouded the picture themselves or allowed themselves to be side-tracked or made to bark up the wrong tree by placing so much stress on civil rights before they first have their actual human rights so where you and I probably differ and differ greatly is this stress on civil rights and in acceptance into the American society as citizens before the society itself has even permitted itself to recognize us as human beings, and I very much doubt that you can make a citizen out of anyone that you don't regard as a human being. We make a mistake by running around here begging for this and begging for that, and I'll go along with you when you say that we should get what we have coming to us, but many of the Negro leaders are playing a very dangerous game if they're going to encourage our people or constantly remind our people of what we have coming to us and get us involved in a struggle and at the same time expect us to remain the peaceful, non-violent victims of the attackers who themselves don't intend for us to be recognized and accepted as an integral part of this society.

LOMAX: Alright now, we will come to the non-violent thing a little bit later. Let's back up. First of all, I want to take vigorous objection to your static view of society which you reflected in your notion how can I say this is mine, how can I become involved when this has not accepted me. This trends on the notion: 1) they think that society is a static thing, 2) that I should wait for the white man to .....

MALCOLM X: "I've said nothing about waiting. All I've said is that if you're going to get involved in a struggle or get our people involved in a struggle, our people should be permitted in this struggle to go into it with no holds barred. Our hands shouldn't be tied.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: Are these opposite points of view? It seems to me that what has held the Negro protest movement back for the last 75 years has been the tendency to see a dichotomy, that either one approaches it in terms of civil rights or one approaches it in terms of self-improvement of doing it ourselves and making our own world that the disagreement (inaudible) as opposites arose because of the debate between BOOKER T. WASHINGTON and W. E. B. DU BOIS at the end of the 19th century and so there was a tendency for one group to say we can only do it ourselves, that the whites will never give us anything, a tendency for the other side to say if you want to do it for yourself, you're simply accommodating yourself to white society. We must force, we must demand and get civil rights. It seems to me that the two are both parts of the same total package, that without the civil rights, it is virtually impossible for the Negro to feel the sense of self-respect that he needs. If you're denied the hamburger or denied the vote or denied the job, you can't feel that you're a man. That is not enough, though, having the formal right to get the vote, having the formal right to eat at the hamburger stand simply makes it possible for you to enter the society. It does not accomplish anything by itself. What 350 years of exclusion from American society have done

to the Negro has to be overcome. So that - it seems to me that it is a mistake to constantly see these two positions as diametrically opposed either in terms of goals or in (inaudible) attack.

LOMAX: I don't think that's it. I don't think that's it at all. I think the difference that Minister MALCOLM and I have, and it is a very sharp one here. It goes back to my preliminary statement. And let's forget about Negroes and white people for a moment; let's simply look at democracy. What is this? What does it say as a philosophy of Government? Now until we can get this clear, all else we gonna do is so much (inaudible) symbol and sounding brass. Now it seems to me that inherit in the democratic ethic is certainly the notion that as a citizen of the country, I have all of the freedoms and prerogatives of a citizen of that country. Now and this is where I want to come back into Minister MALCOLM X, is the fact that the American white man has denied me this entre does not go, does not a fallacy in the system, it is a fallacy in him.

KUPCINET: In the operation.

LOMAX: Exactly, exactly. It's just like I got awful tangled with clinches now today running around talking about the post-Christian era. I said you haven't even tried CHRIST, you know, in the pre-Christian era. The Christian era hasen't failed. Nobody's tried it. Democracy hasn't failed. Nobody's tried it. And this is precisely what I'm saying that I am going to try it.

Now the point that I want to make about your static view of society, it assumes that because the white man has done something that this is the way it is and that I should do certain things. Rather, it seems to me that the white man has done wrong so long he thinks it is right to do wrong and now I must disabuse him of this notion and give him an elementary lesson in democratic living. And I think it is not only a search for my rights that impels me to do this, but when I look at myself after all I am not God's chosen people and I am not simply put here to enjoy the fruits of life, but I come not only with the zeal for freedom but with a heavy burden of responsibility. Man at best is a weak thing. And so I must therefore get into the fray and in the process of dialogue and interchange and, God forbid, struggle and fighting in the streets and bring into being the better society in the words of an old Baptist hymn, we cannot go to heaven on flowery beds of ease while others fight, you know, and win the points. We've got to struggle and this is what I'm talking about.

MALCOLM X: Well, I don't have too much confidence in the operation of democracy because I haven't seen it operate. You certainly can't use the American system as an example of democracy because it hasn't been practiced since the country was first founded and our present plight here in this system is the best example of it. I agree with LOMAX that our people have made a contribution to make this country what it is and, therefore, we have a stake in it. We have something coming from it. But I think also that LOMAX has to

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carefully consider that which is at stake and what will be the reaction of those who are trying to protect their stakes and after we find out what their reaction will be, is he and the rest of our people ready and willing to pay the price that is necessary to get involved in this struggle as a realist. This is all I say.

KUPCINET: Talking about realism, how realistic is your approach for separation? I think Mr., Dr. LOMAX hit that very hard.

MALCOLM X: I haven't said anything about separation here this evening.

KUPCINET: You haven't, but you know in the policy of separation .....

MALCOLM X: No. Notice what I've said.

KUPCINET: Have you changed on this particular tune?

MALCOLM X: That the, that the black people in this country, some speak of separation as a method. Others speak of integration as a method. These are methods.

KUPCINET: Stick to separation.

MALCOLM X: ~~Just one moment. But these are not the goals.~~ Now any time a man is striving for a goal, that man is not confined to any method that doesn't enable him to achieve that goal. If Negroes in this country are striving for human dignity and they use the method of integration which they feel will eventually bring them respect and recognition as human beings, and integration never get

then what they want, you can bet that intelligent Negroes will turn away from the effort what they call integration. Likewise, those who advocate separation or who have advocated separation only as a method to reach a certain goal, if they find that this method of separation doesn't achieve that goal, they'll sack the method of salvation.

KUPCINET: QUESTION ~~Let me stop you right there.~~ Do you recommend separation as the means of achieving this goal?

MALCOLM X: M. I recommend any means necessary.

KUPCINET: Now you're ducking the point.

MALCOLM X: No, I'm not ducking the point.

KUPCINET: Do you recommend separation? You often have stood for it when you were a member of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's group.

MALCOLM X: Right. That was when I was a member of the Nation of Islam and was a spokesman for the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

KUPCINET: Someone has said you're ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's first drop-out.

MALCOLM X: And was expressing--Well, DICK GREGORY probably dropped out himself.

KUPCINET: Well, go ahead. I'm sorry to interject.

MALCOLM X: I don't think in terms of what's good for any particular organization, whether it be a religious organization, a political

organization or political party. But I'm primarily concerned as I believe Dr. LOMAX is, with the plight of the entire 22 million Afro-Americans, some of whom are Muslims, some of whom are Christian, some of whom profess to be Democratic, others of whom profess to be Republican. But representing a certain party or a certain religious group is not going to solve the problem of 22 million Afro-Americans. So this is why I say that.

KUPCINET: Explaining why you have separated from Brother ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

MALCOLM X: No. This is not why I separated from him.

KUPCINET: Did this narrow the confines of your operation?

MALCOLM X: There were very narrow confines which there are always narrow confines when you're working within a religious group. And also usually when you're working with a religious group or within a religious framework, you're already in a position to be in constant opposition to other people whose religious persuasion happens to be different.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: Hasn't your position changed, Minister MALCOLM, in the sense of accepting, or there seems to me to be an implication every now and then in things that you say that it is possible, bad as things are, bad as the white record may be, the possibility of achieving a solution in the United States is there.

MALCOLM X: Yes.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: My main reason is if the statement you wrote about on my book ends, if the warning contained in this book goes unheeded, then America is indeed beyond hope and all is lost. Well, this implies that there must be some hope present.

MALCOLM X: I think if you read or review any speech that I have ever made, no matter how severe the indictment was, right within it there was always the constant warning that if America could change, which America has not changed nor has America shown any real sincere signs of changing when it comes to the treatment of black people in this country. They might change in their method or they might change in the degree to which they apply these methods, but the overall treatment remains with us.

LOMAX: Again if I may here. We are again back to my point of this static view. You say it's methodology between us. It's more than methodology because you see and this is what you're saying, and I think this is so common but I think it is true of our conservative friends and I want to hear Mr. KIRK on this and what you say here is a goal and then you get into an argument over, like you're going to Milwaukee from Chicago so you get into an argument over which train you're going to take. I think we better back up and take the rather fluid view. The road to Rome is Rome itself.

KUPCINET: Right.

LOMAX: The journey is the arriving. Life is not set up in final solutions, final arrival

points. We, our life is processed, gentlemen, and the search for civil rights is civil rights. The search for dignity is dignity. So in the process of achieving my civil rights, inevitably I become involved with my dignity. May I flash out here now, because you take altogether too narrow a view of my concern. True, I am concerned with the 22 million Afro-Americans but I am concerned with a great deal more because I have a hunch that the American people are concerned. I am concerned for example for the very kind of thing Mr. RAYMOND talks about in his book, and which I suspect we better watch because I think there is a direct correlation, for example, between a nation that can call me a "nigger" and can abuse my 11 year-old son and a nation that can dump millions of tons of wheat in Lake Michigan and can't feed its people or a nation that can say to Cuba, Alright, we're the big bad white bullies of the Western world. We will send our planes to your country, you better not shoot them down but you better not send anything over our country. I think there is a direct correlation between that and the kind of political philosophy that many people are involved in in this country now which would simply turn back the clock as it were, and try to undo everything man has scrambled up the rocky cliff of human progress to achieve. I think the race problem, and Minister MALCOLM, this from my (inaudible) may be, and this is my humble view. This may be the most fatal flaw in your concern, and that is your concern is so specifically for the 22 million Afro-Americans, the Negroes, because I don't believe, in fact, I know that the same thing

that makes the Negro a "nigger" makes the Appalachian a poor white man with wrinkles in his belly. And essentially, he and the mass Negro have the same problems stemming from the same situation, and I am convinced that the same thing extends into American foreign policy and it has to do with the reason why we are being despised and spewed out of the mouths of people all over the world. So I think what you and I suffer as Negroes is but a minor symptom of the major malady and to chop it up I would say this. I have to disagree with you on one point and that is that America has not changed. It has.

MALCOLM X: It has only changed in its method. It is practicing the same thing.

LOMAX: It has changed not only qualitively but quantitively.

MALCOLM X: No. Ten years ago the Negroes weren't being bitten by dogs.

LOMAX: But by the same token, ten years ago Negroes weren't vice presidents of banks, Negroes weren't as one did today renting you the car from Hertz--there goes an applaud, thank you--as one did for me at the airport. Any way you go in American life today, particularly outside the non-South.

MALCOLM X: So the only way they've changed, LOMAX, is that you working as a butler for a middle class white man ten years ago.

LOMAX: Right.

MALCOLM X: And ten years later you're a butler for a rich white man. You're still a butler.

LOMAX: No I'm not.

MALCOLM X: You're still a butler. You're just a butler for a rich white man.

LOMAX: No. No. No, I'm not. My whole life has been changed.

MALCOLM X: Yes, but you're still a butler.

LOMAX: No. No. No, I'm not a butler.

MALCOLM X: You're a rich butler.

LOMAX: No, I'm not. No, I'm not. I was born in the back end of Georgia and I was reared and geared to be a school teacher or preacher or perhaps a combination of the two. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Reverend ABERNATHY (PH) who were all down there as children and we all grew up and played together. This was all there was for us to be. I wanted to write. I couldn't even carry the local newspaper, let alone write for it in my home town. And yet five weeks ago, I went back there and made front page headlines in my home town newspaper.

MALCOLM X: You've gone forward only to the extent that America has gone forward. But you haven't gone any farther up the ladder in the context of America.

LOMAX: That is not true. If America has gone forward, LOUIS LOMAX is partially responsible for it.

MALCOLM X: LOMAX, you haven't gone forward. You're still in the same position in the American context that you were in ten years ago and twenty years ago.

LOMAX: This is not true.

KUPCINET: Let me turn to Dr. KIRK here. His name has been mentioned quite frequently by Dr. LOMAX here. I wonder, Dr. KIRK, if you would like to express the conservative viewpoint on how this civil rights issue and the Negro problem in general should be handled. You reflected statements of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER that this is strictly a states rights issue or largely a states rights issue.

Dr. RUSSELL KIRK: Well, I feel we need to go to the heart of the matter and ask what we're after, what we're trying to achieve--this whole business. And I suppose that what we are trying to achieve is the improvement in the condition of colored people and one employs the methods best intended, best designed to achieve that. Now it seems to me that by and large, there is not much to be gained now by simply more positive laws. We have plenty of laws now that aren't enforced and in least most of the country, equality in law has been achieved. What will more laws do, say, in New York or Chicago or Detroit or Cleveland or anywhere else. Laws won't change things. What is necessary is a material change, an educational change, some cultural change in the condition of the colored people and the laws will not accomplish that. Mayor DILWORTH of Philadelphia made that point some months ago after he visited the Negro districts of the slum districts of

Philadelphia, and said he had been able to find very few people with whom he could talk who were not drunk or disorderly, and he said that we will, the Negro, must lift himself. We cannot lift him without his own will and action. And, of course, Mayor DILWORTH has been well known as a leader in civil rights movement and for the cause of the improvement of the colored people. So it is that I don't think that we can achieve much by simply a new mass of legislation and may achieve possibly harm. The so-called backlashes are already strongly at work and prejudices against colored people are being made fiercer by various demonstrations and indeed by pressure of legislation which particular groups like the Poles and Italians in other cities feel will actually imperil their communities or endanger their own rights. Thus, it isn't laws that will get us anywhere, it is a much more slow and gradual process and the actual pressure for more laws may enhance the prejudice and do mischief.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: But the backlash hasn't had the foggiest thing to do with legislation. In Gary, Indiana, where every white election district went for WALLACE. This didn't have anything to do with the civil rights bill. I'm willing to bet you that 75 per cent of the people who voted for WALLACE never heard of the civil rights bill. This had to do with exactly what you said was necessary. It had to do with Negroes trying to better themselves. It had to do with a protest movement in Gary, Indiana, which is demanding that the schools be integrated and that the quality of education

in the Negro schools be improved. And so it was the attempt of the Negro population of Gary to lift itself up by its boot straps that created the backlash in Gary which is case number one of the white backlash nor any attempt to pass new laws.

KUPCINET: Let me interject a point here. CHARLIE's book "Crisis in Black and White" treats on this subject about the change of men's hearts in which it says by some that it will take a long time that laws won't help. He brings out a chapter or rather a discourse in his book which I think is very significant going back to the Compromise of 1877. Would you briefly state that and show how laws did change in reverse in attitudes of men?

KIRK: Yes. One of the great myths in American history is that the South can't change. The fact of the matter is that the whole Jim Crow system was established by law in the period between 1890 and 1910. From the end of the Civil War until the 1890's, there was virtually no, there were no laws requiring segregation except a few states had requirement for segregated railroad cars, I think. And in fact there was when the movement began in 1896 in Charleston, South Carolina, a newspaper which had a long editorial ridiculing the whole movement for Jim Crow legislation, saying that if we passed a law requiring that Negroes ride in separate railroad cars, why if we're going to follow this logic, why not have separate restaurants, why not have separate rest rooms, why not even the ultimate absurdity of separate Bibles in the courtroom. Six years later, the climate had changed so completely that this same newspaper was saying

not only that Jim Crow legislation wasn't enough, but that all the Negroes should be shipped back to Africa because there was no place for them. In 1892, there was something like 200, I've forgotten the precise figure but the order of magnitude was 250 thousand registered Negro voters in the State of Louisiana. In 1902, there were 1,600 registered Negro voters. This was done by law. It was done in a period of 15 years so that the entire system of segregation was imposed through law in a space of 15 years and then rationalized by creating the myth that this was the way it had always been and we've been hearing for more than a half century now that you can't legislate the hearts of men. Well, this may not be able to legislate their hearts, but you sure can legislate their behavior.

KUPCINET: Now, Dr. LOMAX.

LOMAX: Well, I want to begin by agreeing with Dr. KIRK on the point that with respect to the non-South, to get specific, the pending civil rights bill which I think is going to be passed by the way. I just hope it will get passed in time. That it will mean little to the Negro in the North. It will mean a great deal to the Negro in the South. But what I would really like to pick up from you and deal with is your extension of my observation that what really is being hassled about here is democracy. And you make the point by showing that the Poles and the Italians and the Slavs and the other people have formed their own communities and when the Negro surges forth, they see the Negro as a threat to them. Indeed, this is true. Indeed, in

New York we Negroes are in agreement over the fact that we cannot get jobs in certain construction industries, and we go out with picket signs where buildings are going up and to our utter amazement we find that men who were shooting at me when I went ashore at Anzio beachhead and at Normandy are now making eight and nine dollars an hour with a union card that I as a Negro cannot get. That's non-democracy. This is exactly what I'm talking about. That these people in these enclaves resent my intrusion and they do. God knows having been in Cleveland for two months during the TV documentary I was there when BRUCE CLENDER (PH) died and this is the precise problem. It isn't so much anti-Negro attitude as it is pro-Polish attitude or pro-Italian attitude. And the real thing that is wrong with these people, and I use the word wrong very (inaudible), is that nobody has taught them democracy. Neither in the church nor in the schools has anybody more than in a very superficial way said to them, Look, will you really mean it when we said all men are created equal. Now wait, let me finish with this. Now I'm saying that this is the thing that is producing the showdown. And this is the uniqueness of the American Negro because every other group has come into the American picture and he's run head on into this wasp, the white Anglo-Saxon protestant who one way or another evidences discrimination. And so everybody says alright if that's the way you want to play the democratic ballgame, if you want to let me and mine to go ahead, go by it. You know. So they do. And this becomes somebody's enclave and the Poles say alright, well, this

will become mine and the Italians say, O.K., we'll pour concrete and everybody sets up his enclave you see. Now what I'm saying and the Negro makes his thrust and he is the only man to come into the American scene and challenge the fundamental proposition of segretation itself--now wait, now he is pulling it down and it's got to work. And as far as the white backlash is concerned, the lash can't sting any more, Dr. KIRK, than slavery, than lynching, unless you gonna put us in boxcars and ship us to gas chambers.

KIRK: They'll do that.

LOMAX: No they won't. But I assure you not in advocacy but as a social critic that we have learned one great lesson from our Jewish friends and that is if Senator RUSSELL's notion does come into being, and you start shipping Negroes around, that six million of us won't die in some gas chamber. We will die on the way. And take somebody else with us. Now this much I think--America needs to get rooted in its thinking and as far as the white backlash is concerned, I think what white people better stop to do is look at the black uplash and ask yourself this question, forget morality. Forget legality. Ask yourself how can you run a country--I'm talking pure practicality now--of 180 million people with 20 million mad people in it, be in your kitchens, they're nursing your babies, they're at your railroad stations, they're at your telephone company, they're at your power plant, they're at your airports. The American Negro can cripple this country right now and bring it to a

standstill. So it isn't a question of a backlash. It is a question of life and death. Are we going to hang together or are we going to hang separately? Are we going to deal with democracy, or are we not? And I don't see anyone running out into the streets. We don't make any machine guns, we don't make any bullets and one to one, we can't win but we can bug you to death.

MALCOLM X: LOMAX, we can win. And there is one point that--yes, we can win.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: Depends on what you're fighting for.

MALCOLM X: No, you're fighting for right, and right is on your side. You can bet that you can win. And the mistake that white people make where this problem is concerned, they're always trying to philosophize or intellectualize or give some kind of funny interpretation as these backlashes, words I don't understand myself. But LOMAX, what you have to be made to see is that the only people in this country who really believe in the American dream called democracy are the Negro leaders and many of the Negroes who have been misled by these Negro leaders. When we begin to wake up and face the reality of the situation that we're in and the reality of the deeds and attitudes of the people that we're up against, then we will be able to devise the type of tactics that will enable us to deal with this reality. As Mr. KIRK pointed out, and when he quoted what's his name, DILWORTH in Philadelphia. Now DILWORTH is a so-called liberal and former Mayor of Philadelphia, and he reflects his real inner feelings when he

refers to the Negroes and the Negro community as disorderly and drunk. And they're only disorderly and drunk because they have more bars in their community than any other section of Philadelphia and these bars and liquor stores in Philadelphia are known as state stores, meaning that the state itself puts them there and is responsible for the drunkenness and immorality that stems from it that exists in the Negro community. Now he's so-called liberal and if you really take the time to read SAM SILBERMAN's book.....

KUPCINET: CHARLES SILBERMAN.

MALCOLM X: I'm sorry. CHARLES SILBERMAN's book "Crisis in Black and White," this book probably does a better job of analyzing the race problem, and I don't say that because he's sitting here but I've read the book, and his book does a better job of analyzing the causes of these problems and the feelings that whites have toward Negroes, the fears that they have and also the feelings within the Negro himself that has kept him from doing the things necessary to really get the type of freedom that we deserve in this country. The book analyzes these causes, the conditions and also in a sense forewarns of what the result will be if something isn't done immediately to face up to the fact that has caused this problem. I for one have to point out I don't believe in racism and I'm not approaching the problem in the sense that some white people are the ones who did this. There are probably many white people in this country who are just as fed up with the racist attitude that is reflected in American policy as anyone else.

And there are probably also many whites who would become actively involved in any kind of genuine struggle on the part of the Negro to bring these injustices to a halt once and for all. I believe this and I got a better or rather a more firm belief in this direction while I was on the pilgrimage in Mecca, in Arabia.

JACK RAYMOND: I feel as if I've been sitting in the back of the bus for most of this tour. I still have the advantage because I somehow, perhaps it might have been considered out of place. You know I deal with defense affairs and these are also democratic affairs. Affairs of our society and what happens not only to our country but to the entire world and the title of the book, if I may be permitted, "The Power at the Pentagon" is supposed to reflect this tremendous power that lies in the hands of the Pentagon. The power that runs our Government and determines our foreign policy and economic status and so on, affects all the society. And it somehow seems pallid in this kind of conversation because we've had quite a bit of round table eloquence. And yet it's significant that in 25 years this power has crystalized in the way that it has that defense affairs have dominated our lives and the lives of Negroes as well as whites and has even changed the status of many people in our communities, including Negroes. In fact, it's probably in military service where in recent times Negroes have gained further respect for their abilities and their talents and as a result of legislation, I might add, ...

KUPCINET: And a decision by President TRUMAN in 1947.

RAYMOND: And a decision by President TRUMAN, a very important decision by President TRUMAN probably in military life that Negroes have been able to exploit their abilities more than in almost any other segment of our society. What is significant, it seems to me as I listen to this, is that in all of the years, recent years, that we've talked about American foreign policy and whether we're all going to go up in a nuclear bomb, the undercurrent has always been whether the United States would dominate over some foreign power and now here, in this kind of argument, we see the real reason for not wanting to go up in a nuclear assault is that our democracy does have some value to us. We do want to defend this country. And it is not true as you said that this is a Negro problem. This is a problem for all of America. You're not the only victims of the problem. But any Air Force Commander who can't get a Negro to be his assistant as a deputy, he has a problem too when he wants to have him there and he doesn't find enough educated people on whom he can draw. It is a problem for all of us.

LOMAX: It's deeper than that, JACK, and I think it's implicit in something both Dr. KIRK and Minister MALCOLM said. His remark was a quote from Mr. DILWORTH, that is, Mr. KIRK quoted Mr. DILWORTH approvingly and Minister MALCOLM said earlier that the Negro had to somehow lift himself by his boot strap that what is needed is more education and something to be done with the Negro. It's bigger than the Negro thing as you said, but basically what has to be done in this country is something with the white man. He is the villain of the peace. Let's get the truth here.

I'm willing to admit the conditions in Philadelphia, God knows, are horrible. And we both know Harlem, so let's talk about it. God knows I'll be very candid. I don't want to live there and I don't live there. Now, how do you account for Harlem? Once you get over the fact that the white people run the prostitution and the dope, let's forget that. Let's look at those wasted lives. Those troubled people, those dangerous people, dangerous to you as a white man, to me as a Negro too. Now only one or two propositions can explain this. Either the Negro is by nature inferior to account for this, or somebody's done something to him. And I'm unalterably convinced that if we can turn out such men as THURGOOD MARSHAL and incidentally in BILL WORTHY's (PH) home town, Judge WILLIAM HAYES (PH) is the first Negro Federal Judge, you know, so not all of them are drunk. Some of them are sober. If we can do this and JACKIE ROBINSON, you see, then we aren't by nature inferior. I don't think anybody in his right mind whoever tangled with MALCOLM, you may not like him but you would never call him an inferior being now. Now if we are not by nature inferior, baby, what happened? You did it. Now I'm saying there comes a point in history when we quit talking about whose duty it is and you grow up, just like a kid going to a psychiatrist when he's 59 years old don't know what his mother did to him. There comes a time in life when you have to grow up. And here I am with you. But I think we have to admit where the sin took place. Then in Baptist terms, you come to the (inaudible) bench and you repent and you get baptized and you go from

there. And this is the thing that troubles me. That until we go into our schools, both adult and elementary, and give white people a first class education in democracy. Mr. KIRK, you know I am convinced that if the Constitution of the United States was put up for a public vote in America today, it would lose. And that the first ten amendments would lose overwhelmingly. And I think this is the exact thing I'm talking about.

CHARLES SILBERMAN: It probably wouldn't lose but it probably wouldn't be adhered to five minutes afterward to any greater extent than before the vote. What troubles me is that you started out earlier this evening discussing the Negro problem as a problem of American democracy and right now, you're discussing it as a fault of white people. Now I think there is a difference between the two. If it is truly a problem of an American democracy, then it is a problem that has to be overcome in terms of democracy and not in terms of blacks and whites. I'm reminded of a story that is told about the bridge player, a Mr. JACOBY (PH) who was playing in a community somewhere on the, uh, somewhere in the South, not quite the deep South, and there was an integrated tournament--that's a terrible expression--a bridge tournament in which there were Negroes as well as whites, and Mr. JACOBY drew as his partner a Negro and while they were playing, one of his colleagues came over to him and bent over his shoulder and whispered in his ear and he said to him, how did you ever let yourself get into that playing with a Negro partner? And Mr. JACOBY looked up and said, Oh, I didn't notice. Well,

it just seems to me that if you're going to lick problems, race problems in the United States, we all better just start from scratch and stop noticing.

MALCOLM X: Revolting, not only against the injustices that they have come up against but their strategy or the tactic that the Negro leaders have actually confined them to and one of the things I was trying to make Dr. LOMAX see was, and I think that most Negro leaders should be made to see this, that when they start stirring up the masses today, they're not stirring up someone who intends to get involved in a non-violent battle or a non-violent struggle or a struggle in which they're going to have their hands tied when they begin to become to be the victims of brutality on the part of the forces that (inaudible). Still the Negro leaders themselves can't be condemned. One has to condemn the system that they themselves believe in and this is where I also mentioned to Dr. LOMAX that the Negro leaders themselves will leave more in the American dream than the white Americans do. And when they begin to face up, and when they begin to realize that our people aren't involved in a dream, that our people faced with a nightmare, then they're going to lead us in such a way that we'll face the reality of this nightmare. It's a dream to whites but it's a nightmare to us. As Mr. RAYMOND pointed out earlier, he said he didn't like being pointed out as a villain or that whites aren't to be depicted as a villain and I think Mr. SILVERMAN was hitting the point directly. There must be a villain. Any time you find someone in the condition that the American so-called Negroes are in, in

1964, and in a country that professes to be a democracy or that professes to be the leader of the free world. Then something is wrong. It's a paradox.

LOMAX: Question! What do you mean when you say that the masses are--when they rise they want to go all the way. This was your earlier phrasing. You come back; what precisely do you mean? Can you spell this out?

MALCOLM X: Well, its the same thing that you would want to do if you were drafted and placed on some battlefront somewhere to face the very vicious, violent enemy and were told by your superiors to be non-violent. On that particular battlefield you would know that to be non-violent would be insane or would be suicide. Well, we have to realize or be made to realize that here in America, our struggle for freedom is actual warfare and we are facing someone who is just as much an enemy to us as the man that you're facing on the battlefield in Korea or some other part of this earth.

LOMAX: And do you think then that the tactical maneuver that the masses, the Negro masses, are ready for is a tactical maneuver in which they would literally become involved, say, in picking up guns, going out shooting white people.

MALCOLM X: I don't think this is a situation where our people would become involved in initiating acts of aggression among whites, but I do believe if you study the historic process that took place in these other countries where people were being exploited and oppressed,

if some meaningful results wasn't realized by them, there were segments of those particular oppressed communities that finally resulted to outright violence. First stage is this resort to violence was disorganized and in many cases it was unintelligently done, but the fact that it was started, eventually the ball began to roll as it did in Algeria. And eventually it became--yes, in Kenya and in other places, and although the Mau Mau when they started their acts of terrorism were looked upon as a terrorist organization, something that shouldn't exist, the man who was considered the leader of it today is the head of the country that finally got us into things, not by non-violent methods, but by the same organization that was condemned as being too violent.

RAYMOND: QUESTION! Are you really comparing the two situations?

MALCOLM X: I don't think that the condition of the black man in America is any less distasteful than the condition of the black man in South Africa, Angola, or than it was in Kenya or any of these other places. It's even worse because in those places it was an outright colony and the colonial powers didn't profess to be practicing any kind of democracy, but the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country are living in a country that professes to be a democracy and professes to be the moral leader of the free world while at the same time relegating our people to the level, the low level at that, of second class citizens who have to fight, in 1964, for something so small and insignificant as civil rights. Any time you have to fight for civil rights in a country where you're already supposed

to have a Constitution guaranteeing you these things, I say that something is wrong and it is worse than that which exists in South Africa or in Angola because it is a hypocrisy.

MALCOLM X: The question is, can America recognize and respect and treat the Afro-American in this country tomorrow morning as a human being? It's not will tomorrow morning be arm and uprise. Put the burden back on yourself.

RAYMOND: ~~I agree.~~

MALCOLM X: Can white America recognize the human qualities of the 22 million Afro-Americans who have actually made a greater contribution to the existence of this country than the white man himself?

RAYMOND: ~~I'm insisting that~~ .....

KUPCINET: ~~I think JACK agrees with you very much except the one time~~ you express the violence and that's the thing that frightens so many people.

MALCOLM X: No. No. No. It's not a case of violence. It's not a case of violence. I think that whites are wrong when they look on the television themselves and see pictures of policemen, not Ku Klux Klansmen, policemen clubbing Negroes who are doing nothing other than trying to enforce the Supreme Court desegregation decision. Not only are policemen clubbing them, but sicking their dogs on them. Big, vicious, snarling dogs. Not only sicking these dogs on grown men, but sicking these dogs on women and sicking these dogs on

children. And not being satisfied there, but turning water hoses upon them that have pressure strong enough to tear the bark off trees. This is inhuman and the act in itself is inhuman. So you are, in my opinion, sir, missing the boat if you think the Afro-American in this country, in 1964, is going to come face to face with this type of brutality and the Government sitting in Washington, D.C. twiddling its thumbs doing nothing concrete to stop it and the black man is going to sit around here twiddling his thumb and doing nothing to bring (inaudible).

KUPCINET: Let JACK answer that.

RAYMOND: You're implying that what you say about the white people's attitude toward these situations is true. The fact of the matter is that white people don't approve of that.

MALCOLM X: Why aren't they doing something about it?

LOMAX: May I come in. Not so much in advocacy as .....

MALCOLM X: No. No. No. If white people can be concerned with what's going on in Cuba, in South Viet Nam, in Laos, and all other parts of this earth and they can't be concerned with what's happening to the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country, I say that it's hypocrisy of the worst form.

LOMAX: But MALCOLM.

RAYMOND: The fact that we're here shows that white people are concerned. But I don't even like to think of it in those terms.

LOMAX: May I come in between the two of you. First of all, this goes right back to my term--this goes back to the point I made earlier in the discussion, can you afford to have 20 million angry people and his point, MALCOLM's point, is so valid that it is not going to be necessarily just a mass uprising. What you got to worry about are small organized groups, wild men as it were, with a righteous cause, who start something to going and everybody else is forced to chose sides.

MALCOLM X: They get the message.

LOMAX: Exactly get the message, but now I'm going to make a point that I think both of you ought to listen to. My moving around in the civil rights movement, both as a participant and as a social critic, has convinced me that when this moment comes, some of the people who are going to be leading and working in this is going to be white.

RAYMOND: Well, I hope so.

UNKNOWN PARTICIPANT: Haven't they always been.

MALCOLM: Wait a moment. Maybe you don't understand what LOMAX, what Dr. LOMAX or Brother LOMAX is saying. When what movement comes?

LOMAX: The thing you're talking about.

MALCOLM X: Don't think that the black man in this country is a minority.

LOMAX: No.

MALCOLM X: There are many white people who are just as much better with the racism that is reflected in the policy that is coming out of Washington, D.C. who are about to shock a whole lot of people by showing their ability to be just as violent and bloody as these racists have been in inflicting this blood upon our people during these many years.

LOMAX: All I can say to sort of lighten the moment is going to be confusing because you won't know who to shoot.

KUPCINET: I would like to hear Dr. KIRK. He would like to get a word in edgewise.

KIRK: Let me try to relate this question of violence and action to the question of democracy is important, but it is not the key matter here. The key matters are the religious idea of more equality and the idea of justice and democracy more or less takes third place because democracy is not a religious or a philosphical system, but simply a frame of government that may do good and can do harm. There is after all very frequently but not always the tyranny of the majority. And that situation would exist to some extent and could indeed become worse. Now politics, after all, is the art of the possible and when we're talking about improving the lot of any group in society, one has to take in account, especially in a democracy, what the majority thinks and do. Now the colored people in America are in a permanent minority and substantially in a weak minority. They

are about a tenth of the population. And the reason they have been able to make gains, political and social, is as what's suggested here that they have the sympathy of a great part of the white population. I don't suppose the average white person thinks of himself as opposed to the Negro. He thinks the Negro as being another American, and thus he is sympathetic in the attempt to improve the tradition of colored people. That can change. One can have a situation such as one had in the South during reconstruction in which tempers come to boiling point.

LOMAX: But if you wish to push the extreme, I will join the issue with you. And say this which is of New York where I live and I think this is the thing that frightens people and this is why they have what I like to think of as a white spot, because when white people come against something that frightens them, they just don't see it. Assume that things get so bad and, God forbid, that the whites and the Negroes square off at the polls in New York and you impose a white tyranny you might, can elect a segregationalist man in New York, but I can see to it that you'll have nothing but ashes to preside over it. I think all of this is absolutely unpolitical, can't occur, and that I don't think you will get into grip, sir, with the black backlash because it is -- what am I going to be doing?

MALCOLM X: Whites get shocked when they hear you say that.

LOMAX: What am I going to be doing? Why do you impose more tyranny on me? I have all the tyranny I'm going to abide.

MALCOLM X: They get shocked when they hear you say .....

LOMAX: I am, as KUP said in the introduction, I am a moderate. And I have an 11 year-old son who calls me up long distance and when he sees something he doesn't like on television regarding the race question, and he says to me, Daddy, when you gonna stop talking and we gonna start thinking?

MALCOLM X: Certainly. They get shocked when they hear you say that they'll have ashes to preside over it.

LOMAX: This is exactly what it is.

MALCOLM X: Because they don't think that the Negro can't think like this because they have come to believe the image of the Negro that they themselves have painted, something that is peaceful and patient and long suffering and willing to forgive everybody who does him wrong.

KUPCINET: I don't know where you get that impression of the Negro, but you don't have it any more.

LOMAX: You can hang it out on Saturday night, KUP.

KUPCINET: JACK, let me take you to Viet Nam in Southeast Asia.

MALCOLM X: These rights farmers with their rifles and their sneakers were able to drive the French out of there. What makes the United States so sure that it can do any better over there than the French?

RAYMOND: Well, the United States isn't so sure that it can do better than the French. But the picture you draw is wrong. It's not the rice farmers with their rifles and their sneakers as you said. It's not they who are causing the trouble in South Viet Nam. It is communist led, heavily armed, Viet organized Viet Cong military units equipped with weapons that come down from the north. It is these people who are chopping off the head of the community leaders and terrorizing the countryside.

MALCOLM X: When you say from the north, you mean Red China.

KUPCINET: No. North Viet Nam.

RAYMOND: I'm talking about North Viet Nam.

MALCOLM X: But ultimately, but the people .....

RAYMOND: These are Communist Chinese weapons.

MALCOLM X: But still the people of South Viet Nam are armed just as well by the United States.

RAYMOND: Of course they are.

MALCOLM X: And I think there are just as many people in South Viet Nam as there are in North Viet Nam. Why is it that the Reds are always winning?

RAYMOND: They started a little bit earlier.

MALCOLM X: Well, as I repeat .....

KUPCINET: First of all, the Reds are not always winning. As a matter of fact, North Viet Nam is a heavily industrialized community where South Viet Nam is not, and they have a great advantage.

MALCOLM X: What causes the area called .....

LOMAX: MALCOLM is making a great U turn.

MALCOLM X: What U turn?

KUPCINET: In the few minutes we have left, MALCOLM, let me take you to Mecca.

MALCOLM X: Best place in the world to go.

KUPCINET: You made a visit to a place which many people are not familiar with. We know it only by the story books and history books and reading about it; yet, you've been there. Were you able to get into this closed city just by your own identification, or did you have to pass some kind of a test to prove that you were a Muslim?

MALCOLM X: ~~No, you have to pass the test. In fact,~~ When I first arrived in Jedda (PH), I arrived from Cairo about 3 o'clock in the morning and my inability to speak Arabic plus my American passport made me automatically suspect. So I was taken from the group that I originally started out from Cairo with and placed in a compound which has been built there in Jedda which

houses all of the incoming pilgrims, and I think about 90,000 came in this year by plane alone. I was put in this place and I have to admit I was worried because I couldn't communicate. And I stayed there about 20 hours and I was in the haram (PH) which is a two-piece towel outfit. Your waist from the belt downward is wrapped in one towel and from the waist upward in another. And after being in this particular plight for about 20 hours, I recalled that Dr. SCHWARBE (PH) from New York had given me a book that had been sent to me by ABDARAKMAN AZAM (PH). The name of the book is "The Eternal Message of Muhammad." And I recalled, so I called his son and after reaching his son, his son came to the place where I was and used his authority to get me released, get my passport. He took me to his home where I met AZAM PARSHA (PH), and he gave me his suite at the Jedda Palace Hotel and the next morning I was visited by the son of Prince FAISAL (PH), MUHAMMAD FAISAL (PH). He informed me that I was to be a state guest so that the remaining 12 days that I was in Arabia, I was a guest of state. They gave me a car -- they placed a car at my disposal, gave me a guide -- a mualam (PH), and a chauffeur and made it possible, after going before the highest committee of the court, for me to travel back and froth between Mecca and Jedda and Medina almost at will. I was given the highest honor and respect and hospitality that a visitor could receive anywhere.

KUPCINET: Question: Outside of this honor and respect, did your religious beliefs as a former follower of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD qualify you as a Moslem by their standards? Are the two religions similar?

MALCOLM X: Well, as I said, I went before the highest committee, the Grand Court, which passes on whether or not you can enter Mecca, and I know what the religion of Islam teaches and I answered the questions asked of me accordingly. And, in fact, the only qualification for entering Mecca is if you bear witness (here he recites some foreign words), which means I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and MUHAMMAD is his Apostle, plus other questions that I was asked. I had no trouble. Besides, Prince FAISAL had given me his Deputy Chief of Protocol who went with me before the Court and acted as my interpreter. So I had no trouble at all.

KUPCINET: Talking about protocol, I ~~have to~~ say goodbye to these gentlemen and tell you that in just a few minutes, we'll have among our guests JIM HAGERTY, the former White House Press Secretary and now Vice President of ABC; OLIVIA DE HAVILAND, and some other interesting people you'll be delighted to meet.

6/19/64

PLAIN

TELETYPE URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)
SAC, BOSTON (100-35713)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-102759)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC., IS DASH NMI.

b2

[redacted] ADVISED THIS DATE MALCOLM X PLANS TO BE IN BOSTON AT TWO P.M., SUNDAY, SIX, TWENTY ONE, SIXTY FOUR, TO MEET WITH BROTHERS THERE, AND RETURN SAME EVENING.

ALTHOUGH SOURCE DID NOT STATE, MALCOLM X. WILL PROBABLY HOLD MEETING AT RESIDENCE OF HIS SISTER ELLA COLLINS, FIVE THREE NINE MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, BOSTON.

IN VIEW OF VARIOUS THREATS AGAINST MALCOLM X APPARENTLY BY THE NOI INCLUDING THE INCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED SIX, FOURTEEN, SIXTY FOUR IN BOSTON, THE BUREAU HAS ADVISED THAT LOCAL POLICE SHOULD BE ADVISED WHENEVER MALCOLM X IS PRESENT. BOSTON SHOULD NOTIFY BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT OF ABOVE, AND REMAIN ALERT FOR SIMILAR INCIDENTS.

1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (43)
1 - New York (100-102759)
1 - Supervisor (#43)

105-8999-4598

(3) [redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/25/74 BY [illegible]

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
JUN 19 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

[redacted]

b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI 6/19/64

SAC, NEW YORK (C)

AFRO-AMERICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS, aka
Organization For Afro-American Unity
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

ReBulet 6/18/64.

b2
b7CD

The NYO has no information on the Afro-American Freedom Fighters (AAFF) by that name. However, [redacted] has furnished information during the past two weeks that MALCOLM X has attended some meetings the apparent purpose of which is the formation of some new group. One of these meetings was held on 6/9/64, at the home of one [redacted]. The nature of these meetings and the identity of those present is not known.

b7CD

[redacted]

NYO indices are negative on AAFF and [redacted]

b2
b7CD

On 6/16/64, [redacted] advised that in a conversation between [redacted] and MALCOLM X the former stated she had an appointment with the Vice President of the Republic of Camaroon and hoped to have the opportunity to discuss "their organization".

b7C

On 6/17/64, this source advised that MALCOLM X in conversation with one [redacted] LNU, stated that for the past four weeks they have had a "brain trust" composed of a variety of Negroes at all levels. They have come up with an organization which will be called the "Organization For Afro-American Unity". This organization is designed to take the Negro image into the international scope; out of "civil rights" which is domestic and into "human rights" which will let every nation on earth help "us" get "human rights".

105-8999-4599

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (100-152759) (MMI) (#43)
1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (#43)
1 - New York (100-153308)

[redacted]
(5)

b7C

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted]

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

b7C

It is noted that for some time and particularly since returning from Africa in May, 1964, MALCOLM X has publicly exclaimed that the civil rights struggle of Negroes in America should be internationalized into a struggle for human rights before the United Nations. He claims support from African nations for this.

It appears that this new organization will probably be a projection of MALCOLM X's idea to take the American racial problem to the UN, and possibly supported by Negroes who like the idea but have no desire to affiliate with the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI).

Although the NYO has opened a file under this caption, it is felt that until such time as the group is publicly announced or is in fact formed as a separate functioning de facto organization, its activities can be followed in connection with the investigation of MALCOLM X and the MMI.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
2010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) DATE: 6-[illegible]-64

FROM : SA [redacted] (43)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - MMI

b2 b7D

On the indicated dates [redacted] furnished the following information. If utilized it should be paraphrased to protect this source.

6/4/64

[redacted] contacted (probably [redacted] at telephone [redacted] concerning his appointment with subject. Subsequently on that date subject advised his wife he had met [redacted]

b7C

One [redacted] attempted to contact subject, latter not there.

One [redacted] PH) contacted subject and indicated he wanted to meet with subject for a discussion. (subject matter not mentioned, no arrangements made) (see 6/6/64 below)

6/6/64

In conversation with unknown person subject described one [redacted] probably above, 6/4/64) as [redacted]

b7C

In conversation with his wife subject indicated he could be reached at [redacted]

6/7/64

Unknown person from the Uruba (ph) Temple attempted to contact subject, left telephone # UN 4-5344.

6/8/64

One [redacted] PH), apparently from the UN, engaged in a non-pertinent discussion with subject.

[redacted]
(1)

b7C

[redacted]

p1,2

105-8999-4596

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SER[redacted]
JUN 22 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted]

b7C

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

cont. 6/8/64

[redacted] advised subject's wife that subject had appointment with [redacted] for 6/11/64 at 11:30 am. (see 6/11/64 below)

b7c

6/9/64

[redacted] called subject, latter not there.

6/11/64

[redacted] confirmed appointment made 6/8/64 (above) and gave [redacted]

b7c

6/12/64

Unknown man called subject who was not there. Former left his number which is [redacted]

6/13/64

b7c

Subject's wife called him at the residence of [redacted] and gave him a (non-pertinent) message.

6/15/64

b7c

Subject received call from [redacted]

6/19/64

Subject's schedule for the coming week is as follows:

6/26/64, 10:30 am, tape TV program for "Ladies of the Press" to be shown following Thursday (7-2-64).

6/25/64, Chicago.

6/30/64, Omaha, Nebr.

Subject also indicated he planned a trip abroad leaving sometime during the first 10 days of July.

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

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☒ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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NY 105-8999 - 4575

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FBI/DOJ

FD-36 (Rev. 12-19-56)

FBI

Date: 6/18/64

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

Via AIRTEL _____ AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta, Chicago, and other field offices, entitled "NATION OF ISLAM, IS - NOI; MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC, IS - MMI," dated 6/11/64; Boston airtel to Bureau, copies to Chicago and other field offices, dated 6/15/64; and Chicago airtel to Bureau, copies to New York, Philadelphia, and Phoenix, dated 6/16/64.

3 - Bureau (RM)
3 - Boston (97-145)(Info)(RM)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
3 - Detroit (100-5549)(RM)
(1 - [redacted]
6 - New York (105-7809)(RM)
(1 - 100-152759)(MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
2 - Philadelphia (25-26094)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-47471)(MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.)
3 - Phoenix (105-93)(RM)
(1 - 105-)(ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
2 - Washington Field (100-22829)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-)(CLARA MUHAMMAD)
10 - Chicago
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
(1 - 100-32519)(CLARA MUHAMMAD)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
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105-8999-4594

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED
JUN 30 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

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DATE 1/27/84 BY 8269 JHE/LNEB/DD

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

CG 100-35635 b2 b7D

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

6/15/64

[redacted] told CLARA MUHAMMAD (the wife of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) that many of the sisters had indicated they want to write to CLARA about the rumors they have been hearing concerning the Messenger. [redacted] stated that what the sisters want CLARA to do is deny this, but what can she say. [redacted] stated she would tell the sisters not to write to CLARA. Both CLARA and [redacted] agreed that the children (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's immediate family) should take care of their money as there is a possibility they might be cut off. Both agreed they must leave everything to Allah. b7C

6/16/64

[redacted] told CLARA MUHAMMAD that her son [redacted] has gone berserk and was talking just like [redacted]. [redacted] stated she had told [redacted] to talk to him, adding that she cannot, but [redacted] told her that no one had better touch him. It was indicated that [redacted] was supposed to come over to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's house, but CLARA said he had not come as yet. [redacted] stated she figures that he will be over and added that this trouble is just a test that Allah is putting them through. b7C

[redacted] was in contact with CLARA MUHAMMAD and CLARA stated that the first time she heard about the troubles was when she had talked to [redacted] CLARA stated she feels that this is very foolish. CLARA told [redacted] he should be careful about counselling people who talk to him, adding that he should talk with the "big man" and be careful not to offend him. [redacted] stated he is not worried about the money, adding he has been without money before and is going to do what he thinks is right. [redacted] stated he is not going to talk to anyone about the people who come to talk with him, adding that most of these are not Muslims and some have not even been there at all. b7C

CLARA stated it was foolish and terrible that he should be getting the warnings he has been getting. [redacted] stated he b7C

is not going to ask that they stop but added that if they do it once more they will seewhat happens about it. CLARA stated she knows that the "big man" told them to stop. [redacted] stated he would not go to him about it. CLARA asked if [redacted] would be coming over and he stated he probably would come over on 6/17/64, adding that he does not want to see or talk to anyone of these people that have been telling these false rumors about him or making the accusations. He added he just does not like threats.

b7c

[redacted] CLARA and [redacted] then discussed [redacted] and it was commented that [redacted] stated she could not do anything with him. CLARA stated [redacted] told her he had been confused by his mother and father [redacted] and his grandfather (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD), so he does not know what to do. CLARA stated [redacted] stated he was going to the temple and was going to listen to the minister and was then going to make his own decision. [redacted] stated it was not true that he was telling [redacted] what to do and added [redacted] was making up his own mind. Both [redacted] and CLARA stated they respect [redacted] for this.

b7c

6/17/64

[redacted] was in contact with CLARA MUHAMMAD and told her about MALCOLM (MALCOLM LITTLE of New York City), spouting on the streets and of how some "devil" had told MALCOLM that he had spent his last buck and asked MALCOLM what he was going to do. [redacted] stated that they were laughing at MALCOLM and it had made him mad.

b7c

[redacted] told CLARA to go to New York (probably referring to 6/28/64, on which date ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is scheduled to make a speech in that city) and to enjoy herself. [redacted] said "HE SAY HE MIGHT NOT GO ANYWAY," so she could go if she wants to anyway. CLARA stated she plans to go to Washington, D. C., too, and see about her house. [redacted] replied it used to be that when she went it showed "him" up, but he is not with her anyway.

b7c

[redacted] then commented that she and her husband [redacted] have been wondering how ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was making it. She commented that they thought that when they moved it would make "that thing" come on out of Phoenix, but it did not do any good. She commented that they felt they were blocking things.

b7c

[redacted] stated that [redacted] had to go over and empty [redacted] apartment and put her clothing in Daddy's apartment (this refers to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's hide-away at the NOI apartment building at 82nd and Vernon, Chicago). CLARA asked if they were going to rent the apartment, and [redacted] said she did not know and did not care. CLARA commented [redacted] sister had asked her if [redacted] was still there and she had told her no. CLARA stated she guessed [redacted] had turned against him and commented she did not know if [redacted] was in Boston or not.

b7c

The following conversation ensued, [redacted] standing for [redacted] and C, standing for CLARA:

[redacted] We think we know where they are. They're in New York filing this maternity suit, you know.

C: No.

[redacted] Oh yes ma'am. Her and [redacted] are filing this maternity suit. [redacted] is running around looking like a fool.

b7c

C: You mean to say they are going to put it in?

[redacted] Oh yes ma'am. MALCOLM's got it all on the air. I think it is good that you know it, you will know what you are going into. No sense in you going there and not knowing what's there, [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] is expecting her baby any day.

b7c

[redacted] When that baby comes they can always take your blood but after two years they cannot tell, you know. But they call here, CBS, first wanting to know and we just told them that MUHAMMAD would not stoop to nothing like that. They'll never get him there to prove nothing one way or the other because it is none of their business anyway.

C: What does she live there for?

[redacted] She is going there to file her suit, [redacted] against him.

Chicago will follow all phases of this matter and pertinent information as developed will be brought to the attention of the Bureau and interested offices by appropriate communication.

The information set forth was not included in a letterhead memorandum as it is not complete in nature. It is felt that dissemination of the above would certainly tend to identify the source involved.

A copy of this communication is being furnished to Philadelphia because of previous information indicating [redacted]

b7C D

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

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FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) DATE: 6/19/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

"TV Prevue," May 31, 1964-June 6, 1964, reflects "Dateline Chicago" appeared on Channel 5, WMBQ-TV, Chicago, Illinois, at 10:15 p.m., May 31, 1964. It was stated the program was titled "Black Muslims at the Crossroads" and added "The Black Muslims are studied through films of their leader, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD; MALCOLM X, who left the organization to form the Black Nationalists; PHILBERT X, MALCOLM's younger brother who remained with the Black Muslims; the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING; Chicago school boycott organizer LAWRENCE LANDRY; and American Communist Party Secretary HENRY WINSTON; BILL WARWICK narrates."

This program was taped by SA [redacted] It was transcribed by [redacted] b7c

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau, Detroit, Louisville and New York are two, one, one, and three copies of a transcript of this program for information. As the program consisted of a representation of previous film tracts made of MUHAMMAD and others and nothing new was noted, a letterhead memorandum was not prepared. No comments by [redacted] were noted.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)
1 - 100-441765 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
b2 1 - Detroit (Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - [redacted] (PHILBERT LITTLE)
1 - Louisville (Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - [redacted] (CASSIUS CLAY)
3 - New York (105-7809)(Enc. 3)(RM)
1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)
1 - 100-152759 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
3 - Chicago
1 - 100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
1 - 100-41040 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
[redacted]
(10)

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105-8999-4592

[redacted]

JUN 22 1964

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X

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I don't think that his deviation from us means anything like the slowdown of progress, of converts--I don't think that will hurt us at all.

Announcer: In spite of MUHAMMAD's assurances, MALCOLM claimed he was winning away younger Muslim members.

MALCOLM X: And by the hundreds of thousands today we find that our own people have become impatient and are turning away from your white nationalism, which you call democracy, toward the militant, uncompromising philosophy of black nationalism. And I might point out right here that as soon as we announced that we were going to start a black nationalist party in this country, we received mail from coast to coast, especially from young people at the college level, the university level, who expressed complete sympathy and support and a desire to take an active part in any kind of political action based upon black nationalism designed to correct or eliminate immediately this evil that our people have suffered here for 400 years.

Announcer: The seriousness of MALCOLM's defection from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's Black Muslims was revealed in this Chicago interview with MALCOLM's brother, PHILBERT, who heads the Temple in Michigan.

PHILBERT: .....the movement. I would think so. I think that the things that he is saying is designed to make the weak ones and the ones that are unaware think that he is the one that has finally reached to the place where he is to take over and to do this and to do that, but that's not the truth.

MALCOLM: If you take the warning, perhaps you can still save yourself. But if you ignore it or ridicule it, well, death is already at your doorstep. There are 22 million African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. And when I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any non-violent fight, or turn the other cheek fight. Those days are gone. Those days are over.

PHILBERT: You can suggest something and so many people will take that suggestion seriously. And when you attack the person who says it, he always jumps and says, "Well, I didn't mean that. I meant this." But thousands have lost their lives because they thought you meant something else.

Announcer: You think this is MALCOLM's goal?

PHILBERT: Oh yes. An empty bag makes a lot of noise.

MUHAMMAD: Well, I believe that my people is more heading for a peaceful solution toward the problem of the so-called Negroes than they are for violence. There are not any of them I don't think that will follow that move, the violence move. They all believe in a peaceful solution to the problem. And I believe Mr. MALCOLM believes the same. I don't think that he likes to talk to himself.

Announcer: The Black Muslims have replaced the fiery MALCOLM X with a less violent hero and have denied being involved in recent violence in New York.

Announcer: Today, there are two factions in the Muslims. The New York group with black nationalist bookstores emphasizes social protest and militancy. In Chicago, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD preaches the group's religious beliefs. In Harlem, four recent white murders have been blamed on teenagers trained by rebels who deserted the Muslims. One victim was 28 year-old social worker Miss EILEEN JOHNSTON (phonetic) of Elgin, Illinois. Her mother, Mrs. JOHN JOHNSTON, told us of the personal tragedy.

Mrs. JOHNSTON: The reports coming from the paper, the "New York Times," seem to feel that these groups are incited by the Black Muslims. They may not actually preach this at their meetings, but they incite it. And that they are frustrated, unemployed young Negroes who are running around with nothing to do. Our daughter, EILEEN, we feel was a victim of senseless violence brought on by blind racial hatred. She was very anxious to help, very conscious of racial tensions and she was very anxious to help to relieve them. She had gone back to get her degree at the University of Wisconsin after working at for five years, and it was very hard for her but she knew that she couldn't get into this type of work unless she had a degree. She had recently also been accepted for the Peace Corps, which she had thought of going into in the Spring. But she was interested in this type of work and really felt like she was accomplishing something. Now Senator DOUGLAS termed our attitude "noble" in this affair, but we really don't feel that way, my husband and I. We feel that it's realistic.

Announcer: At least six youths have been arrested in connection with the death of Miss JOHNSTON and three other whites. The gang is known as the Blood Brothers, and their alleged aim: attack and kill whites. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD discusses the story at his winter home in Phoenix, Arizona:

MUHAMMAD: I have no knowledge of it, no more than what I have heard coming over the air, through the radio. Well, I saw a headline of a paper that was printed here in Phoenix, I think it was a couple of days ago, that mentioned something about some Black Muslims. Silly, the white people in New York. I know nothing about it. Not my followers.

Announcer: The New York defectors reportedly come from the Muslim semi-military group known as the Fruit of Islam. Our reporter asked MUHAMMAD about the organization.

MUHAMMAD: This is the name that was given to us by ALLAH himself in the person of Master FARAD MUHAMMAD back in 1931 in Detroit, Michigan, where those of the males who have accepted Islam and live the clean and pure life of a Muslim, they are called the Fruit of Islam, which means the first converts of Islam in America.

Announcer: Is the Fruit of Islam an armed force? Messenger MUHAMMAD denied that this elite organization is trained in the use of firearms. Our reporter asked about the group's alleged expertness in judo and their expertness in the bone-shattering defensive tactic known as karate.

MUHAMMAD: Yes sir, we practice that ourselves in class, an absolutely private class. We teach that and the way of exercising body protection, ourselves, in class. It's a private class. Never practice in the public.

Announcer: MALCOLM X also denies any part in the New York violence. A few days ago, he completed a pilgrimage to the Middle East and Africa and said during a Chicago debate that he has had a change of heart about all whites being evil.

MALCOLM X: In the past, I have permitted myself to be used to make sweeping indictments of all white people and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who do not deserve them. Because of the spiritual rebirth which I was blessed to undergo as a result of the pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race.

Announcer: At a Chicago news conference, MALCOLM X hinted at a decline in Black Muslim influence when we asked how his new nationalist group differs from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's Muslims.

MALCOLM X: To my understanding, we all believe in Islam, we all believe in Allah, all of us are Muslims. The only difference probably is that the Nation of Islam, as it is guided spiritually by the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, doesn't involve itself in politics in any form. It's a group that stresses moral reformation, spiritual things, spiritual values, and it has been quite successful in removing the evil from the Negro community that destroys the moral fiber of the Negro community. But because of its failure to become actively involved in the struggle of the Negroes, overall, many persons in the past have drifted away from it and are now becoming involved with us in an active effort to work with other groups toward solving the political, social and economic evils that afflict our people.

Announcer: Since MALCOLM's departure, MUHAMMAD has given his blessing to a new and more publicized follower and recruiter, world heavyweight champion CASSIUS (MUHAMMAD ALI) CLAY. CLAY is no glib MALCOLM, but he has become an idol for youngsters. Rarely has he time any more to make up rhymes for reporters. He is too busy recruiting for the Black Muslims.

At an earlier meeting with reporters at O'Hare Airport, CLAY defended the Muslim doctrine.

Reporter: What does your lapel pin symbolize? Is that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's emblem?

CLAY: The sun represents freedom, and the moon represents justice, and the star represents equality. That's the real freedom sign.

Reporter: You're talking about civil rights freedom now. Is that what you're talking about?

CLAY: No. I didn't say nothing about civil rights. This is complete freedom, not just a cup of coffee or a seat in a school or a token. This is real.

Question: What does real freedom mean? Does this mean the black man takes over or runs his own society or what?

CLAY: Well, I don't know about that. I'm not that powerful.

Question: Well, you're talking about the real freedom. Could you elaborate on that a little bit.

CLAY: Well, I'm like MUHAMMAD teaches. The only freedom we can really have is separation.

Announcer: MUHAMMAD himself has now confirmed CLAY's contention that the Muslims will not join current civil rights leaders in their integration campaign.

MUHAMMAD: Well, I think the present actions that they are making all the way around is very foolish to the real and permanent things that they should be doing. To achieve equality with you, I don't think it would be the way, or rather I should say this. I don't think I can take myself a dog to try to get equality with a highly respectable citizens of the land, by laying down at his doorstep begging him for what he has, and fighting him if he don't want to give it to me. And I don't think I would look like his equal if he would grant it to me, by first sitting down on the ground under his feet and then telling him to accept me as his equal. I think I should make myself deserving of such by educating myself in the way that he has educated himself.

Announcer: Today, few Negro leaders, militant or moderate, feel that the Negro masses will accept the Black Muslims' social doctrine.

SAM RILEY
Congress of
Racial Equality: I believe the future of the Muslim movement without MALCOLM X is very, very dark.

Without MALCOLM, the Muslims are not more than a religious sect of the fundamentalist type that would have no significant appeal to the masses of young people that are on the move today in the area of civil rights. It was MALCOLM X, his dynamic personality, his ability to take on all comers in debate, that really drew attention to the Muslims as a movement. It is inconceivable to think that the Muslim movement without MALCOLM X would be of any challenge to the present civil rights movement today, which, by and large, encompass the masses of the young people in our society.

MARTIN LUTHER KING: I am not one of those who feel that our struggle must be a struggle to rise from position of disadvantage to one of advantage thereby subverting justice. I am convinced that a doctrine of black supremacy is as dangerous as a doctrine of white supremacy.

Announcer: A strong force for the moderate Negro is Dr. J. H. JACKSON, Pastor of Chicago's Olivet Baptist Church. He heads the five and one-half million members of the National Baptist Convention.

JACKSON: I cannot see how we can afford to retreat from law and order. If we do not get the things that we want now, we must not lose confidence in the power of the law. I feel that in some instances the power of suggestion may occasion some of this trouble. We must not make our young people, or adults for that matter, believe that if Congress does not act as we desire Congress to act, that the next thing is to become violent and vicious and law breakers.

Announcer: MORRIS JANOWITZ of the University of Chicago's Department of Sociology is a student of race relations. He has just completed a book on recent social changes and prejudices. We asked Mr. JANOWITZ about the Black Muslims.

JANOWITZ: I think there are two reasons why this group has grown so much in the present scene. One is the great concern with civil rights and with equality and under these conditions, these people have a different view of how to achieve it and secondly, the whole growth of African nationalism and the emergence of the African nations has had an impact in a developing sense of ethnic or national consciousness among these American Negroes.

Announcer: Mr. JANOWITZ concluded with these words about the impact and future of the Black Muslims.

JANOWITZ: Here is a group which says "We don't want to hide the fact that we are Negroes," and this is a positive contribution. This is why many people that are not members of the Muslim movement have a certain kind of identification with it, a kind of vicarious thrill because the Muslim movement says things about the whites which they don't feel that they themselves can say, and they get kind of an attraction from that. And I think that over the long run, the whole question will depend upon public enlightenment and how the mass media present this. If they present it simply as a threat and as a powerful threat, it may grow. If they present it as a symptom of a problem in American society, I think it will wither on the vine over the long run, not that it will ever be completely from the scene, but it will be something that we can live with without any sense of fear or alarm.

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

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FBI/DOJ

PD-858 (Rev. 7-19-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X: Man Marked for Death

Malcolm X

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

1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/25/74 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

Date: 6/18/64
Edition: METRO
Author: CAHILL&SAVELSON
Editor: RICHARD D PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO -4589

[X] Being Investigated

105-8959-4589

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1 8 1964

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b7C

By EDITH J. CARILL
and ERWIN SAVELSON
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Police fear that Malcolm X is a marked man.

The former East Coast leader of the Black Muslims goes nowhere without police shadows and his own corps of rifle-bearing bodyguards.

His own adherents insist he has been targeted for assassination by June 20. And every day people call the newspapers to say he is going to be shot.

Rivals have pursued cars carrying his supporters in Boston with the apparent intention of ambushing Malcolm.

The World-Telegram had learned that Negro detectives keep him under constant surveillance. The vigilance extends to his home in Queens, his office in Harlem and wherever he travels in this area.

The clash between his followers and rival Black Muslims in Harlem two nights ago was just another incident in the bitter war that has developed between the two groups.

Malcolm is quite sure the threats against his life are coming from the anti-white Black Muslim cult.

Elijah Muhammad, leader of that Chicago-based movement, fired Malcolm as his No. 1 assistant last December because of statements Malcolm made concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Malcolm said the Kennedy murder was a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

However, Malcolm insists he was not fired because of such a statement. Rather, he testified in court last Monday, he was thrown out of the movement because he had "found out" Elijah had fathered nine children by six different girls.

In Chicago, John Ali, spokesman for Elijah said: "The man (Malcolm) is a liar. Everybody knows the real reason he was suspended. It was for disobeying instruction of Elijah Muhammed and making statements concerning the assassination of President Kennedy. The man was belittled and felt he could not face the public. This damages his ego. That's why he says these things. He has a low, base, vile mind."

That Malcolm and his followers are concerned over the threats was evident fol-

lowing three incidents this week.

Plot Charged

In Boston, seven members of the Black Nationalist movement he formed after his suspension from the Black Muslims charged the Elijah forces with hatching a bizarre assassination plot.

The seven were arrested at Logan Airport, Boston, for disturbing the peace after a wild automobile chase and a gun-waving incident.

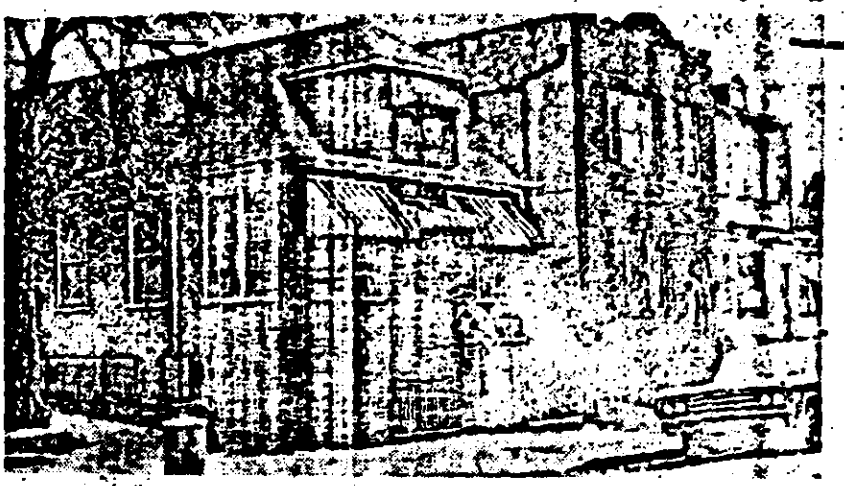
They told Massachusetts State Police that three Black Muslims halted their two automobiles in the Callahan Tunnel, mistakenly believing Malcolm was riding in one of the cars.

Hearing Scheduled

"You're not going to get out of here alive!" they said the Muslims shouted.

But the Muslims fled when one of Malcolm's aides brandished a loaded shotgun.

Later it was learned that Malcolm had attended a meeting at the home of his sister, Mrs. Ella Collins, at



Malcolm X's house in Elmhurst, Queens.

539 Massachusetts Ave., Boston, last week but was not in Boston Sunday.

The seven nationalists included Benjamin X of New York, a top aide to Malcolm, who, police said, told them:

"This was definitely an assassination attempt on Malcolm."

Heavily Guarded

The seven said they shook off another Black Muslim car during the chase that led into the tunnel. All were later released in bail pending a hearing July 1 on charges of disturbing the peace. Police also broadcast an alarm for the three Black Muslims who tried to ambush them.

In Queens, Malcolm looked worried during a hearing on a suit brought by the Black Muslims to oust him from his home at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst. The Muslims claim they own the house and that Malcolm has no right to live there with his wife and three children because he has been expelled from the movement.

Malcolm was surrounded by eight of his own guards and 32 policemen during the hearing. The police were assigned after newspapers received phone tips he would be shot in the courtroom.

During the hearing, Malcolm kept looking around nervously. When he walked to the bathroom, he was accompanied by five guards. The shade on the window was lowered so he could not be seen from outside.

It was at this hearing that Malcolm testified he was suspended by Elijah because "I found out he had nine children by six different girls."

House Called a Gift

He testified the $16,000 house was given to him in appreciation of his work for the Black Muslims. Under cross-examination, he admitted that he as well as the Black Muslim group he had led had asked Elijah for the house. Judge Maurice Wahl reserved decision in the case.

Outside court, Malcolm spoke freely of his fears that the Black Muslims were

quite capable of assassinating him, saying:

"There is no people in the United States more able to carry out this threat than the Black Muslims. I know. I taught them myself."

Confrontation at Mosque

The fear that he is targeted also was evident Tuesday night when six of his men—worried because they had not heard from him for a while—visited his Queens house and found him safe.

The six then sped to the Muslim Mosque at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. and were confronted by 30 Muslims armed with sticks and stones. They were held off by a Malcolm adherent with a 30-caliber weapon. Police said they also found an Italian rifle in the car used by the six.

The six were held on a variety of charges pending a hearing next Thursday. Police described the 30-caliber weapon as a machine gun. The defendants called it a rifle.

Publicly, police will say nothing about the precautions they are taking to safeguard Malcolm. But the extent of the watch is known to most high officials.

In fact, it is reported that police have succeeded in infiltrating Malcolm's immediate circle with their own agents—to prevent trouble and to keep closer tabs on the explosive Malcolm.

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

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2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552		Section 552a
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FBI/DOJ

6/18/64

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) AND
SAC, BOSTON (97-145)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-7809)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS-NOI

b2 b7D

[redacted] ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT HAS INFORMED UNKNOWN REPRESENTATIVE OF A NYC NEWSPAPER THAT FBI KNOWS ALL ABOUT ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN OF ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AND IF PRESS WOULD CHECK WITH FBI THEN THEY WOULD NOT BE AFRAID TO PRINT IT. SUBJECT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THAT FBI KNEW THAT MUHAMMAD WAS FATHER OF CHILD BORN TO [redacted] OF BOSTON.

ABOVE FOR INFO BUREAU AND BOSTON IN THE EVENT OF PRESS INQUIRY. NO PRESS INQUIRY RECEIVED BY NYO. b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/82 BY sp2mac/JC

105-8999-4587

1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)
1-Superviser #43

[redacted]

b7C

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIAL [redacted]
JUN 18 1964
FBI - NEW YO[redacted]

b7C

FBI

Date: JUN 18 1964

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

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-35713)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS - MMI

Re Boston teletype to Bureau and New York dated 6/15/64, and Boston airtel to Bureau dated 6/15/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter, one copy of which is designated by the Bureau's Nation of Islam (NOI) file. Five copies are being sent to New York, the Office of Origin, and two copies to Chicago for their information.

The source mentioned in the letterhead memorandum is [redacted], who has previously furnished information on the efforts of MALCOLM X LITTLE to recruit Muslim Mosque, Inc., in Boston.

b7c

This letterhead memorandum is being classified CONFIDENTIAL since the information furnished by [redacted] could logically result in identification of a source who may be developed as a potential secrity informant and whose value could be jeopardized which could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the United States. In addition [redacted] identification could possibly result in attempts on his life.

b7c

b7c

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3 - Bureau (100-441765)(Encls. 8)
(1 - 25-330971)(Encl. 1)
5 - New York (100-152759)(Encls. 2)
(1 - 105-7809)(NOI)(Encl. 1)
(1 - 105-8999)(MALCOLM X)(Encl. 1)
(1 - [redacted] (BENJAMIN GOODMAN)(Encl. 1)
2 - Chicago (100-35635)(Encl. 1)
(1 - 100-33544)(Encl. 1)
9 - Boston (100-35713)(1 - [redacted] (GOULBOURNE BUSBY)
(1 - 97-145)(NOI) (1 - [redacted] (JAMES COOK)
(1 - [redacted] (RONALD THOMPSON) [redacted] (LORRYN DOUGLAS)
(1 - [redacted] (DONALD STRAUGHTER) [redacted] (RODNELL COLLINS)

[redacted]
JUN 1 1964
[redacted]

115-8959-4586

JFN:rar
(19)

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DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 THE/WEB/DD

HILD

BS 100-35713

The Agent who contacted [redacted]
is SA [redacted]

[redacted]

b7c D

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Boston, Massachusetts
June 18, 1964

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

On June 17, 1964, a source who is in a position to furnish reliable information advised that an announcement had been made by Malcolm X Little while he was in Boston, Massachusetts, on Friday, June 12, 1964, that he would be present at 539 Massachusetts Avenue in the Roxbury Section of Boston, Massachusetts, at 2 p.m., on June 14, 1964. No. 539 Massachusetts Avenue is a house owned by Mrs. Ella Collins, sister of Malcolm X. One floor of this house has been made into one large room which Ella Collins utilizes as a kindergarten.

On Sunday, June 14, 1964, between 110 and 120 persons were present at 2 p.m. at 539 Massachusetts Avenue. Among these were several representatives of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and a representative of the Urban League. The source stated a number of members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were present, but the source does not believe that they were present as representatives of that organization.

Malcolm X was unable to appear and in his place he sent from New York City one of his close friends and a member of Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) in New York who the source identified as Benjamin X. Goodman.

Goodman explained that Malcolm X no longer believed in the return of the black man to Africa. Instead he believes the Negro should plan to stay in the United States, to unite and to work for his rightful place in the society of this country. When questioned by members of the audience as to Malcolm X's program, Goodman was not specific. He stated that Malcolm X believes in a leadership of the black men through a congress rather than a monarchy such as Elijah Muhammad operates in his Temples of Islam. This congress would be made up of representatives of the various Negro organizations.

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Group 1
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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
JUN 19 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269JDE/WEB/dd
ON 1/25/84

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They would work for Negro civil rights and in general to better the position of the black man, and Malcolm intends to bring the Negroes plight before the United Nations.

The source stated that many of those present were former members of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11, Dorchester, Massachusetts. Many know Malcolm X and like him and originally joined the Muslim movement because of Malcolm X. None of them however belong to MMI. There is as yet no such group organized in Boston and the source does not believe much potential exists for the formation of such a group. The reason for this is mainly because everyone is waiting for Malcolm X to enlarge on some specific plans to implement his program. Instead he and his spokesmen continue to speak in generalities.

The meeting ended at 8 p.m. with nothing positive accomplished. Members of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11 had been observed in the area before the meeting, led by Captain Clarence X Gill. It was felt the Muslims might have appeared to make an attempt on Malcolm X's life, but since Malcolm X was not present, no one thought anything would happen.

Rodnell Collins was to drive Benjamin X Goodman back to Logan Airport in the East Boston section of Boston, Massachusetts, from where he would take a plane for New York. Goodman had been talking over old times in the U. S. Army in Japan with an old Army buddy, Goulbourne Busby. Goodman suggested Busby accompany him to the Airport so that they could reminisce further. Five other men decided to go and four of these followed in a second car. When the Cadillac pulled away from Ella Collins' house, the occupants of the Cadillac noticed a cream or white 1962 Lincoln accelerate down Massachusetts Avenue after them. The source believes this car had Rhode Island plates. The Lincoln seemed to be attempting to come up alongside the Cadillac but was unsuccessful until both cars were on the Southeast Expressway heading north. Then the Lincoln pulled in front of the Cadillac and slowed down to make the Cadillac stop. Collins, who was driving the Cadillac, swerved to the left and continued down the Expressway. Further on down the Expressway a 1955 Chevrolet with members of Temple No. 11 in it came speeding up. The Cadillac left the Expressway at the Clinton Street Exit, which is the exit before the Callahan Tunnel Exit, in order to lose the Chevrolet.

The Cadillac proceeded to the Tunnel and in about the center of the Tunnel the Chevrolet which had gotten ahead of the Cadillac pulled across the two lane Tunnel road in front of the Cadillac forcing it to stop. At the same time the white Lincoln came up behind the Cadillac and stopped at an angle blocking both lanes and all traffic. The four doors of both cars were flung open, and James Cook, driver of the Chevrolet, and Ronald Thompson got out of the Chevrolet. At the same time Don Straughter and another Muslim got out of the Lincoln, and the four men approached the Cadillac. The source believes there were three other men remaining in each car. A woman in the car blocked by the Lincoln started screaming hysterically and continued to scream during the period the Cadillac was blocked off. Cook had what appeared to be a nikel-plated revolver in his hand and Ronald Thompson had something long, thin, and shiny which source believes was a knife of some type.

Rodnell Collins hollered to Busby that there was a shotgun wrapped up in a rug on the floor of the Cadillac and a bag of shotgun shells. Source stated that he later learned from Collins that Collins had the gun in the car intending to show it to someone who intended to buy it. Busby grabbed the shotgun and a shell but did not know how to load the gun. He rolled down the window as Cook screamed, "Where are you going? Youre not leaving here. Youre going to be killed."

Busby pretended to load the gun and shoved it out the window moving it back and forth to cover the four Muslims. Straughter came right up to the car and Busby swung the gun around and swung the butt of the gun into Straughter's chest, driving him back. He then reversed the gun and continued to cover the Muslims who started to retreat.

Meanwhile, Collins drove the Cadillac into the fender of the Chevrolet pushing it ahead and then swung by it and sped off down the tunnel followed closely by the Lincoln. The group in the Cadillac decided that they would try to attract the attention of the police at Logan Airport so to get their assistance they drove into the Airport at 90 miles per hour with the horn blowing, and they left the Cadillac in the middle of the road. Nobody seemed to notice.

They dashed into Mohawk Airlines with Busby still carrying the shotgun which by this time he had managed to load, and a box of shotgun shells. They ran through Mohawk Airlines out into the airstrip and then entered Eastern Airlines from the airstrip. It was here the Massachusetts State Police arrested them for which they all thanked Allah.

The source stated he does not know why Cook did not shoot someone since he was emotionally overwrought and almost screaming. He believes the Muslims thought Malcolm X was in the car, and they were trying to kill him.

The source stated that this may seem hard to believe if one has never been a Muslim. As a former Muslim he knows how deeply Muslims believe in Elijah Muhammad being a prophet of Allah. While they do not look on him as God, they place him above all other humans. The source stated that when Clarence Gill talks to the brothers in the Temple about the good Elijah Muhammad does; how hard he works; how poor his health is; how he may die at any moment; and how much he needs money, and then reminds the brothers that a certain brother who has not been around lately owes $40 to the Temple, it is not unusual for several brothers to become so aroused that they go out looking for this brother and beat him up when they find him.

The source stated that he estimates there are about 500 members on the membership list of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11, but that only 200 to 250 could be called active members. The others are persons who have drifted away or who have been expelled; and he does not believe the active members of Temple of Islam No. 11 ever exceeded 250. Each member must contribute $10 per week and many ex-members send this in by mail; even though they might have been expelled, it is their way of trying to insure a place in heaven for themselves.

Since Malcolm X was expelled from the Muslims and maybe prior to that when rumors of Elijah Muhammad's escapades started, the membership of Temple No. 11 declined, and the source estimates the current membership at less than 100 active members.

The source stated that Malcolm X's group does not have the appeal in Boston that it has in Harlem where conditions are such that anyone preaching on anything can promote some sort of following.

Malcolm X's intention of going before the United Nations leaves Boston Negroes cold, since the situation of the Negro in Boston does not leave too much room for griping. The source believes however that the United Nations approach would have a big appeal in Harlem.

The source advised that Ella Collins furnished the $8,000 for the individual $1,000 bonds for the eight men arrested by the Massachusetts State Police. She has retained an attorney to represent the eight men and will stand this expense.

b7cD

On June 17, 1964, [redacted] advised that Ella Collins had on that date notified the Boston Police Department that her son Rodnell Collins was missing from home. [redacted] stated that Mrs. Collins did not seem too upset about it and seemed to feel he may have run off to New York to join his uncle, Malcolm X.

Characterizations of the Nation of Islam, Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11, Muslim Mosque, Inc., and Mosque No. 7 are attached hereto.

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

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

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