FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Malcolm X. Little
Washington Metropolitan Field Office
File Number: 100-32805
Section: 1, 2, 3 Sub D
(January 1956 - June 1971)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTICE

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN
FIELD OFFICE 100-32805
SECTIONS 1, 2, 3, Sub D
(January 1956 - June 1971)

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE 100-32805

SECTION 1

SERIALS 1A-9

(January 1956 - April 1958)

12 Pages

The following documents are duplicate copies of other documents in the Headquarters or field office files. The documents in the left column have been withheld to save duplication costs for you and the FBI. The column on the right shows the locations of the duplicate documents that have been processed for your request.

	SAME AS
WMFO 100-32805-1	HQ 100-399321-18
WMFO 100-32805-2	NY 105-8999-387
WMFO 100-32805-3	HQ 100-399321-19
WMFO 100-32805-4	NY 105-8999-423
WMFO 100-32805-6	NY 105-8999-471
WMFO 100-32805-7	HQ 100-399321-21
WMFO 100-32805-8, 9	HQ 100-399321-22

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Malcolm Little

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Number [redacted]

b7C

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Malcolm X	
100-22829-209	p11
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY 2269 JHE/WEB/rcy	-p12
100-22829-346	
Malcolm (minister)	
100-22829-1365	
M. Shabazz	
100-22829-602	p51

WMFO-100-32805-9

4-22b (11-2[redacted]5)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Malcolm Little aka

R# Malcolm X Date Searcher Number [redacted]

b7C

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Malcolm X	
100-22829-209	p11
	p12
(Brother) Malcolm X	
100-22829-346	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 [illegible]

WMFO 100-32805-6

SAC, WFO (100-22829) 6/19/57

SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 JAS/WEB/TCY

NATION OF ISLAM
IS-NOI

By letter dated 5/10/57 the Chicago Office transmitted photographs of individuals taken during the NOI National Convention in Chicago, 2/24-26/57, at Muhammad's Temple #2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, and the University of Islam, 5333 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

A small number of the photographs transmitted as an enclosure to the above letter were exhibited [redacted] made the following identifications:

b2
b7D

Roll and Frame Number		Persons Identified
V1 - 13		[redacted]
III - 12	b7D b7C	MALCOLM X. LITTLE (second individual in this photograph) [redacted]

All the photographs were not exhibited to the informant because of lack of time and because of lighting conditions. The remaining photographs will be exhibited to the informant in the near future and the total results of all identifications will then be set out in a composite letter to Chicago.

(5) - WFO
b2
b7D
b7C
[redacted]
(1-100-32805) (MALCOLM X. LITTLE)
[redacted] b7C
(5)

advise New York
wpd
do.

100-32805-5

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
JUN 19 1957
[redacted]

b7C

Reference Search Slip
WFO-6 (8-5-55)

Name Malcolm Little

File and Serial No. 100-22829-466 p10

-561 p4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-16-84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

-624 p6

Malcolm K. Little
100 22829-346

WMFO 100-32805-2

(Title) MALCOLM LITTLE

(File No) 100-32805*

1. Photo of subject. (Filed 5/3/57 [redacted] 67C
2. Photo of Malcolm X (Filed 5-28-63 [redacted]) 67C
3. Photo of Subject (Filed 5-21-57) [redacted]
4. [redacted] Filed 2/15/66 [redacted] 67C
5. [redacted] 67D 67C

Disposition:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY 1269 JHF/WEB/TCY

100-32805-1A

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAY 3 1957
FBI - WASHINGTON

67C [redacted]

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-68)

File No. 100-32805-1A 5

Date Received [redacted] 67D

From [redacted] 62

(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] 67C

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description:

[redacted]

67D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 SHE/WEB/TCY

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

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☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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☐ For your information: _____

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WMFO 100-32805-1A5

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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FBI/DOJ

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-66)

WFO 100-32805 1A9

File No.

Date Received 1/21/66

From Passport Office
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Wash., D. C.
(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7c
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description:

Photo of [redacted] b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-16-84 BY [illegible]

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

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☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-1A4

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FBI/DOJ

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

File No. 100-32805-1A 3

Date Received 5/6/64

From Passport Office
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

WDC
(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] 67C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:

Photos of subject

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 THE/LCB/TCY

alcolm X. Little
/27/62

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

[redacted] b7C

File No. 100-32805-1A-2

Date Received 5/7/63

From New York Office
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

b7C

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:
Photo of Malcolm X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 1269 THE/[illegible]/TCY

File No. 100-32805-1A1

Date Received 5/2/57

From New York Office
(Name of Contributor) serial (2)

N.Y.
(Address of Contributor) [redacted]

By WFO - [redacted]
(Name of [redacted]) b7c

To Be Returned Yes ( )
No (✓)

Description:

Photograph of Malcolm Little

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DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 WE/WEB/TCY

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

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WFO 100-32805-1A() enclosure

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FBI/DOJ

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE 100-32805

SECTION 2

SERIALS 10-73

(November 1958 - September 1963)

17 Pages

The following documents are duplicate copies of other documents in the Headquarters or field office files. The documents in the left column have been withheld to save duplication costs for you and the FBI. The column on the right shows the locations of the duplicate documents that have been processed for your request.

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WMFO 100-32805-10	HQ 100-399321-27
WMFO 100-32805-11, 12	HQ 100-399321-28
WMFO 100-32805-14	HQ 100-399321-33
WMFO 100-32805-15, 16	HQ 100-399321-36
WMFO 100-32805-17	HQ 100-399321-38
WMFO 100-32805-18	HQ 100-399321-39
WMFO 100-32805-19	NY 105-8999-1554
WMFO 100-32805-22	NY 105-8999-3529
WMFO 100-32805-24	HQ 100-399321-61
WMFO 100-32805-25, 25A, 26	HQ 100-399321-59
WMFO 100-32805-27	NY 105-8999-3555
WMFO 100-32805-28, 29	HQ 100-399321-58
WMFO 100-32805-31,32	HQ 100-399321-65
WMFO 100-32805-33, 34	HQ 100-399321-62
WMFO 100-32805-35	HQ 100-399321-65
WMFO 100-32805-36	HQ 100-399321-63
WMFO 100-32805-38	HQ 100-399321-Not Recorded after 78
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WMFO 100-32805-54	NY 105-8999-3684
WMFO 100-32805-56	NY 105-8999-3677
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WMFO 100-32805-70	NY 105-8999-3804
WMFO 100-32805-71	NY 105-8999-3805
WMFO 100-32805-72	NY 105-8999-3819
WMFO 100-32805-73	NY 105-8999-3820

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMEN

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) DATE: 9/3/63

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-22829)

67C

SUBJECT: [redacted]
IS-NOI
(OO:CG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-17-84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/TCY

67C

ReWFOairtel to Bureau entitled [redacted] (OO:WFO), dated 8/5/63.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for Chicago two and for New York one of LHM regarding [redacted]

67C

[redacted]

67D
67C

4 - Bureau (Enc. 4)
2 - Chicago (100-35635) (Info) (Enc. 2)
1 - New York [redacted] (Info) (Enc. 1)
5 - WFO (1-[redacted] 62
(1-7-644) 67C
(1-100-32805)

[redacted] 67C
(12)

100-32805-69

67C

Searched [redacted]
Serialize[redacted]
Indexe[redacted]
Filed [redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

SEP 3 1963

[redacted] b7D b7C

[redacted] (The Nation of Islam is described in the appendix). b7D b7C

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-17-84 BY [illegible]

4 - Bureau (25-330971)
2 - Chicago (100-35635)
1 - New York [redacted] b2 b7C
5 - WFO (100-22829)
(1-[redacted]
(1-7-644)
(1-100-32805)
[redacted] b7C
(12)

100-32805-68

Serialized [redacted]
Indexed [redacted] b7C
Filed [redacted]

b7D
b7C

[redacted]

Elijah Muhammad is described in the description of the Nation of Islam in the appendix

b7D
b7C

[redacted]

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

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2 (p.8,9) Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) are Appendix pages used to characterize "Nation of Islam" (NOI), ~~Muslim Mosque, Inc. and/or Organization of Afro American Unity~~. Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York file.

☒ For your information: Appendix page for MM #4 appearing in this document is the same as the Appendix page for MM #4 located in NY 105-8999-3804.

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-68 pages 3-9

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FBI/DOJ

SECRET

b1

SAC, WFO [redacted] (S)

8/28/63

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C SA [redacted]

b1 [redacted] (S)

SECRET

b1 [redacted] (S)

b1 [redacted] (S)

2-16-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY

CLASSIFIED BY OADR

4- WFO
(1- 100-22829, MOI)
(1- 100-32805, MALCOLM X)
(1- 157-257, MARCH ON WASHINGTON)

SECRET

[redacted] b7C
(4)

100-32805-67

b7C [redacted] #5

b7C [redacted]

SECRET

4-8a (Rev. 4-17-63)

FOR SAC, WFO

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

URGENT 8-22-63
TO DIRECTOR AND SAC WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM SAC NORFOLK 221648

b2
67D

NATION OF ISLAM, IS - NOI.
[redacted] ADVISED TODAY MALCOLM X, NOI MINISTER FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., WILL APPEAR ON JAY LAWRENCE SHOW, RADIO STATION WNOR, NORFOLK, TONIGHT. SHOW BEGINS AT 11 P.M. AND LASTS THREE HOURS. MALCOLM X WILL BE INTERVIEWED BY LAWRENCE AND ANSWER TELEPHONIC INQUIRIES FROM GENERAL PUBLIC REGARDING BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT.

RECEIVED: 2:04 PM [redacted] 67C

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DATE 2-17-84 BY 8269 [illegible]/TC

160-32805-66

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
E B I
SEARCHED ___ INDEXED
[redacted] 67C

2 CC WASHINGTON FIELD

AUG 25 5 [illegible] 63

TELE[illegible] UNIT
RECEIVED

[redacted] 67C

1 cc in
160-22829

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

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

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WMFO 100-32805-65

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

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_____	☐ (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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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-64

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b2 b7D

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 6/20/63

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY [illegible]

[redacted]

b2 b7D b7C

[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

b7D [redacted]

cc's:

1 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED MAIL)

[redacted]

3 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL)

[redacted]

1 - MALCOLM X
1 - NOI

[redacted] BALTIMORE

[redacted]

1 - 100-18471 (NOI)

b2 b7D b7C

[redacted]

BALTIMORE (CON'D)

[redacted]

(29) [redacted] b7C

100-32805-38

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
JUL 1 1963
FBI—WASH. F. O. [redacted]

b7C

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

__1__ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☒ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (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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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-58 page 2

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FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

b2 b7D b7C

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 5/24/6[redacted]

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-16-84 BY [illegible]

b2 b7D b7C [redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED.

b7D [redacted]

ccs:
(2) - WFO (RM)
[redacted]
Min. MALCOLM X
2 - Chicago (RM)
[redacted]
[redacted] - Baltimore

b2 b7D b7C [redacted]

b2 b7D b7C [redacted]

1-100-16471 NOI

100-32805-57

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
[redacted] 3 1 1963
FBI—WASH. F. [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

b7C (42) [redacted]

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-57 page 2

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FBI/DOJ

SAC, WFO [redacted] b2 b7C

6/18/63

SA [redacted] b7C

[redacted]

1S - NOI
(00:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY [illegible]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

-55

1 - WFO
(1-100-32805) (MALCOLM X)
(1 [redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted]

(3)

b7C

[redacted]

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

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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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Section 552		Section 552a
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NMFO 100-32805-55 pages 2,3

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FBI/DOJ

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-52

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FBI/DOJ

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-49

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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FBI/DOJ

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, WFO (100-32805)

DATE: 5/22/63

FROM : SUPERVISOR [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS-NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 [illegible]

[redacted]

b7D
b7C

[redacted]

b7C SAs [redacted] and [redacted] are being instructed to closely follow [redacted] As soon as any information
b7D
b7C is available concerning this matter, it should be furnished to the Bureau and NY in form suitable for dissemination.

b2
b7D
b7C
b7C

WFO
[redacted]
(2) [redacted]

100-32805-16

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAY 22 1963
FBI—WASH. F. O. [redacted]

b7C

SAC, WFO (100-22829) 5/28/63

67C

SUPERVISO[redacted]

NOI
IS - NOI

[redacted]

67D
67C

[redacted]

4-WFO
62 [redacted]
67D (1-100-32805) (MALCOLM X)
67C [redacted]
67C (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 JHS/WEB/TCY

100-32805-45

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEX [redacted]
SERIALIZE [redacted]

67C

[redacted]

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b7C

SAC, WFO [redacted] 5/27/63

b7C

S[redacted]

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 1269 JHE/WEB/TCY

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

3-WFO
(1-100-32805) (MALCOLM X. LITTLE)
b2
b7C
(1) [redacted]
(3)

100-32805-44

b7C

[redacted]

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

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-44 page 2

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FBI/DOJ

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-43

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FBI/DOJ

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

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-42

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FBI/DOJ

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

WMFO 100-32805-41

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) 5/6/63

SAC, WFO (100-22829)

NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI
(OO:CG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-17-84 BY 8269 [illegible]

The following is an analysis of the NOI information available concerning the publicly announced change of leadership in Muhammad's Mosque Number Four (MM#4), Washington, D.C.:

b2
b7D [redacted]

b2
b7D [redacted] In mid March, 1963, [redacted] indicated that [redacted] had told [redacted] ELIJAH MUHAMMAD,
b7D that [redacted] had apparently uncovered too much (in Washington, D.C.). The Fruit of Islam (FOI) men in D.C. had admitted they were getting soft from "playing around".

b2
b7D On 3/31/63, according to [redacted] told [redacted] ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, that [redacted] returned from
b7C Washington, D.C. and she reported that [redacted] said the papers were not helping the "temple" and were therefore not being pushed. This appears to refer to "Muhammad Speaks" newspapers, because on 4/11/63, according
b2 to [redacted] ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had a heated argument with
b7D [redacted] regarding 6000 unsold copies of newspapers
b7C piled up in the Mosque basement. ELIJAH told [redacted] to spread the idea of friendship and trust; otherwise, [redacted] would be removed from the Mosque.

On 4/30/63, numerous Negro males sold outdated copies of "Muhammad Speaks" on the streets of Washington, D.C. However, the Washington, D.C. newspapers of 4/30/63 and 5/1/63 reflected that MALCOLM X was coming to Washington, D.C. to assume leadership of the local Black Muslims, replacing [redacted]
b7C [redacted] as minister.

2-Bureau
1-Chicago (100-35335) (Info) (RM)
1-New York (105-7809) (Info) (RM)
2-WFO
(1-100-32805) (MALCOLM LITTLE)

b7C [redacted]
(6)

b7C 100-32805-37
[redacted]

b7C

It appears that [redacted] was sent to MM#4 to enforce more strict NOI rules and push sale of newspapers. He apparently found laxity and lethargy which he could not overcome. This, coupled with the remarks about the ineffectiveness on the part of MM#4 in the sale of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's pride, "Muhammad Speaks", appears to have caused MUHAMMAD's decision to replace [redacted] by MALCOLM X. LITTLE.

"The Evening Star," a daily newspaper of Washington, D.C., in its issue dated 5/1/63, on Page A-1, reflected that in an interview, MALCOLM X. stated that for the time being, he would divide his attentions between the mosques in Washington, D.C. and New York City. He said he might establish a residence in Washington.

Routing S[illegible]
0-7 (Rev. [illegible]-62)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

- [ ] Albany
- [ ] Albuquerque
- [ ] Anchorage
- [ ] Atlanta
- [ ] Baltimore
- [ ] Birmingham
- [ ] Boston
- [ ] Buffalo
- [ ] Butte
- [ ] Charlotte
- [ ] Chicago
- [ ] Cincinnati
- [ ] Cleveland
- [ ] Dallas
- [ ] Denver
- [ ] Detroit
- [ ] El Paso
- [ ] Honolulu
- [ ] Houston
- [ ] Indianapolis
- [ ] Jacksonville
- [ ] Kansas City
- [ ] Knoxville
- [ ] Las Vegas
- [ ] Little Rock
- [ ] Los Angeles
- [ ] Louisville
- [ ] Memphis
- [ ] Miami
- [ ] Milwaukee
- [ ] Minneapolis
- [ ] Mobile
- [ ] Newark
- [ ] New Haven
- [ ] New Orleans
- [ ] New York City
- [ ] Norfolk
- [ ] Oklahoma City
- [ ] Omaha
- [ ] Philadelphia
- [ ] Phoenix
- [ ] Pittsburgh
- [ ] Portland
- [ ] Richmond
- [ ] St. Louis
- [ ] Salt Lake City
- [ ] San Antonio
- [ ] San Diego
- [ ] San Francisco
- [ ] San Juan
- [ ] Savannah
- [ ] Seattle
- [ ] Springfield
- [ ] Tampa
- [ ] Washington Field
- [ ] Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- [ ] Bern
- [ ] Bonn
- [ ] London
- [ ] Madrid
- [ ] Manila
- [ ] Mexico, D. F.
- [ ] Ottawa
- [ ] Paris
- [ ] Rome
- [ ] Rio de Janeiro
- [ ] Tokyo

Date MAY 20 1963

RE: MALCOLM LITTLE
SM-NOI

- [x] For information
- [ ] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep, by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.

- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-16-84 BY 1269 JAE/WEB/TCY

100-32805-35A

SEARCH[redacted]DEXED[redacted]
SERIAL[redacted]LED...[redacted]
MAY 20 1963
FBI — WASH. F. O.
[redacted]

67C

Enclosure(s)
Bufile 100-399321
Urfile

FOR SAC, WFO

5/15/63

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE URGENT

TO SACS BIRMINGHAM
WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-17-84 BY [illegible] WEB/TCY

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

SIT INS, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, RACIAL MATTERS.

THE WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD OF MAY FIFTEEN SIXTY THREE INDICATES THAT JEREMIAH X OF THE NATION OF ISLAM TALKED TO NEGROES IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, ON MAY FOURTEEN LAST AND INDICATED THAT MALCOLM X WOULD BE LEAVING FOR BIRMINGHAM IN A DAY OR TWO.

BIRMINGHAM FURNISH DETAILS OF JEREMIAH X'S TALK TO NEGROES IN BIRMINGHAM ON MAY FOURTEEN LAST.

WFO CANVASS INFORMANTS FOR PLANS OF MALCOLM X TO GO TO BIRMINGHAM. FURNISH SUCH PLANS TO BUREAU AND BIRMINGHAM.

BIRMINGHAM ALERT LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

handled under
Sit Ins caption

100-32805-30

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]

67C

MAY 15 7 00 PM '63

[redacted]

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FBI/DOJ

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FBI/DOJ

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, WFO (100-32805) DATE: June 26, 1959

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka MALCOLM X. LITTLE
MALACHI SCHABAZZ, JACK CARLTON
SM - NOI
OO: NY

Re NY letter to Director dated 6/18/59 setting forth the names of individuals who might possibly accompany ELIJAH MUHAMMAD on his trip to the Near East during September or October 1959.

It is recommended that this matter be opened for the purpose of determining if subject has applied for passport facilities.

Name: See above.
Birth Data: born 5/19/25, Omaha, Nebraska.
Residence: 25-46 99 th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York City.

Action: Reopen and assign S [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY 8269 [illegible]

[redacted] b7C

Re-open & assign OO: N.Y.

[redacted] b7C

100-32805-13

b7C

SERIALIZED [redacted] JUN 2 [illegible]

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4-22b (11-23-[illegible])

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Malcolm K. Little

Searcher Number [redacted] b7C

R#_____ Date_____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
100-22829-	346
100-22829-	700 ps
100-22829-	1302

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-16-84 BY [illegible]

WMFO 100-32805-12

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN
FIELD OFFICE 100-32805
SECTION 3
SERIALS 74---
(August 1963 - June 1971)

28 Pages

The following documents are duplicate copies of other documents in the Headquarters or field office files. The documents in the left column have been withheld to save duplication costs for you and the FBI. The column on the right shows the locations of the duplicate documents that have been processed for your request.

	SAME AS
WMFO 100-32805-74	NY 105-8999-3814
WMFO 100-32805-75	NY 105-8999-3838
WMFO 100-32805-76	NY 105-8999-3826
WMFO 100-32805-77	NY 105-8999-3821
WMFO 100-32805-78	NY 105-8999-3841
WMFO 100-32805-79	HQ 100-399321-73
WMFO 100-32805-82	NY 105-8999-3982
WMFO 100-32805-84	NY 105-8999-4040
WMFO 100-32805-85	NY 105-8999-4096
WMFO 100-32805-87	NY 105-8999-4147
WMFO 100-32805-90	NY 105-8999-4170
WMFO 100-32805-91	NY 105-8999-4171
WMFO 100-32805-96	HQ 100-399321-102
WMFO 100-32805-104,105	HQ 100-399321-104
WMFO 100-32805-110	HQ 100-399321-A, Wash. Post dtd 5/18/64
WMFO 100-32805-111	HQ 100-399321-A, Wash. Post dtd 5/18/64
WMFO 100-32805-113	HQ 100-399321-120
WMFO 100-32805-114	HQ 100-399321-124
WMFO 100-32805-116	NY 105-8999-4622
WMFO 100-32805-118	HQ 100-399321-157
WMFO 100-32805-119	HQ 100-399321-158
WMFO 100-32805-120	NY 105-8999-5046
WMFO 100-32805-122	HQ 100-399321-194
WMFO 100-32805-123	HQ 100-399321-195
WMFO 100-32805-124	HQ 100-399321-198
WMFO 100-32805-125	NY 105-8999-5281
WMFO 100-32805-126	HQ 100-399321-200
WMFO 100-32805-128	HQ 100-399321-270
WMFO 100-32805-129	HQ 100-399321-283
WMFO 100-32805-130	NY 105-8999-5910
WMFO 100-32805-131, 132	HQ 100-399321-267
WMFO 100-32805-133, 134	HQ 100-399321-292
WMFO 100-32805-139	HQ 100-399321-A, NY Times dtd 3/2/65
WMFO 100-32805-143	HQ 100-399321-Not Recorded after 422
wmfo 100-32805-145	HQ 100-399321-NR after 424

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

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Routing Slip
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Date DEC 17 1965

RE:

- [x] For information
- [ ] Retention optional
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- [ ] Surep, by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.

- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C [redacted]

TO : SAC, WFO (100-32805)(C)

DATE: 4-21-65

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE
IS-MMI

Inasmuch as there has not been any retaliation for the murder of Malcolm X at New York City on 2-21-65 by members of his sect against MM#4, WDC, and there are no outstanding leads in this matter, the case is being closed.

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

New York Times
3-4-65

'MALCOLM X-ISM' FEARED BY RUSTIN

He Calls Violence Inevitable Product of Injustice

By HOMER BIGART

"Malcolm X-ism is here to stay unless the nation is ready to revolutionize its spirit and its institutions."

This warning was issued yesterday by Bayard Rustin, leader of the 1963 March on Washington, in an address to 250 scholars and religious leaders at the Brotherhood-in-Action Center, 560 Seventh Avenue.

Mr. Rustin, who espouses nonviolent techniques in achieving civil rights, defended Malcolm, the murdered black nationalist leader, as an inevitable product of injustice. "Malcolm X did not choose violence," he said. "The violent situation chose him."

"Violence is inevitable, fighting in the streets is inevitable," Mr. Rustin continued, unless the nation eliminated ghetto slums, segregated schools and other symptoms of injustice.

According to Mr. Rustin, Malcolm was "beginning to examine a new nonviolent approach to life" when he was shot down in Harlem on Feb. 21. He said Malcolm "was trying to extricate himself" from a movement that had preached violence.

A Meeting With Mrs. King

Mr. Rustin said he recalled a recent meeting between Malcolm and Mrs. Coretta King, wife of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., at which Mrs. King tried to persuade the black nationalist to "join the real movement."

He said that Malcolm, after a 45-minute discussion, remarked: "I'm drifting and I don't know where I'll end up."

Mr. Rustin and other speakers declared that the United States, in its foreign policy as well as at home, seemed bent on rejecting the inevitability of revolutionary change.

The speakers denounced this country's policy in South Vietnam and said that Washington, in its relations with the Afro-Asian states, seemed to want to "contain all colored people" and prevent them from deciding their own fate.

Among speakers who said they were dismayed by the escalation of war in Vietnam was the Rev. Peter Riga of Buffalo, moderator of the Catholic Council on Civil Liberties. Father Riga said Washington was supporting "a corrupt, undemocratic status quo" in South Vietnam.

Vigil Supported

The meeting was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N. Y.

Printed notices were distributed inviting members to participate in a march and vigil protesting American policy in Vietnam, particularly the air attacks on North Vietnam Tuesday and "our unwillingness to negotiate or to consider any alleviation of the war."

About 50 persons, including Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen, participated in the vigil. Forbidden by the police to march into Times Square, they lined up on the western curb of Broadway between Forty-first and Forty-second Streets and stood there, alternately facing traffic, through the late afternoon. They held signs calling for cease-fire and negotiations on Vietnam. Three nuns were among them.

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New York Times
3-4-65

THIRD MAN SEIZED IN MALCOLM CASE

New Suspect in Killing Also Faces an Assault Charge

By PETER KIHSS

A third Negro was arrested yesterday on charges of taking part in the murder of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, who was killed in a hail of bullets during a rally on Feb. 21.

The new defendant identified himself as Thomas 15X Johnson of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx. He had been indicted last month for first-degree assault in the shooting of a Black Muslim defector in a case in which his co-defendant, was Norman 3X Butler. Butler had been the second suspect in the killing of Malcolm X.

Cary Thomas Jr., a Negro in his early 20's, was held in $50,000 bail as a material witness in the slaying at the request of a grand jury that has started an inquiry. Assistant District Attorney Robert W. McKeever told Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff that he believed Thomas had been present during the killing and had "vital information concerning the identity of the perpetrators."

The new developments came after Butler's lawyer, Joseph B. Williams, obtained a writ of habeas corpus from Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen for a hearing at 11 A.M. today on why Butler, held without bail, should not be freed at once.

In his petition, Mr. Williams asserted Butler had been detained "on a short affidavit made by a police officer based wholly on hearsay" for "almost seven days, which is greatly in excess of 48 hours permitted by law."

He noted that earlier yesterday he had asked Judge Reuben Levy in Criminal Court for an immediate hearing for Butler, but Judge Levy granted a delay until tomorrow at the request of Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern.

The New York Times

SEIZED FOR MURDER: Thomas 15X Johnson after his arrest yesterday in the shooting of Malcolm X.

In Criminal Court, Mr. Stern had sought a delay until March 12, the date Judge Levy had set for hearing a felonious assault charge against Reuben Francis, Malcolm's bodyguard. Francis is charged with shooting and wounding Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer, the first Negro accused of Malcolm's murder.

Charges Called Hearsay

Francis's lawyer, Nathan H. Mitchell, had also sought an immediate hearing, charging the prosecution was "on a fishing expedition" and had "nothing substantial in the way of evidence" against his client. Francis is held in $10,000 bail.

Butler had been held on an affidavit by Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro charging that Butler, "acting in concert with another previously arrested," killed Malcolm. But Mr. Williams contended before Judge Levy that the charge was "hearsay" with no allegation that Butler was "even present" or "even knew" Hagan.

Butler and Johnson had been scheduled to plead yesterday morning in Supreme Court in the Bronx to the indictment charging them with the Jan. 6 shooting of Benjamin Brown, a Black Muslim defector who is a city correction officer. They had been free in $5,000 and $10,000 bail, respectively, and Justice William Lyman delayed that case until March 19.

Soon afterward, Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, in charge of the detectives investigating Malcolm's murder, had Johnson, a 29-year-old unemployed painter, brought into the West 100th Street station.

Johnson was questioned in the presence of his lawyer, Charles Zeavers. Then Assistant District Attorney Stern said, "I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X, which he perpetrated with others."

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2 MALCOLM MEN SEIZED IN BRONX

Gun Found in Apartment—Third Suspect Also Held

By PETER KIHSS

Three men, two of them described by the police as followers of Malcolm X, the slain black nationalist leader, were held in $3,500 bail each yesterday on charges of violating the Sullivan weapons law.

In Bronx Criminal Court, Judge James J. Comerford set a hearing for next Monday. The three men, all Negroes, were arrested Monday night in an apartment of 597 East 164th Street, the Bronx, where police said an empty sawed-off shotgun had been found.

Inspector Thomas C. Renaghan, in charge of the Sixth Detective District, said two of the men—John 57X Gray, 29 years old, of 2300 Fifth Avenue, and Cyril 2X James, 18, of 14 East 118th Street—defected with Malcolm from the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad and became members of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The third man was Willie Hilton, 18, of 65 West 127th Street.

Gray is a substitute mailman who is said to have given Malcolm lessons in judo and karate. James was described as a stock clerk for Haryou-Act, the government-aided social agency.

2 Charged With Murder

Two men have been charged with the murder of Malcolm during a rally Feb. 21. One, Norman 3X Butler, comes up for a hearing in Criminal Court at 100 Centre Street today at the same time as Reuben Francis, a Malcolm bodyguard. Francis is accused of felonious assault in the shooting of other murder suspect, Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer.

Butler, whom the police have described as a Black Muslim, is also due in Bronx Supreme Court today to plead to an indictment on a charge of first-degree assault. He is accused of the Jan. 6 shooting of a Correction Department officer, Benjamin Brown, who had defected from Elijah Muhammed's nation of Islam.

Assemblyman Percy Sutton said yesterday that a burglary at his apartment at 311 West 118th Street on Monday night seemed unrelated to his having represented Malcolm as a family lawyer on purely parsonal matters.

Six suits, a record player, a tape recorder, two writwatches and some World War II Air Force memontoes were stolen. Mr. Sutton put the loss at more than $800.

A peace meeting was held yesterday afternoon at the Black Muslims' office at 153 Lenox Avenue, near West 117th Street. Their spokesman, Capt. Joseph X, said their national weekly, Muhammad Speaks, would retract a charge that two Harlem Moslems were "wanted" as plotters against Elijah Muhammad.

The two men, Donald Washington, a former boxer, and Omar Ahmed, a former social-agency adviser, whose pictures are in the current issue, said the publication was "a mistake" that had been "settled by Islamic jurisprudence."

Joseph X said "Mr. Muhammad could see right away that this was just a plot to put black man against black," and "naturally he was not afraid that any black man would do harm to him." Mr. Ahmed said the original report had been a plot by "the white power structure."

2 Police Officers Praised

Elijah's followers are currently meeting in their Brooklyn mosque, 120 Madison Street, at Bedford Avenue. Their mosque at Lenox Avenue and 116th Street was wrecked by fire on Feb. 23. Joseph called it a firebombing.

Joseph praised two police officers, Capt. Lloyd Sealy and Lieut. Robert Johnson, both Negroes. He said Commissioner Michael J. Murphy "should be glad he had those two in the community" in Harlem.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, in charge of the murder investigation, said Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's wido told detectives Monday that she had been watching over her children at the rally and did not see the killers shooting.

According to Inspector Coyle, most witnesses at the rally who have been questioned so far contend that they were "too busy ducking" to be able to identify the killers of Malcolm.

Many Black Muslims have added "X" to their first names to replace what they call their "slave" surnames. When more than one person has the same first name a number is added to the X. Thus John 57 X.

"New York Times" 3/3/65

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NEW YORK TIMES
2-28-65

Malcolm Buried as True Moslem Despite the Unorthodox Ritual

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

Alhajj Malik Shabazz, who was called Malcolm X until his pilgrimage to Mecca, was buried yesterday as a Moslem.

Two shieks acknowledged that many aspects of the funeral and the six days of preparation for it contravened Islamic laws, but they also said Malcolm had gone to his grave a believer in no other God than Allah.

Malcolm abandoned the religion of the Black Muslims during his first trip to Africa last year and embraced orthodox Islam. When he made the pilgrimage, which is one of the "five pillars" of the Moslem faith, he acquired his Arabic name and the honorary title "Alhajj"—signifying one who has gone to Mecca.

Yesterday, in a Pentecostal church in Harlem, a Moslem from Elizabeth, N. J., intoned the brief, simple prayers that are said for every Moslem at his death. When he came to the phrase "Allahu Akbar"—"God is most great"—the 40 or 50 Moslems in the audience of 600 placed their hands open at the sides of their faces in the posture associated with the phrase.

Sheik Is Ill

The man who recited the three minutes of prayers, Alhajj Heshaam Jasber of Ansar of Islam Inc., was substituting for Sheik Ahmed Hassoun, who was ill. The sheik, a Sudanese who had taught in Mecca for 35 years before becoming Malcolm's spiritual adviser, had prepared Malcolm's body for the funeral on Friday.

At the time, Sheik Hassoun had said the service was not a proper one because Islamic law says there must be no more than a day between death and burial. Malcolm was murdered last Sunday.

The sheik, however, washed the slain leader's body in accordance with Moslem ritual and wrapped it in seven white shrouds.

Sheik Al-Haj Daoud Ahmed Faisal, head of the Islamic Mission of America at 143 State Street, Brooklyn, said there had been several other unorthodox aspects of the funeral.

"Death is a private matter between Allah and the deceased," he said, and thus there should have been no public exhibition of the body.

Sheik Faisal also said nothing should have been done during the services to create emotion or a sense of bereavement. Thus the eulogies delivered before the Moslem prayers yesterday were out of order.

The sheik also pointed out that if there was even a hint of Christianity in the services at the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ yesterday it would make Malcolm a kafir—an unbeliever. Care was apparently taken that this should not happen.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of the church, had prepared some remarks for delivery at the service and had distributed copies of them to the press. However, they were not delivered. The remarks ended with this thought:

"When one of our brothers is killed, all of us die a little because we are all one body in Jesus Christ."

According to the Koran, the bodies of the dead remain in their graves until the Last Day, the Day of Judgment. On this day of cataclysm the heavens are rent and the mountains ground to dust, the graves open and men are called to account by Allah.

Rewards Await Blessed

The blessed—the godfearing, the humble, the charitable, those who have suffered and been persecuted for Allah's sake or fought in religious wars for Islam—are summoned to the Garden of Paradise.

There, according to the teaching of Mohammed, the Prophet, they live forever by flowing streams, reclining on silken cushions and enjoying the company of dark-eyed maidens and wives of perfect purity.

The damned—the covetous, the evildoer, the follower of gods other than Allah—are sent to Eternal Fire, where they are fed boiling water and molten brass.

"The death from which ye flee will truly overtake you," the Koran says. "Then will ye be sent back to the Knower of things secret and open, and He will tell you the truth of the things that ye did."

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NEW YORK TIMES
2-28-65

World Pays Little Attention to Malcolm Slaying

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 27—The number of Calcolm X has made no great impact on world opinion. Malcolm himself is not generally being treated as a martyr, even in African and Asian areas sensitive to the American race problem.

Those are the conclusions of a survey by New York Times correspondents who have reported on reaction around the world to the killing of Malcolm X in Harlem last Sunday.

The assassination drew headlines in many countries, but there was relatively little comment after the first day or so. And less use of the murder as a reason to attack the United States than might have been expected.

In Nairobi, Kenya, for example, local observers agreed that the murder had made little or no impression, despite newspaper headlines the first day. Statements about American violence, which are made on many occasions, were not forthcoming on this occasion.

In Lagos, Nigeria, editorial comment deplored the murder but did not treat Malcolm as a martyr or endorse his views. In faith, his approach was contrasted unfavorably with the nonviolent approach of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Klan Blamed

In Algeria, the first headline said Malcolm had been "assassinated by the Ku Klux Klan." An editorial in the pro-Communist daily, Alger Republican, blamed the killing on "American Fascism." A correspondent said there were signs of Malcolm's being raised to martyrdom in Algeria.

In Georgetown, British Guiana, pickets marched outside hte United States consulate accusing American "imperialists" of the murder. They were supporters of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the leftist former premier.

In Peking, a Communist party daily, Jenmin Jihpao, said that Malcolm had been killed by American "ruling circles and racists." The paper pictured him as a martyr and said his death showed that "in dealing with imperialist oppressors, violence must be met with violence."

Moscow presented an interesting contrast in its treatment of the murder. There was the briefest of stories in Pravda and no editorial comment of any kind.

In Poland there was no noticeable reaction of any kind. A correspondent said few Poles had heard of Malcolm or were interested in the racial issue.

Malcolm's conversion to the Moslem religion apparently did not give his death very great significance in the Middle East.

From Cairo, a correspondent reported that the murder had been reported but no great fuss made over it. He said there was no evidence of an attempt to raise Malcolm to the martyr status of the late Patrice Lumumba of the Congo.

In Beirut, where newspapers represent all the political trends in the Arab world, not a single paper had an editorial comment on the murder. A correspondent saw no sign of his being considered an important figure.

From New Delhi and Saigon reports were that the murder had very little notice and that public interest was slight.

Drew Big Headlines

In Western Europe the murder was essentialy a one-day sensation, rating big headlines but drawing no significant political reaction.

Paris reports found no sign of Malcolm's being regarded as a major figure or a martyr. The West German press handled the murder as if it were in the Chicago gangster tradition.

The London newspapers have probably played the story harder and longer than most, giving continuing emphasis to the police work on the murder in New York and on the security precautions in Harlem and for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims.

There were only two editorial comments, in the Times and the Daily Telegraph, neither treating Malcolm as a major figure.

Among younger liberals in Britain, where Malcolm visited last month, there is more sympathy for him. He made a strong impression in a speech at the London School of Economics in which he favored not Negro separatism but genuine integration.

A London group calling itself the Council of African Organizations has violently attacked the United States over the murder. The group is made up of students and other unofficial African representatives here.

A press release from this council described Malcolm as a "leader in the struggle against American imperialism, oppression and racialism." It said "the butchers of Patrice Lumumba are the very same monsters who have murdered Malcolm X in cold blood."

In tomorrow's edition The Weekly Observer begins running excerpts from an autobiography of Malcolm X.

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NEW YORK TIMES
2-27-65

Black Muslim Guard Held In Murder of Malcolm X

2d Suspect Is Seized in Bronx—Police on Alert for Funeral Today

By HOMER BIGART

A member of the Black Muslim guard was arrested early yesterday and charged with the slaying of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader.

Norman Butler, also known as Norman 3X, a husky, round-faced expert in karate, was seized at his apartment in the Soundview housing project in the Bronx, and was questioned for three hours before Assistant District Attorney Herbert Stein ordered him booked on a homicide charge.

The arrest marked the first direct police linkup of the Black Muslims to the assassination of Malcolm X. The police had worked on the theory that Malcolm's defection from Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims last Spring lay behind the slaying.

Since the shooting last Sunday of the 39-year-old Malcolm at a black supremacist rally at Broadway and 166th Street, some Negroes have voiced the suspicion that although the slayers were black, the orders to kill had come from whites.

Fearing that racial tensions might explode on the eve of today's funeral for Malcolm X, the police yesterday blanketed Harlem. Stores on 125th Street, most of them owned by whites, had been threatened with picketing unless they closed at 6 P.M. and remained shut through tomorrow in tribute to Malcolm's memory.

Confronted with this ultimatum from the militant Federation for Independent Political Action, headed by Jesse Gray, rent strike leader, the merchants put up a defiant front.

With few exceptions, all stores remained open. Mr. Gray, who had threatened to picket the main Harlem artery "from river to river," was able to muster only 22 pickets. He sent them to Blumstein's, the biggest department store in Harlem.

At 6:45 P.M., fifteen minutes before Blumstein's closing time, the pickets moved to another store, Bunny's Wig Wam, a wig shop owned by Miss Bunny Jones, a Negro.

"The woman is arrogant," Mr. Gray explained to reporters.

As the pickets deployed, Bunny Jones appeared at the door with a shotgun. The demonstrators shouted to the police "Arrest her? Arrest her? Lock her up? Lock her up?"

Bunny Jones told newsmen the gun was not loaded. The police did not intervene.

The ultimatum was denounced by influential Negroes as hasty and irresponsible. Leaders of the United Council of Harlem Organizations urged the Negro community to ignore any demand upon merchants to "unwillingly participate in any eulogy to Malcolm X."

'Would Paralyze Community'

The leaders, including former Borough President Hulan E. Jack and others on a steering committee that included Malcolm X's organization, said in a statement:

"To call for a closing of all the stores in this area at such time without having given consideration to the needs of the people, in terms of food, medical supplies and sundries, would paralyze the entire community."

At the Unity Funeral Home, at Eighth Avenue and 126th Street, the public viewing of Malcolm's body was interrupted at midafternoon and the glass lid of the coffin removed.

Dressed in White Sheet

An elderly man with a flowing white beard, who was wearing a white turban and dark robe, dressed Malcolm's body in a white burial sheet. The man, who said he was Sheik Ahmed Hassoun, a member of the Sunni Moslems who had met Malcolm last year in Mecca, carried a forked stick. When newsmen approached the sheik, a companion waved them away, saying:

"A silent tongue does not betray its owner."

Only Malcolm's face was left exposed. "Now the body is ready for burial," said the bearded sheik.

Sometime before dawn, under maximum police security, the body will be removed to Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, at Amsterdam Avenue and West 147th Street, for funeral services at 9:30 A.M.

The church, a converted movie theater, can seat 1,000 in the auditorium and an overflow of 700 in the basement.

The arrest of Norman Butler left three of the five suspects in the assassination still at large. Butler was charged with acting in concert with Talmadge Hayer, 22, who was arrested immediately after the shooting.

Hayer, who was wounded by a bodyguard of Malcolm, has been held in Bellevue Hospital. He has refused to say whether he is a member of the Black Muslims.

Butler, who is 26, tall and well-built, with powerful hands, offered no resistance when detectives arrested him. Last month when he was arrested in connection with the shooting of another Muslim defector, Benjamin Brown, a city correction officer the police approached him wearing steel alloy masks as protection against a karate attack.

According to the police, Butler on that occasion swung a karate blow with his hand that fractured the mask of one of the policemen. After a hearing on the Brown shooting, Butler was released in $10,000 bail.

Butler glowered wrathfully as he was booked yesterday at the Wadsworth Avenue station, but he remained silent. Arraigned later in Criminal Court before Judge Mitchell D. Sherwin, he was held without bail for hearing March 3.

Mr. Brown, now recovering at his home at 635 Castle Hill Avenue, the Bronx, from a .22-calibre rifle wound in his left shoulder, recalled yesterday that Butler had been a faithful follower of Malcolm X until Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad to form his own Negro Nationalist group.

He said that Butler stayed with the Black Muslims and rose to the rank of lieutenant in the elite guard known as Fruit of Islam. Members of this disciplinary "enforcer" unit are trained in karate as well as in the use of firearms, the police said.

Only two years ago Norman Butler tried to join the New York Police Department. He passed the department's examination for patrolman, but a character check rated him as unacceptable.

Associated Press

Norman 3X Butler after his arrest in the city yesterday.

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New York Times
2-27-65

His Police Record

His police record showed these entries: unlawful assembly charge, dismissed, in the Bronx, in 1954; a burglary charge in 1960 in the Bronx, reduced to disorderly conduct in 1961 and resulting in a $50 fine and 30 days in jail; an entry Feb. 13, 1963, noting that his application for patrolman was disapproved and "expired"; and a felonious assault-Sullivan Law violation charge in the Bronx, Jan. 7, 1965 involving the shooting of Mr. Brown.

Investigating the January shooting, a Bronx grand jury indicted Butler and Thomas Johnson, 30, of 1041 Bryant Ave., the Bronx, on first-degree assault charges Feb. 15. They were scheduled to plead to that indictment March 3 in Bronx Supreme Court.

The Harlem Ministers' Interfaith Association, which includes Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen, issued a statement yesterday accusing the press of abetting the troubled atmosphere of Harlem.

"The screaming headlines of many of our newspapers make it seem as if all of Harlem was an armed camp, ready to explode at any moment," the association said. "The vast majority of the citizens of the Harlem community is not involved in the unfortunate acts of violence that have been grossly overplayed by the press.

"Many times the slanting of the news is able to bring about an atmosphere through which a few depraved and reckless individuals can take advantage."

Pickets Scored by Harlem Leaders

Members of Federation for Independent Political Action, headed by Jesse Gray, rent strike leader, picket Blumstein's store on 125th Street for refusing to close in honor of Malcolm X. Widespread picketing failed to materialize. Harlem leaders denounced the demonstration.

Renato Perez for The New York Times

Former Borough President Hulan E. Jack talks to reporters. He was among those who opposed demonstration.

NEW YORK TIMES
1-2-65

Malcolm X Claims Strategy Role In African Attack on U.S. in U.N.

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X says that he prepared the political groundwork in the capitals of Africa for the concerted attack on American "racism" in the recent debate on the Congo at the United Nations.

He said he had sought to convince the African governments that, in debate at the United Nations, they should link their problems with the Negro problem in the United States. He said this political goal was achieved this summer and autumn in four months of intensive conversations with the heads of the African governments and their parliamentary chiefs.

The black nationalist leader was the guest of the heads of government he visited. His objective, he reported in numerous letters to a friend in New York, was to persuade the governments of the new African states to adopt a policy based on these points:

¶Civil rights organizations in the United States have accomplished the most they can hope for under the existing conditions.

¶The time has come to internationalize the American Negro problem so as to accentuate the struggle.

¶This can be done only by linking the fate of the new African states with that of American Negroes.

¶This should be done by employing the racial situation in the United States as an instrument of attack in discussing international problems.

¶Such a strategy would give the African states more leverage in dealing with the United States and would in turn give American Negroes more leverage in American society.

Mississippi Cited in U.N.

The spokesmen of some African states acted precisely within the framework of these recommendations last month in the Congo debate at the United Nations. They accused the United States with being indifferent to the fate of the blacks and cited as evidence the attitude of the United States Government toward the civil rights struggle in Mississippi.

The African move profoundly disturbed the American authorities, who gave the impression that they had been caught off guard.

However, early last August the State Department and Justice Department began to take an interest in Malcolm's activities in North Africa.

Malcolm opened his campaign to internationalize the American Negro problem at the second meeting of the 33 heads of independent African states in Cairo, which convened July 17. He submitted to the conference an eight-page memorandum demanding support for his campaign.

Talked With Kenyatta

Among other things, the memorandum said:

"Your problems will never be solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be respected until and unless we are respected.

"You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized as human beings."

In Africa, Malcolm conferred with heads of government, including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and addressed parliamentary parties. Newspapers published his interviews. Government radio stations were placed at his disposal.

He said Thursday that the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which he heads, had opened offices in Africa and Western Europe. He refused, however, to disclose the number of his supporters.

"I learned one thing when I was a member of the Black Muslim movement," he said. "Never let your opponent know how strong you are. Keep him guessing, and you will have him at a disadvantage."

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Malcolm X Absent Till After Voting A3

DAR-ES-SALAAM, Tanganyika, Oct. 13 (UPI)—American black nationalist Malcolm X said yesterday he would not return to the United States before the Nov. 3 Presidential elections.

"If anything happens, they'll blame me," he said.

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Info

THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD

Page A3 Date 10/14/64

Malcolm X Seeks Support for Negroes

B-8

CAIRO, July 13 (AP)—Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader now heading his own U.S. Negro organization, slipped into Cairo last night.

He said he hoped to win support for U.S. Negroes from the African summit conference, opening here this week.

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THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD
Page B 8 Date JUL 14 1964

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6/24/64

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CONFIDENTIAL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

100-32805-X

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS - MMI
(OO: NEW YORK)

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On 6/23/64, [redacted] advised that subject was in contact with [redacted] on request of [redacted] subject arranged to meet [redacted] at 11:00 AM on Friday (presumably 6/26/64) and possibly again on Saturday [redacted] indicated that subject could be an "observer" (apparently at NAACP Convention) and it would get good coverage.

In view of recent threats against subject apparently by NOI members, the Bureau has requested that local police be advised whenever subject is in their city. These threats seem to be based on subject's attempts to publicize the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHUMMAD.

WFO should alert local PD and any incidents should be furnished Bureau and NYO by LHM.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Washington Field (RM)
1 - New York

ABF:mmc
(7)

b7C [redacted] 6/26/64 [redacted] at 11 am 6/26/64 to advised subject at Stable Hotel observing NAACP Convention

CONFIDENTIAL

By 6855
5/10/77

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JUN 25 1964
FBI—WASH. F.O.

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New York Times
5-8-64

Malcolm X Pleased By Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new, positive insights on race relations.

He said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the Holy City of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had felt no racial antagonism toward whites nor had he sensed any antagonism on their part against him.

The letter from Mecca, dated April 25, described how he had arrived at his new insights on race relations. He said that there were more than 226,000 Moslems from all parts of the world present in Mecca for this year's pilgrimage.

"There are Muslims of all colors and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of this earth," he wrote.

"During the past seven days of this Holy Pilgrimage, while undergoing the rituals of the Hajj, [pilgrimage], I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God — not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, cabinet members, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers — but also with fellow-Muslins whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blond — yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their faces and see that these didn't regard themselves as 'white.'

"Their belief in the Oneness of God (Allah) had actually removed the 'white' from their minds, which automatically changed their attitude and behavior toward people of other colors. Their belief in the Oneness of God has actually made them so different from American whites, their outer physical characteristics played no part at all in my mind during all my close associations with them."

Before leaving for the Middle East, Malcolm had said that he would lead his newly formed black nationalist organization into the forefront of the civil rights struggle this summer.

Sought Broader Action

Malcolm recently withdrew from the Black Muslim Movement founded and led by Elijah Muhammad of Chicago because he felt its religious sectarianism had limited its scope of action.

Malcolm's new movement does not require membership in the Black Muslim faith. It is open to Negro Christians and Black Jews, as well as to non-believers. According to James Shabbaz, the administrator of Malcolm's organization, and himself a Black Muslim, Negroes of all religions and sects are flocking to Malcolm's banner.

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

Malcolm's letter said he hoped to visit Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, and Algeria before returning to New York by May 20.

He described some of his reactions to Mecca this way: "I have never before witnessed such sincere hospitality and the practise of true brotherhood as I have seen and experienced during this pilgrimage here in Arabia.

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

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

Finds 'True Acceptance'

In describing the people on the pilgrimage, he wrote: "Their sincere submission to the Oneness of God, and their true acceptance of all nonwhites as equals makes the so-called 'whites' also acceptable as equals into the brotherhood of Islam with the 'nonwhites'. Color ceases to be a determining factor of a man's worth or value once he becomes a Muslim. I hope I am making this part very clear, because it is now very clear to me.

"If white Americans would accept the religion of Islam, if they would accept the Oneness of God (Allah), then they could also sincerely accept the Oneness of Man, and they would cease to measure others always in terms of their 'differences in color'."

At another point he wrote: "The American Negro should never be blamed for racial 'animosities,' because his are only reactions, or defense mechanisms which his subconscious intelligence has forced him to erect against the conscious racism practiced . . . by American whites.

"But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path, nearer and nearer to the precipice that leads to the bottomless pits below, I do believe that whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered intellect, will see the 'handwriting on the wall' and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them."

Malcolm wrote his New York friend that on his arrival in Mecca he was informed, to his astonishment, that he was to be a state guest of Crown Prince Faisal. He said he was showered with honors in Mecca, Jedah and Mina.

He said he knew of only two other persons from America who had made the pilgrimage this year—two West Indians who had been converted to Islam. He also wrote that he believed he was the first American Negro to participate in the Hajj although Elijah Muhammad and his two sons had visited Mecca outside the pilgrimage season. This is known as "Omra" or "the lesser Pilgrimage," he wrote.

Malcolm signed his letter with two names—the first his honorary name gained because he had made the pilgrimage. It read: El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz.

This was followed by brackets enclosing his American name, Malcolmn X.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN
Page 6 Date 5-1-64

JACKIE ROBINSON SAYS:

Daily press, our silence made Malcolm X hero

By Jackie Robinson

In recent columns, statements and speeches, we have been taking up the subject, "The Mysterious Malcolm X."

We have been pointing out how mysterious it seems to us that the white press, which is so deathly scared of Mr. X tinues to be his press agent and to give him all kinds of publicity on the front page.

On these front pages, they glorify Mr. X whenever he takes a deep breath. On the editorial page, they concondemn his extremism.

* * *

IT HAS BEEN hard for us to understand how a man who does nothing but talk bad where it is safe to talk bad; a man without a plan, a man without a real following you can count has managed to get him self built up to the proportion of a king-sized hero.

Like I say, we have been blaming the press. Dick Gregory feels the same way. Mr. Gregory quips, "The Muslims didn't know they had 30,000 members until the New York Times told them so."

Dick also points out that hundreds of white colleges have invited Malcolm to speak on their campuses, but to his knowledge, not one Colored college has done so.

* * *

THIS WRITER wonders if it is fair to blame only the white press for the buildup of the extremists and the sensationalists.

In a sense, the intelligent and militant Colored leadership of this nation must also share the blame.

They must share the blame because they are letting Malcolm become king of the propaganda heap while they remain silent.

I feel that our Colored leaders owe it to those of us who follow their leadership to take advantage of public forums and important radio, television and press outlets to counteract the poison which is being spewed by extremists.

I do not advocate that they make appearance with Malcolm as some of us used to do.

* * *

UNWITTINGLY, we are helping the press and television media to build a man who seemingly believes in the abuse rather than the use of power. The silence of our leadership on what Malcolm and the other extremists say and do is very harmful to the cause.

It makes it appear that our genuine leaders have abdicated, shrugged their shoulders and given up. We know this is not true. We are just saying that this is the way it appears. And that is bad for the cause of civil rights.

* * *

WE NOTE that J. Edgar Hoover, the No. 1 FBI man, has made a blanket charge that Communists are involved in civil rights activities.

We feel that it is most harmful to the legitimate civil rights cause for a man in so sensitive a position as Mr. Hoover to make such accusations without naming names.

It is a frightening thing to feel that the whole civil rights cause and its leadership could be made to appear subversive.

We think Mr. Hoover owes it to the Nation and to his high office to spell out these charges.

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Malcolm X Says Visit to Mecca Turned Him From Race Hatred

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr.
Staff Reporter

Malcolm X, who recently broke away from the main body of the Black Muslim movement, has written a friend that he has now shed his extreme racism.

The letter, sent from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and quoted in The New York Times, said that the experience of the pilgrimage had caused Malcolm to "rearrange" much of his own thought and "to toss aside some of my previous conclusions."

Malcolm X wrote that he had participated in the pilgrimage "with fellow Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blonde—yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their faces and see that these didn't regard themselves as 'white!'"

'Acceptable as Equals'

He said the submission of Muslims to the "Oneness of God (Allah) and their acceptance of nonwhites as equals made the whites" also accceptable as equals into the brotherhood of Islam."

This is a turnabout for Malcolm X, who once was too extreme for the Black Muslims. He was silenced by Elijah Muhammed, the Muslim leader, for saying that President Kennedy's assassination was like "chickens coming home to roost."

Some civil rights observers feel that Malcolm has since been looking for a way to "respectability." His first attempt at this was when he broke away from the Black Muslims to form his own black nationalist group. This latest move is interpreted as a "device for changing horses to get on the road of respectability."

'Futility of Racism'

Whitney Young, director of the Urban League, felt it was "only a matter of time" before Malcolm would recognize the "futility of racism." "It was inevitable that a man of his intelligence, and no longer having an organization to espouse racism, would change," Young said.

Malcolm's letter indicated he might also accept whites to Islam as the result of his experiences in Mecca.

". . . I do believe," the Times quoted him as having written, "that whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered intellect, will see the handwriting on the wall and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them."

One civil rights official said cynically he would not be surprised to see "quite a few white Muslims following Malcolm in a year or so."

'1000% Hypocrite'

A Black Muslim source said yesterday that Malcolm's new attitude is a "complete about-face" to the Black Muslim position and came as "no shock." "This proves that Malcolm is a 1000 per cent hypocrite," the source said.

Actually Malcolm's new thinking, if sincere, is closer to the Islamic religion as practiced from Gibraltar to Indonesia. This span of the world includes fair-skinned blondes of Yugoslavia and Bosnia as well as dark-skinned Arabs and Pakistanis.

Washington sources said yesterday that Malcolm's pilgrimage or Cassius X Clay's current visit to Cairo should not be interpreted as an effort by Arab countries to woo American Negroes. All Moslems are urged to make the visit, and Clay's visit stemmed from an invitation to study.

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THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD

Page A-4 Date 5-7-64

WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

Page 1 Date 4-21-64

Muslims seeking to evict Malcolm X from N.Y. home

NEW YORK (UPI) — Muhammad's Temple of Islam has filed suit in Queens Civil Court to regain possession of a house occupied by former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X and his family, it was learned Saturday.

Attorneys for Malcolm have asked postponement of the case until his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca on May 26. The Temple claimed the two - story Queens house was bought by the congregation for its minister and Malcolm is no longer its minister.

Malcolm's attorneys said the house was purchased specifically for Malcolm by his supporters and its use is not contingent on his ministry.

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
Page 42 Date 4-15-64

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Malcolm X Now Touring Africa

42

NEW YORK, April 15 (UPI)—Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, who says the U. S. needs an organization like the mau mau terrorists of Kenya, is on a three-week tour of Africa, a spokesman for his organization said yesterday.

Malcolm X made his mau mau statement in an address to his followers Sunday during which he indorsed a planned auto "stall-in" demonstration at the opening of the New York World's Fair April 22.

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FBI—WASH. F. O.

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4/15/64

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-32805) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, Aka
IS - MOI
(OO:NY)

ReNYtel, 4/13/64, under caption "Muslim Mosque, Inc., IS-X," advising WFO to check passport records re captioned subject.

Enclosed are seven and three copies for Bureau and New York, respectively, of LHM.

b7C Files, Passport Office, reviewed 4/15/64 by IC [redacted] As subject has current passport, he can travel anytime during validation period without notifying Passport Office.

Photos sent NY 5/12/64 [redacted] b7C

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3 - New York (105-8999) (RM) (Encl.3)
(1-100-152750) (MMI)
2 - WFO
(1-100-43225) (MMI)

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100-32805-97

WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN
Page 6 Date 3-24-64

Says Malcolm X converted Cassius

6

NEW YORK — Some little known facts about "the angrist Black Muslim" were revealed last week by an African writer for The London Observer.

Lewis Nkosi, who has visited Southern states and New York City for the newspaper said that the defection of Malcolm X from the Black Muslims is likely to have a far-reaching and possibly explosive impact in the United States.

The writer declared that it was Malcolm X who converted the world heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay, to the Black Muslims.

• • •

NKOSI SAID Malcolm X was a former professional gambler who became converted to the movement in 1947. Born Malcom Little, he was the son of a Baptist minister in Omaha.

His father was found crushed under a streetcar when the family was living in Michigan. It is said that Malcolm X feared that his father had been murdered for his black nationalist views.

• • •

THE AFRICAN writer reports that though Malcolm X had little formal schooling, he is well-read and "arrestingly articulate."

He said that the Black Muslims "are drawn mainly from semi-literate, lower working class colored persons from the urban areas of the North" where Malcolm X has "proved an invaluable asset with his ability to articulate the aches of the ghetto-trapped" masses.

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New York Times
3-21-64

Malcolm X to Hold A Rally Tomorrow To Solicit Support

Malcolm X has invited Negro organizations throughout the metropolitan area to a meeting in Harlem tomorrow night.

The meeting will be held at the Rockland Palace, 155th Street and Eighth Avenue, at 8 P.M. The hall, one of the largest in the community, has long been a cultural and political forum.

Malcolm has withdrawn from Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslim movement to organize a "black nationalist party." He has set up a temple of the Nation of Islam, in the Theresa Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

At tomorrow night's meeting, Malcolm will discuss "Black Nationalism in Harlem." Malcolm's associates said he would divide the secular from the religious aspects of his program in deference to those who might differ on his Islamic views, but agree with his secular proposals.

A source close to Malcolm said several organizations had pledged support to him at a meeting last Sunday night at the Dawn Casino, 2387 Seventh Avenue. This, he said, encouraged Malcolm to plan tomorrow night's meeting in a large hall.

There are indications, however, that some black nationalist groups fear Malcolm is attempting to take over the nationalist movement in Harlem.

A rumor that Benjamin J. Davis, Negro Communist leader, had held a "few meetings" with Malcolm was denied yesterday by Mr. Davis. The former City Councilman said he had never met Malcolm X and that no meeting between them was planned.

Malcolm agreed with Mr. Davis.

"There's nothing to it," he said. "I'm not knocking Ben Davis. I don't want to be put in the position of criticizing Ben Davis. I don't think he's my problem and I have enough problems of my own."

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

Page 22 Date 3-20-64

Powell says X can't win 'Shoot-In'

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WASHINGTON — (NNPA) —Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D. - N.Y.) said Friday the suggestion by former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X that colored people arm themselves with guns and rifles has run afoul of the civil rights movement.

The Harlem Congressman labeled the scheme "totally and completely wrong."

Fresh from a trip to Madrid, Mr. Powell told reporters at New York's Kennedy International Airport that "the whole power of the black revolution is based upon nonviolence."

He predicted failure for Malcolm X's new black nationalist movement, which is dedicated to separation of the races, because the entire civil rights movement is toward desegregation, not separation.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICA

Page 4 Date 3-17-64

Welcome Mat Missing

Malcolm X, for years the vociferous expostulate of the Black Muslims, has tendered his resignation and now offers his considerable vocal and intellectual talents to the very organizations which only last year were targets of his scorn.

Not surprising is the fact that there has been no rush on the part of the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, SCLC or SNCC to welcome him into their folds.

For this extremely cool reception, Malcolm has only himself to blame.

In contending that the struggle for equality and justice can never be won "without bloodshed," the former Muslim spokesman with two words drives a wedge between himself and the leadership of the group he now seeks to join.

For years while Malcolm was roving up and down the land preaching the gospel of segregation, this leadership was wisely guiding its followers toward first-class citizenship and into the main stream of the nation's life through persuasion, non-violence and brilliant use of legal means.

Moreover, in asserting that victory can never be achieved without bloodshed, he displays little faith in America and even less in the ultimate triumph of the American promise and the willingness of a majority of Americans to work toward that end.

Certainly we need all the help we can get in righting century-old wrongs, but Malcolm errs when he labels what he proposes as a revolution. It's anarchy.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN
Page 1 Date 3-13-64

Why X quit Muslims

By WILLIAM WORTHY

NEW YORK CITY—Brother Malcolm X — his own new self - designation as leader of the Muslim Mosque Inc. — today hinted strongly that he will soon plunge into all-out political activity.

The fiery Muslim leader told a crowded press conference at the Park-Sheraton Hotel:—

"We will keep our 1964 election plans a secret until a later date, but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again."

The colored people, Malcolm added, "will never be considered politically mature as long as he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican."

• • •

IN ANSWER TO a question from Daniel Watts, editor of Liberator Magazine, Malcolm said "We don't know at this point" if he and his followers will cooperate with the recently organized All - Black Freedom Now Party.

The site for the newly incorporated Mosque has not yet been determined, but Malcolm is setting up his personal headquarters at Harlem's famous Hotel Theresa.

In an exchange with a British reporter, Malcolm declined to rule out acceptance of possible Communist support. He resorted to one of his familiar parable-type responses to avoid a direct "yes" or "no" answer.

• • •

"LET ME TELL you a little story. It's like me being in a wolf's den. The wolf sees someone on the outside who is interested in freeing me from the den. The wolf doesn't like that person on the outside. But I don't care

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

who opens that door and lets me out."

"Then your answer is yes?" the Britisher asked, joined by a chorus of many of the white reporters present.

"No," replied Malcom with a big grin on his face. "I'm talking about a wolf."

• • •

MALCOLM'S RESPONSE to questions about his personal political plans struck a vein reminiscent of statements by active "non-candidates" early in a campaign.

"I've no plans to run for office, but I think colored citizens who can't be bought out should be the type of person to run for office."

Aides of the Muslim leader whom this reporter has previously seen around the Harlem Mosque distributed copies of a telegram sent yesterday by Malcolm to Elijah Muhammad:—

"I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was national officials at Chicago headquarters who conspired with Captain Joseph here in New York to pressure me out of the Nation.

"I have never spoken one word of criticism to the press about your family. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers."

• • •

MALCOLM REVEALED that he will meet on Saturday with Mrs. Gloria Richardson, chairman of the Cambridge, Md., Non-Violent Action Committee, the Rev. Milton Galamison of Brooklyn, N.Y., organizer here of the successful school boycott last month, and Stanley Branche of Chester, Pa., chairman of the Chester Committee For Freedom Now.

Branche's group has already sought to place independent colored candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot this year.

"Our political philosphy," Malcolm said in reference to his new movement, "will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism."

Malcolm called for the formation of Rifle Clubs "in areas where the Government seems unable or unwilling to protect our people."

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IN REPLYTO A question about the danger this might create a Civil War, the Muslim leader declared:

"What would you prefer? Civil War, or that colored people should continue to have Birminghams?"

Malcolm compared the present Civil Rights Bill in Congress to a handout of counterfiet money given hypocritically to a starving, desperate man.

If the Civil Rights Bill passes, there will be trouble. If it doesn't pass, there will be trouble."

Malcolm challenged the Government to prosecute him for advocating "active self defense."

• • •

"IF THE GOVERNMENT thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the Government start doing its job," he asserted.

Malcolm left no doubt that he expects to garner widespread popular support. "I'm intelligent enough," he told a white newsman, "not to take what you call an extreme position if I didn't know that colored people were behind me. You would not get me to stick my neck out alone."

Malcolm said the accent will be on youth. "We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us.

"We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions."

• • •

MALCOLM SAID that Cassius Clay, as heavyweight champion, can do more than anyone else to lift the morale of colored Americans.

He denied that the new Muslim convert is financing the new movement and said he had no plans to accompany the fighter abroad.

Malcolm will address his first public meeting in his new role on Sunday evening at Carver Hall in Harlem, 145th St. and Amsterdam Ave. Whites will be barred.

He indicated that whites can contribute financially, but can not join his group.

"Whites always outjoin Blacks," he declared.

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
Page 2 Date 3-13-64

The World Today

Race

MALCOLM X, former Black Muslim leader who has formed his own group, urged Negroes to form "rifle clubs" for "self-defense"; civil rights leaders fear the militant Malcolm will peril the rights legislation.

Five Klansmen were arrested in Jacksonville, Fla., by the FBI on charges they conspired in the bombing of a Negro boy who integrated a grade school. A suspect accused of the actual bombing had previously been arrested.

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THE EVENING STAR
Page B10 Date 3-9-64

Malcolm X Defects, Urges War on Whites

NEW YORK, Mar. 9 (AP).—Malcolm X, outspoken Black Muslim advocate of racial separation, has defected from the parent organization to form his own mosque to promote "active self-defense against white supremacists in all part of the country."

Malcolm told the Associated Press today:

"I am still a Muslim . . . I intend to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes to convert them from non-violence to active self-defense against white supremacists in all parts of the country.

"I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the honorable Elijah Muhammad.

"It is not my desire to encourage them to follow me."

Malcolm once was considered heir apparent to Muhammad, who makes his headquarters in Chicago. He was head of the sect's New York mosque and the group's leading spokesman.

Militant Anti-Caucasian

Noted for his bitter verbal attacks on white people, Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad last November after he said in a speech that President Kennedy's death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Commenting on his suspension, Malcolm said, "I have reached the conclusion that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam and continuing to work on my own . . ."

He said he will call a news conference this week to announce his plans.

Malcolm said that in forming his new Muslim group he will accept invitations to speak to civil rights groups.

Calls for Bloodshed

"I shall tell them what a real revolution means—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and its is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

Malcolm said his new Muslim movement would "naturally have black nationalism as a part of its philosophy, but it will not be a black nationalist political party."

Asked if heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, a member of the Black Muslims, would be a part of his new organization, Malcolm replied:

"No. I wouldn't want Clay to take any position which would endanger his international reputation and position as heavyweight champion of the world."

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Carry all info re this group in Mal Clem X's file until group is formed + has a name.

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There are enclosed an original and three copies of a LHM regarding captioned case.

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE 100-32805-D

(April 1963 - March 1966)

43 Pages

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WMFO 100-32805-D-2	NY 105-8999-3615
WMFO 100-32805-D-2A	HQ 100-399321-57
WMFO 100-32805-D-3	HQ 100-399321-A, Evening Star dtd 5/7/63
WMFO 100-32805-D-5	HQ 100-399321-A, Evening Star dtd 5/10/63
WMFO 100-32805-D-9	NY 105-8999-3623
WMFO 100-32805-D-23	HQ 100-399321-A, Wash. Daily News dtd 2/5/65
WMFO 100-32805-D-28	HQ 100-399321-A, Evening Star dtd 2/18/65
WMFO 100-32805-D-31	NY 105-8999-5856
WMFO 100-32805-D-33	NY 105-8999-B-55
WMFO 100-32805-D-36	HQ 100-399321-A, NY Times dtd 2/21/66
WMFO 100-32805-D-38	HQ 100-399321-A, NY Times dtd 3/8/66
WMFO 100-32805-D-39	HQ 100-399321-A, NY Times dtd 3/9/66
WMFO 100-32805-D-41	HQ 100-399321-A, Wash. Post & Times Herald dtd 3/11/66

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
Page 12 Date 3-11-66

12 THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MARCH 11

Face Life Imprisonment

3 Found Guilty in Malcolm X Slaying

NEW YORK, March 11 (UPI) — Three Negroes were found guilty of first degree murder early today for the assassination of Malcolm X, onetime Black Muslim leader.

Convicted of shooting down the Black Nationalist firebrand before a crowd of his followers were Thomas 15X Johnson, 30; Norman 3X Butler, 27, both of New York, and Talmadge Hayer, 24, of Paterson, N.J. Johnson and Butler acknowledged they were Muslims; Hayer denied he belonged to the sect.

FACE LIFE

The defendants face a mandatory life sentence. New York State has abolished capital punishment, except for killings of police in the line of duty or during prison breaks. Formal sentencing was set for April 14.

Each member of the jury, which included three Negroes, replied "guilty" when polled individually on the verdict.

Malcolm X, fiery preacher of black supremacy and hatred of whites, was felled by volleys of gunfire at the rostrum of the Audubon Ballroom in upper Manhattan Feb. 21, 1965.

Formerly No. 2 man in the Muslim hierarchy behind aging Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm broke with the Muslims and formed is own Black Nationalist group, The Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Hayer, in a dramatic moment near the end of the trial admitted his complicity in the slaying. He said he and two men had been hired to kill Malcolm but insisted that neither Johnson nor Butler were his accomplices. Hayer refused to name his alleged co-conspirators.

NO EMOTION

None of the defendants displayed any emotion as they listened to the jury foreman read the verdict, reached after 20 hours of deliberation.

Johnson and Butler claimed they were at home with their families the day Malcolm X was shot.

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NEW YORK TIMES
3-12-66

3 ARE CONVICTED IN MALCOLM CASE

2 Black Muslims, 3d Man Face Life for Murder

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

All three men charged with the killing of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, were found guilty of first-degree murder early Friday.

A State Supreme Court jury of nine men and three women, deliberated for 20 hours and 20 minutes before sending out word at 12:20 A.M. that it had reached a verdict.

The panel received the case Wednesday afternoon.

The young Negro defendants—Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson—were returned to the 13th-floor courtroom in the Criminal Courts Building from detention cells on the floor below to hear the verdict.

Hayer Admitted Guilt

Hayer stunned the courtroom last week by admitting on the stand that he had taken part in the killing. He declared that his co-defendants were innocent.

The convicted men face a mandatory life sentence and will be required to serve a minimum term of 26 years and 8 months before becoming eligible for parole. They will be sentenced April 14.

The death penalty was abolished last year in the state, except for persons who kill a policeman or kill someone in prison or while trying to escape from prison.

Surrounded by court attendants, the defendants waited without apparent emotion as George S. Carter, the jury foreman, rose to deliver the verdict.

Mr. Carter, a slight, bespectacled man in a brown suit, spoke in an almost inaudible voice in response to the questions of the clerk. He was one of three Negro jurymen.

As the jury was polled following the announcement of the verdicts, Butler and Johnson—both acknowledged members of the Black Muslims, the group with which Malcolm X had split—stared straight ahead at Justice Charles Marks. Only Hayer let his eyes rove to the jury box.

Seven spectators were in the courtroom when the jury entered. Two of them, silent, husky men with shaved heads, were identified by detectives as members of the Muslims. Three, two women and a man, were said to be former followers of Malcolm X. Watching them closely were 11 court attendants and six detectives, including Ferdinand Cavallaro and John Keely, who led the year-long investigation into the murder of the Negro leader.

In the empty corridor outside the courtroom, six uniform patrolmen waited.

The stringent security precautions that had been in effect throughout the eight weeks of the trial continued in full force on the final night. All spectators were searched before they entered the courtroom.

All the defendants are married. None of their wives was present.

The judge commended the panel for their "good grasp" of the case, and told them that in addition to their stipend of $6 a day he would award them $200 each to compensate them for any losses they might have suffered during the long trial.

The 39-year-old Malcolm, who had become a world figure, died after a shotgun-and-pistol fusillade on Feb. 21, 1965, just as he finished pronouncing the Arabic greeting "Salaam aleikum," to 400 persons at a meeting at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody, who conducted the case for the state, said that the three defendants formed a carefully drilled assassination squad that had been ordered to eliminate Malcolm as "an object lesson" to his followers.

In the absence of proof, the prosecutor could only suggest that the order had been given by the Black Muslim leadership.

Butler and Johnson acknowledged their membership in the black supremacy organization, but Hayer, who ignored them in the courtroom throughout the trial, denied that he had ever belonged to it.

Hayer, who is now 24, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N. J., was wounded in the left thigh, assertedly by one of Malcolm's bodyguards, as he fled from the ballroom after the killing. He was taken into custody while he was being beaten outside.

Butler, 27, was arrested on Feb. 25 at his home, 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx. The police picked up Johnson at his apartment, 932 Bronx Park South, on March 5.

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Defendant Admits Killing Malcolm X

Talmadge Hayer, who last week swore to his innocence in the murder of Malcolm X, returned to the witness stand yesterday and confessed his guilt. At the same time he tried to absolve his co-defendants, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

"I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with it," he stated. "I was there. I know what happened and I know the people who were there."

The slender, 24-year-old Hayer was recalled to the stand by Butler's lawyer, William C. Chance, for the dramatic disclosure.

It came amid a buzz of speculation, after the start of the

Defendant Admits in Court He Killed Malcolm X

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

afternoon session of the trial in Supreme Court had been delayed for more than an hour.

Hayer said he decided "to tell the truth" after brief conversations with Butler and Johnson in the "bullpen" outside the courtroom.

He clung to his story under biting cross-examination by Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody.

"What did they say when you told them that?" the prosecutor asked.

"They said it was about time," Hayer quoted them as saying, "We wondered when you were going to do this."

However, in giving his new account of the crime, Hayer refused to provide specific information. He said he had had three accomplices, but he refused to name them.

He said he had been approached early in the month of the murder and offered money to do the job, but he declined to say by whom and how much.

One thing he did know, he said, was that no one involved in the murder was a member of the Black Muslims.

Malcolm, once the leading spokesman for the Muslims and the minister of its Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, broke with it in March, 1964. Many times in the months that followed he said he had been marked for death by the black-supremacy cult.

Butler and Johnson are acknowledged members of the Fruit of Islam, the Muslims' paramilitary auxiliary. The prosecution contends that Hayer, who is also known as Thomas Hagan, is also a member of the Muslims. Last week it introduced photographs showing him taking part in a karate demonstration at Mosque No. 25 in Newark.

Hayer, who lives in Paterson, N. J., was wounded in the left thigh, assertedly by one of Malcolm's bodyguards, as he fled from the ballroom after the killing, and was taken into custody while he was being beaten by an excited mob of Malcolm's followers.

Seven witnesses identified him as being in the ballroom and three of them testified to seeing him with a pistol in his hand firing at the Negro leader. Furthermore, his thumbprint was found on a piece of film in a smoke-making device that was ignited as a diversion moments before the shooting.

Butler, 26, and Johnson, 30, were picked up at their Bronx homes in the first week in March. There is virtually no physical evidence linking them to the crime and there were fewer identifications of them from the witness box.

The defendant, who wore a dark gray suit, white shirt and blue-and-white polka dot necktie, admitted firing the .45-caliber pistol that was found outside the ballroom. A spare clip containing four cartridges was found in his pocket when he was arrested.

"How many times did you fire it?" asked Mr. Dermody.

"About four times."

"You fired right into the body?"

"I did," Hayer replied.

Throughout his driving cross-examination, which will be resumed at 10:30 this morning, Mr. Dermody attempted to show the jury of nine men and three women that Hayer, having decided that he would be convicted in any case, was now attempting to save his confederates.

Hayer's testimony made it certain that he would be convicted of first-degree murder. Since the abolition of the death penalty, except for the murder of a policeman or prison guard, the crime carries a mandatory life sentence, of which a minimum of 26 years 8 months must be served to be eligible for parole.

Again and again, Mr. Dermody hammered on the fact that Hayer had admitted lying under oath last week when he denied any connection with the crime and was now violating his oath by refusing to reveal "the whole truth."

"Isn't the reason," the prosecutor said, his voice rising to a shout in the silent, crowded courtroom, "that if you told the whole truth you'd have to say it was Johnson who held the shotgun and Butler who fired the pistol."

"No, sir. It's not true," Hayer replied without emotion.

In turn, Hayer insisted several times, in remarks that Justice Charles Marks ordered stricken from the record, that "the only reason" he had changed his testimony was to protect two innocent men.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

Page 1 Date 2-19-66

MALCOLM X STILL LIVES

Harlem still remembers the fiery, controversial Black Natonalist who preached racial identification and self - defense

By FRANK HUNT

NEW YORK — It's been a year since Malcolm X died a white man's death, and Harlem at least has not forgotten.

"A white man's death" may sound inappropriate considering the philosophy of the ex-convict and former dope addict, who rose to a kind of fame by preaching racial identification, and the injustices of a white - ruled society. But his manner of departure —assassination — was so peculiarly political, so dramatically final, that it is difficult to credit it to those who may have desired a back-alley vengeance on a turn - coat.

Malcolm X Little died in a hail of bullets as he was about to address some 400 of his followers at a Manhattan ballroom rally on Feb. 21 1965. It was just 16 months after he had broken with his former chief Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, and about 10 months after he had formed his own Organization of Afro American Unity, traveled to Mecca, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Algiers, and London, and had affirmed his dedication to the universality of black humanity.

9 white, 3 colored

A year later in downtown Manhattan in a corner of the 13th floor of the Criminal Court Building a Supreme Court jury of nine white and three colored men listen intently and slightly bewildered to the long parade of prosecution witnesses placing together a picture of a bold and daring execution from the slightly differing versions.

A Supreme Court judge has announced that it is just another murder trial as far as the court is concerned. He reigns benignly over the record to see that it remains so.

In the audience, friends, enemies and fellow travelers of the slain Harlem leader absorb the proceedings with a cynical eye. Each with his own opinion as to the significance of the trial.

And three young, well - groomed defendants sit at the defense table not unlike junior executives awaiting final word on a possible promotion, wearing an alert, but not perturbed, air.

Fled the country

They say that most of the close friends and fellowers of Malcolm X have fled the country. They say that his infant nationalist group never really got an initial spanking and its current mewings go unnoticed.

They say that the Muslims in New York, and perhaps throughout the rest of the country, have lost their appeal now that their most colorful spokesman is dead.

What they don't say is revealed in the eyes of those in Harlem who knew him, and in the inflection in their voices when they talk about him. It's almost a spiritual thing, this admiration for a man who was all too human, and exceedingly practical.

There are those who knew him as quiet, warm, dignified person, whose offstage presence was in striking contrast to the arrogant, flamboyant figure who preached black supremacy.

Last words

"He talked a violent cant but he himself was non-violent," recalled a well-known syndicated newspaper columnist who often talked with the black nationalist. "He was an immensely civilized person — it's not surprisine — fitting really —that his last words were "take it easy, be cool'—"

A close friend remembered that Malcolm denied being a leader. "He would always say that he was an educator —not a leader," she said.

• • •

"HIS ONLY sin was that he loved this color," a 125th St. bartender said, rubbing the back of his hand.

"I knew he'd get it —they couldn't let him keep talking like that —people were beginning to listen to him. But nobody thought it would be done here in Harlem — in New York, among his own people. Maybe down south somewhere, but not here."

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(Continued from Page 1)

"Used to take him for granted like everybody else. He was in here just a couple of hours before the rally . . . quiet, dignified as usual," Jimmy Alston, owner of the 22 West recollected of his rust - haired customer who often came in with a group of friends sometimes twice a day.

"He and Black Muslims would sometimes be here at the same time, and I never heard any harsh words. Everybody thought he was exaggerating when he said he was going to be killed."

At 7th Ave. and 125th St., the "House of Proper Propaganda" is diagonally across the street from the Theresa Hotel. A sign over the front of the bookstore proclaims "2,000,000 African and non white people," with paintings of 12 African heads of state.

In the window are five books on Malcolm X, one an autobiography published since his death and seven long - playing albums of the slain nationalist's speeches. One of them is advertised as a "holiday sale — $2.48 while they last, gift - wrapped."

Other books are by Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, LeRoi Jones.

Inside six customers either braving the snow and slush outside or escaping it, are poring through the book shelves. One of them, a bearded youth wearing a dark, three - quarter coat and blue suit and tie, is trying to decide whether to buy the $4.95 album or the one on sale.

"Why don't you take them both — they're both very good," the woman is saying.

A discussion ensues on the merits of the philosophy of Malcolm X and his appeal as a speaker. The woman becomes intense, leans forward, her hands flat on the counter.

"He taught you to love yourself and you didn't understand . . . He was a man . . . there aren't many men like that," she was saying.

The youth nodded agreement, echoing a sentiment often heard since the death of Malcolm X.

"He had something all right . . . He really had something."

* * *

LEWIS MICHAUX spends much of his time in a back-room of the bookstore, poring through old books, cataloguing new ones, and storing the African sculpture and artifacts which crowded the place. His friends call the ginger-tanned, diminutive book gourmet "an encyclopedia of controversy." His store has been in the same spot for the past 30 years, and has become something of a Harlem landmark.

The room was a sort of unofficial headquarters for Malcolm X. He would sit there for hours, talking to the birdlike little man, conducting interviews with members of the press, and fingering the African artifacts with their aura of ethnic memories.

"I knew him since he came to Harlem to take over Mosque No. 7. He used to spend a lot of time here — always called me "Doctor."

"The whole world thinks a lot more of him now that he's gone — some of them paid no attention to him when he was living and preaching," Michaux added. His face was pensive and sober.

"He was the lifeline for Harlem to the rest of the world — definitely a spokesman for the grassroots — He said things other leaders couldn't say, and they were grateful to him for it.

"America was conscious of her demoralization when Malcolm X spoke. Today you don't have anybody who can run the issues out in the open like he did. We won't get another like him in another hundred years," the little man continued, shifting his body slightly in the overstuffed chair.

Michaux says he cannot keep the books and recordings of Malcolm X in stock. "Not many bookstores sell them, and they go pretty

HIS BACKGROUND

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb. in 1926, the son of a Baptist minister, who was also a black nationalist. Twice young Malcolm's home was burned by Ku Klux Klansmen. His father was one day found dead with his head caved in.

As a youngster in Harlem he was a small time racketeer with a reputation for shewdness. He admitted serving two terms for larceny, during the latest of which he learned of the Black Muslim Movement. Malcolm joined the movement in 1950, claiming that it had helped him kick a six-year drug addiction within 24 hours.

As minister of Harlem's Muslim Mosque No. 7, he emerged as a personality and chief emissary for Muslim chief Elijah Muhammad becoming one of America's most powerful and controversial men of color.

fast, especially since the trial started. I guess they'll sell as long as the Bible sells."

"In order to be a true revolutionary, a man has to know that he is going to die — and colored people don't want to die.

"You had one in Africa — Lumumba — and they killed him too . . ."

The name of Patrice Lumumba, the magnetic, militant first Premier of the newly - independent Congo Republic who was mysteriously murdered in 1961 after an eight - month rule, is often raised by those who remember Malcolm X. Some African leaders blamed the West's interference in Congo affairs for Lumumba's death.

Malcolm's remarks upon returning from his travels abroad were viewed by some as an indication of a softening of his anti - white attitude. He said he realized for the first time the variety of people, ranging from white through brown and black, who made up the nation of Islam.

"This brotherhood — the people of all races coming together as one — has proved to me the power of the one God," he said. "I have been blessed with a new insight."

Malcolm said he knew his new outlook would cause "many blacks to cynically accuse me of selling out the fight to become an integrationist" and nearly all whites would "scoff and jeer." But he said he knew a few would "understand and accept."

Much of the acclaim that did not greet Malcolm X in life, fell to his ghost largely because of his violent death and his certainty of it.

At the fatal rally on Feb. 21, one of his aides addressing the audience said:

"You should support a man that is willing to lay down his life for you. There are few men that are willing to die for somebody else . . ."

Less than 30 minutes later, Malcolm X was dead.

Whether or not the cause was noble, or right, or historically just, is irrelevant. The fact is, he believed in a cause, indicated a willingness to die for it — and did.

It is the stuff of which martyrs are made and from which religions are founded.

WHAT MALCOLM SAID

". . . The difference between the thinking and scope of African-Americans who are involved in the human rights struggle and those involved in the civil rights struggle is: those involved in the human rights struggle don't look upon themselves as Americans. They look upon themselves as part of dark mankind . . . And in the world context they see that the dark man outnumbers the white man. On the world stage the white man is just a microscopic minority."

* * *

"We got the idea for it (his Organization of Afro-American brothers on the African continent were having in their struggle for freedom. They were getting free faster than we. They were getting their independence faster than we. They were getting recognition with respect, even when they came to this country, faster than we. We had to find out what was happening, how they were doing it, and what were they doing, so we could try a little bit of it."

". . . The Civil Rights Bill was designed to lessen the explosion — that's all it was designed to do — it wasn't designed to solve the problems.

NEW YORK TIMES
2-9-66.

GUARD ADMITS LIE OVER MALCOLM X

Shame at Inaction Led to Untruths, Witness Says

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

One of Malcolm X's bodyguards admitted yesterday that he had lied before the grand jury in one part of his testimony and had been "mistaken" in another.

Under cross-examination by defense lawyers in the trial of the three men accused of murdering the Negro leader, the witness, Charles H. Blackwell, said he had falsified his testimony because a true recital would have disclosed that he had done nothing to protect Malcolm's life.

"I was ashamed to say I left my post," Mr. Blackwell, a husky, mustached man of 38, stated, "and that I went to the floor when this brother here [a reference to one of the defendants, Norman 3X Butler] pointed his gun at me. I didn't want anyone to know."

Mr. Blackwell, whose eyes were downcast and his fists clenched under his chin when he spoke testified earlier that he had been unarmed when he "looked down the barrel" of Butler's pistol.

In fact, the witness stated, Malcolm's orders to his bodyguards not to carry weapons caused dissatisfaction among them. However, testimony by other witnesses has indicated that at least two of the guards were armed at the time of the shooting.

In his testimony before the grand jury, which indicted the three defendants, Mr. Blackwell said that two of them, Butler and Thomas Hagan, were seated in the front row at the ballroom. This was at variance with statements by other witnesses placing the two near the middle of the hall.

The prosecution contends that Butler and Hagan created a disturbance that distracted the bodyguard and the audience of 400 persons. As they did so, it is alleged, the third defendant Thomas 15X Johnson, walked to the stage, pulled a sawed-off shotgun from under his coat and fired twice at point-blank range, riddling Malcolm's chest with pellets.

Then, according to the prosecution, Butler and Hagan ran to the stage, pulled automatic pistols and fired into the body of the fallen Negro leader.

All three defendants are assertedly members of the Black Muslims, the organization that Malcolm broke with in 1964. He then set up his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., and The Organization of Afro-American Unity, under whose auspices the weekly meetings at the ballroom were being held.

Mr. Blackwell clung to his statement that he had been merely mistaken when he told the grand jury that he had given one of the murder weapons, a 9-mm. "Luger-type" pistol that he found on the ballroom floor to another member of the bodyguard, identified only as "Brother Gene."

Yesterday the witness said that Brother Gene, who was administering mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to Malcolm X had "waved him off" and that he had then handed the weapon to another bodyguard whose name he could not recall.

Mr. Blackwell's testimony set off heated clashes between defense and prosecution and Justice Charles Marks, who is presiding. At one point, William C. Chance, one of Butler's lawyers, received a veiled hint of disciplinary action from the bench after asking Mr. Blackwell, "Shall I call you one who is mistaken or one who is a liar and a perjurer."

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New York Times
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Malcolm Fought for Top Power in Muslim Movement, and Lost

By WILL LISSNER

Malcolm X split with Elijah Muhammed, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim Movement, on March 8, 1964. Malcolm announced that he was organizing a politically oriented Black Nationalist party.

Until then he had been known as Minister Malcolm, Eastern leader of the nation of Islam, the official name of the Black Muslims.

Malcolm, bullet-headed, dour, but a glib spokesman for the American Negro sect, had risen to be the second most powerful figure in the black separatist movement. He had made the country aware of it.

But there was more involved than a struggle between Malcolm and Muhammed, insiders said. Reports emerged from the secret organization of a rivalry between Malcolm and Muhammed's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrief.

Mocked Kennedy's Death

Sharrief, who commands the movement's secret army, the Fruit of Islam, was as eager as Malcolm to be Muhammed's successor, the reports said.

But the immediate cause of Malcolm's difficulties was a mocking speech he made about the assassination of President Kennedy on Nov. 29, 1963.

Malcolm had told his followers at Manhattan Center that Mr. Kennedy's death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Muhammed, incensed, suspended Malcolm. "We are very shocked at Mr. Kennedy's assassination," Muhammed said.

Reports spread that the movement's Chicago leaders had used Malcolm's speech about President Kennedy to "cut Malcolm down to size."

Power Struggle Fails

At first Malcolm pretended to be contrite. "Anything Mr. Muhammed does is all right with me," he said. "I believe absolutely in his wisdom and authority."

But by the time the cult was assembled for its national convention in February, 1964, Malcolm was waging a struggle for supreme power. It failed.

Therefore, he said, he was going to construct an organization based in New York that, unlike the Muslims, would take part in the civil rights struggles in the South and in political contests.

"I'm going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help," Malcolm said.

The split ended Malcolm's 15 years of association with the Muslim movement. An erstwhile Harlem racketeer, he had been converted to the cult in prison.

The Nation of Islam was a creature of the Great Depression. The cult was founded by an itinerant silk merchant turned "prophet"—W. D. Fard, also an ex-convict.

Fard turned up in Detroit in the summer of 1930 and held meetings house to house. Soon there were enough followers to establish the first Temple of Islam. Fard wrote two manuals; founded a religious school, the University of Islam; set up the Muslim Girls Training Class, which gave a course in home economics, and founded the Fruit of Islam.

Fard also selected and trained a Minister of Islam and a corps of assistants to head the organization, according to C. Eric Lincoln, sociologist.

From the very first Fard had to deal with challengers to his unquestioned rule of the cult. The man who emerged as his successor was the unemployed son of a sharecropper, Elijah Poole.

New Leader Emerges

Poole and his family had gone from Georgia to Detroit in the nineteen-twenties. He was one of three brothers who entered the Black Muslims. He devoted himself with single mind to Fard's interests and, though opposed by more moderate leaders, he became Fard's chief lieutenant, signalized by Fard's changing his name to Muhammad. Fard by this time has some 8,000 followers.

In the power struggle of late spring, 1934, Poole-Muhammed chose the winning side and emerged the Minister of Islam. Fard disappeared without trace.

In the early days Muhammed had to fight splinter groups that wanted to identify the Muslims with the American Constitution, or with Communism, or with Japanese militarist racial teachings, or with Ethiopian colonization schemes or the white antilabor right wing.

Muhammad fought them all. The Muslims began to decline. Muhammad was driven from Detroit by moderates in 1936. Setting up shop in the Southside Mosque in Chicago, he began to reshape the cult.

Economic Empire Set Up

Under Muhammad's direction the Muslims, like the Father Divine, Daddy Grace and other cults among the Negroes, acquired a flourishing economic base. Apartment houses were acquired, groceries, restaurants, farms and all manner of small businesses.

Eventually the movement attracted some 100,000 members.

In the mid-fifties, a new phenomenon was apparent. The cult became chiefly attractive to young Negroes. A survey showed 80 per cent of the membership was between 17 and 34.

Then the Muslims reached out for mass support among the American Negroes.

The New York Times (by Gertrude Samuels)

Malcolm X with portrait of Elijah Muhammed before rift

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NEW YORK TIMES
2-22-65

Malcolm X Shot to Death at Rally Here

United Press International

Malcolm X being taken to hospital from Audubon Ballroom yesterday after he was shot while addressing a meeting

3 Others Wounded —Police Hold 2 for Questioning

By PETER KIHSS

Malcolm X, 39-year-old leader of a militant black nationalist movement, was fatally shot yesterday afternoon just as he started to address a meeting of 400 Negroes at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway.

Pandemonium broke out in the hall as bullets beat out a fusillade, which witnesses estimated from eight to 30 shots. The slightly bearded leader, who had just greeted his followers, was knocked on his back by the force of the bullets. In the scuffling that followed three other Negroes were shot.

The police indicated two suspects were being questioned, but three weapons had been fired—a .38-caliber revolver, a .45 revolver and a sawed-off shotgun.

One police theory was that as many as five conspirators might have been involved, two creating a diversionary disturbance.

One 22-year-old Negro, Thomas Hagan, was shot in the left thigh and his left leg was broken, apparently by kicks. He was under treatment in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward last night; perhaps a dozen policemen were guarding him, according to the hospital's night superintendent.

The police said they had found a cartridge case with four unused .45-caliber bullets in his pocket.

2 Others Shot

Two other Negroes, described as "apparent spectators" by Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in command of Manhattan North uniformed police, also were shot. They were identified as William Harris, wounded seriously in the abdomen, and William Parker, shot in a foot. Both were taken to Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, which is close to the ballroom.

Malcolm, a slim, reddish-haired six-footer with a gift for bitter eloquence against what he considered white exploitation of Negroes, broke in March,

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New York Times
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1964 from the Black Muslim movement called the Nation of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammad.

Sanford Garelick, Assistant Chief Inspector in charge of the police Central Office Bureau and Squads, said at 5 P.M.—not quite two hours after the shooting—that "this is the result, it would seem, of a long-standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

But Chief Garelick declined to identify anyone as a suspect. "The most you can say is we are questioning people," he said.

At 7:30 P.M., Chief of Detectives Philip J. Walsh, who interrupted a vacation to join the hunt for the assassins, predicted "a long drawn-out investigation."

Muslim Denies Involvement

James X, New York spokesman for the Black Muslims, denied that his organization had had anything to do with the killing.

Just one week before the slaying, Malcolm was bombed out of the small brick home in East Elmhurst, Queens, where he had been living. James X suggested that Malcolm had set off firebombs himself "to get publicity."

Assemblyman Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer, said the murdered leader had planned to disclose at yesterday's rally, "the names of those who were trying to kill him."

The police, Mr. Sutton said, have those names.

"Malcolm knew he would be killed," Mr. Sutton said outside the ballroom. "He told me so repeatedly—and as late as yesterday—that his life was in danger."

Mr. Sutton added that Malcolm had taken to carrying a pistol "because he feared for his life" and had notified the police by telephone that he was doing so even though he did not have a permit. Assistant Chief Inspector Taylor, however, said Malcolm was unarmed when he was shot.

Remarks Criticized

One factor in Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims was his comment on the assassination of President Kennedy. He called it a case of "chickens coming home to roost" and an outgrowth of violence that whites had used against Negroes. He was suspended by Elijah Muhammed and then started his own movement.

While the Nation of Islam searches for weapons anyone attending its meetings, Malcolm's new movement emphasized self-defense even with weapons. And so there was no search of anyone at yesterday's rally, a regular Sunday affair of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity. White persons were barred.

The Audubon Ballroom is in a two-story building on the south side of West 166th Street between Broadway and St. Nicholas Avenue, opposite a small park.

The meeting had been called for 2:30 P.M. in the second-floor hall, where 400 folding wooden chairs had been set up with two aisles going down the sides but no center aisle. At the back of the stage was a mural of a restful country scene.

'Would Give His Life'

Witnesses said one of the speakers who preceded Malcolm had asserted: "Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you."

Hugh Simpson, a WMCA newsman, said he was sitting in the front row when Malcolm was introduced. He said Malcolm gave the traditional Arabic greeting, "Salaam Aleikum"—"peace be unto you."

"The crowd responded, 'Aleikum Salaam,'" Mr. Simpson said, "and then there was some disturbance about eight rows back. Everybody turned, and so did I, and then I heard Malcolm saying, 'Be cool now, don't get excited.'

"And then I heard this muffled sound, and I saw Malcolm hit with his hands still raised, and then he fell back over the chairs behind him. And everybody was shouting, and I saw one man firing a gun from under his coat behind me as I hit it [the floor] too.

"And he was firing like he was in some Western, running backward toward the door and firing at the same time."

Sharon Six X Shabazz, 19, of 217 Bainbridge Street, who said she was a member of Malcolm's organization, told this story:

"I think he only said 'Brothers and Sisters' when there was a commotion in the back of the room. I thought it was some rowdy drunks."

Blood on Malcolm's Face

Some one ran toward the stage, she said, there were loud noises, and she saw blood on Malcolm's face.

"Then everybody started screaming and running—and he fell down," she said. "There was blood on his chest, too."

Stanley Scott, a United Press International reporter, said he had been admitted with this admonition by a Malcolm lieutenant: "As a Negro, you will be allowed to enter as a citizen if you like, but you must remove your press badge."

After Malcolm stepped to the rostrum and said a few words, Mr. Scott reported, "there was a scuffle at the back of the auditorium, possibly to distract attention from the assassins."

"Shots rang out," Mr. Scott went on. "Men, women and children ran for cover. They stretched out on the floor and ducked under tables.

"His wife, Betty, who was in the audience, ran about screaming hysterically, 'They're killing my husband!'"

A woman who was wearing a green scarf and a black felt hat with little floral buds, and who would identify herself only as a registered nurse, said she had seen "two men rushing toward the stage and firing from underneath their coats." One, she said, wore a tweed coat.

Rushed to the Stage

"I rushed to the stage even while the firing was going on," she said. "I don't know how I got on the stage, but I threw myself down on who I thought was Malcolm—but it wasn't. I was willing to die for the man. I would have taken the bullets myself. Then I saw Malcolm, and the firing had stopped, and I tried to give him artificial respiration.

"I think he was dead then."

Witnesses differed on the number of shots fired; some said as many as 30. Assistant Chief Inspector Taylor estimated the number at nearer eight. Six shots hit Malcolm in the chest and one hit him on the chin; some of the shots struck Malcolm after piercing the plywood rostrum in front of him.

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos, who were in a radio car, heard the shooting. Sergeant Aronoff said he and his partner got to the ballroom just in time to see four or five persons run out followed by a mob of perhaps 150, many of them pummeling Hagan.

Warning Shot Fired

"I've been shot—help me!" he quoted Hagan as shouting. The sergeant said he fired a warning shot into the air to halt the crowd, then pushed Hagan into the police car and drove him to the Wadsworth Avenue station house. From there the wounded man was quickly taken to Jewish Memorial Hospital and later to the Bellevue prison ward.

"In the car, I found four unused .45 cartridges in Hagan's pocket," Sergeant Aronoff said.

Assistant Chief Inspector Taylor said it was probable that the attackers, instead of making their way back through the crowd to the 166th Street entrance, had escaped past the stage to 165th Street.

Malcolm was placed on a stretcher and wheeled one block up Broadway to the Vanderbilt Clinic emergency entrance at 167th Street. It was about 3:15 P.M., a Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center spokesman said later, when he reached a third-floor emergency operating room.

A team of doctors cut through his chest to massage his heart. But Malcolm was "either dead or in a death-appearing state," the spokesman said. The effort was given up at 3:30 P.M.

"The person you know as Malcolm X is dead," the spokesman reported.

Malcolm's birth name was Malcolm Little. He considered it a "slave name" and abandoned it when he joined the Black Muslims. At the hospital he was listed as "John Doe" because he had not been officially identified.

The other wounded men, in addition to Hagan, were believed to have been hit by random shots. Parker was described as being 36 years old and living at 23-05 Thirtieth Avenue, Astoria, Queens. Harris' age was given as 51, and his address as 614 Oak Tree Place, Brooklyn.

The police declined to discuss any suspects.

Patrolman Thomas Hoy, 22, said he had been stationed outside the 166th Street entrance when "I heard the shooting, and the place exploded." He rushed in, saw Malcolm lying on the stage, "grabbed a suspect" who, he said, some people were chasing.

NEW YORK TIMES
2-22-65

Malcolm Knew He Was a 'Marked Man'

By THEODORE JONES

"I live like a man who's already dead," Malcolm X said last Thursday in a two-hour interview in the Harlem office of his Organization for Afro-American Unity.

"I'm a marked man," he said slowly as he fingered the horn-rimmed glasses he wore and leaned forward to give emphasis to his words. "It doesn't frighten me for myself as long as I felt they would not hurt my family."

Asked about "they," Malcolm smiled. Then shaking his head in mock astonishment, he said, "those folks down at 116th Street and that man in Chicago."

The references, Malcolm quickly confirmed, were to his former associates in the Black Muslin movement and Elijah Muhammad, the organizer and head of the movement. Before Malcolm X left the movement 18 months ago, he was the minister of the Black Muslims' Harlem mosque at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue.

"No one can get out without trouble," Malcolm continued, "and this thing with me will be resolved by death and violence."

Why were they after him? "Because I'm me," he replied.

But realizing that was not enough to say, he pushed into an almost endless flow of sentences.

"I was the spokesman for the Black Muslims," he said. "I believed in Elijah Muhammad more strongly than Christians do in Jesus. I believed in him so strongly that my mind, my body, my voice functioned 100 per cent for him and the movement. My belief led others to believe.

"Now I'm out. And there's the fear if my image isn't shattered ,the Muslims in the movement will leave. Then, they know I wnow a lot. As long as I was in the movement, anything he [Elijah Muhammad] did was to me by divine guidance."

Malcolm said that he knew many things that made him a "dangerous man to the movement."

"But I didn't want to harm anyone or the movement when I got out," he added. "But I had learned to disbelieve, sir, and Mr. Muhammad knew that I would fight against him if I did not believe and he threatened."

The man, who was once the dynamic spokesman for the Black Muslims, suddenly leaned forward and began watching the traffic at Seventh Avenue and 125th Street through the large picture window of his private office in the Hotel Theresa.

He began talking again, but this time he spoke as if there was only the battered mahogany desk and the rusted, three-section filing cabinet in the small room.

"I know brothers in the movement who were given orders to kill me," he said slowly, nodding his head and rubbing his small goatee. I've had highly placed people within tell me, 'be careful, Malcolm.'"

Criticizes the Press

"The press gives the impression that I'm jiving about this thing," he said, turning, but not accusing his visitor, "they ignore the evidence and the actual attempts."

How did Malcolm see the future and his feud with the Black Muslims?

"I have no feud with the Black Muslims, sir. This is a one-sided thing. Those that have done violence are fanatics who think they are doing the will of God when they go and maim and cripple those who left the movement."

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Those who left the movement, Malcolm continued, "have not been involved in violence against those within," adding: "I believe in taking action, but not action against black people. No, sir."

What about the comments by people in Harlem that now they do not know where Malcolm X stands? Is it possible to change so suddenly?

He smiled, opened his black suit jacket, and began rubbing his fingers along the black sweater vest he wore underneath.

"I won't deny I don't know where I'm at," he said with a boyish grin. "But by the same token how many of us put the finger down on one point and say I'm here."

"I know that I'm 1,000 percent against the Ku Klux Klan, the Rockwells and any organized white groups that are against the black people in this country," he said, in reference to Norman Rockwell, leader of the Nazi party in the United States, and such groups as the Citizens Council.

Then assessing his present situation, he observed:

"I feel like a man who has been asleep somewhat and under someone else's control. I feel what I'm thinking and saying now is for myself. Before, it was for and by the guidance of Elijah Muhammad. Now I think with my own mind, sir."

Malcolm X-pelled A5

NEW YORK — Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, who was fire-bombed out of his home in the Queens early Sunday, was the victim of a legal bomb yesterday—he was ordered evicted from the one-family brick and single house. Malcolm has indicated that he thinks his old brethren, the Black Muslims, were behind the fire-bombing Sunday. The Black Muslims have indicated that they think Malcolm bombed himself. There was no question, however, but that the Muslims were behind the vacate order—the court decided that since Malcolm has left the Black Muslims he's no longer entitled to live in the house. The Black Muslims own it.

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AID TO MALCOLM X BY B.B.C. ASSAILED

TV Aides Rebuked for Tour of Race-Friction Area

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 13—The British Broadcasting Corporation is being criticized for conducting Malcolm X, the militant Black Nationalist, around Smethwick, the town on the outskirts of Birmingham that has become a symbol of Britain's racial problems.

The former leader of the Black Muslims, who now heads a breakaway group, arrived in Britain after he had been refused entry into France last Tuesday.

Just before he left for the United States today, he said he had "accepted the hospitality of some Englishmen." He added: "It was incidental that they were from the B.B.C. When I was spotted in Smethwick with my B.B.C. hosts, there were people who tried to hang the B.B.C."

He spent nearly three hours in Smethwick yesterday. He was interviewed on the town hall steps and then driven by a B.B.C. television news team to Marshall Street.

In an effort to curb the influx of colored immigrants, town authorities are buying up the decrepit terrace houses on this street and selling them only to white families.

"If colored people here continue to be oppressed, it will start off a bloody battle," Malcolm X said. He added that he would not wait until "Fascists" had built the "gas ovens."

Alderman Clarence V. Williams, Mayor Smethwick, protested that "these television people and the whole of the news-getting side of the English world" were "endeavoring to turn Smethwick into a kind of Birmingham, Alabama."

The Mayor said that it was "disgusting" that Malcolm X should be in Smethwick, and that he should not have been allowed in the country.

Malcolm X's comments also drew a rebuke from Cedric Taylor, chairman of the Standing Conference of West Indian Organizations for Birmingham and District, who said that "remarks about gas ovens are, I feel, the worst thing that anybody could say."

Malcolm X went to Birmingham, a major industrial center about 100 miles northwest of London, to speak at a private meeting of Islamic students at Birmingham University.

In Birmingham he arranged to meet a B.B.C. television news unit in Smethwick. The B.B.C. had wanted him to confront Peter Griffiths, the Tory who, by capitalizing on the racial issue, defeated former Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker and now represents Smethwick in the House of Commons.

Mr. Griffiths said he would not be available and the news team then drove Malcolm X around the town. The B.B.C. denies it acted as his host.

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N.Y. Times
2/14/65

Malcolm X Pays Smethwick Call

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SMETHWICK, England, Feb. 13 (AP)—Malcolm X, the American Negro extremist leader, visited this racial trouble spot yesterday and said: "I have heard that the blacks in Smethwick are being treated as the Jews were under Hitler."

"I would not wait for the Fascist element in Smethwick to erect gas ovens," he said. He traveled with a camera team of the British Broadcasting Corp., which is doing a documentary on the district.

Smethwick came to international prominence for voting out its Labor Party member of Parliament, Patrick Gordon Walker, in last October's elections. The campaign was characterized by slogans like, "If you want a nigger neighbor, vote Labor."

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THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD

Page Date

New York Times
2-15-65

United Press International

OUTSIDE DAMAGED HOME: Malcolm X, the controversial black nationalist leader, getting out of automobile at his home in Astoria, Queens. He and his family escaped from blazing house after firebomb attack early yesterday morning. They were not hurt in life.

MALCOLM X FLEES FIREBOMB ATTACK

Wife and 4 Daughters Also Escape as Flames Ruin Brick House in Queens

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X, the controversial Black Nationalist leader, and his family escaped injury early yesterday when a firebomb attack wrecked the small brick house in which they lived in Astoria, Queens.

Two, of possibly three, Molotov cocktails—bottles of gasoline with fuses—were hurled through the windows of the living room. They exploded and set fire to the house.

Malcolm X had returned from a visit to France and England at 3 P.M. Saturday. He and his wife and four daughters, including an infant, were sleeping in bedrooms down a hall about 10 feet from the living room. The gasoline bombs crashed through the windows and exploded at about 2:45 A.M.

Malcolm X said he was awakened by the thud of the first explosion. He rushed his wife and children through the kitchen door into a small paved areaway behind the house and out of the range of the fire.

The blaze was quickly extinguished by the Fire Department which, together with the Police Department bomb squad, opened an investigation. In the absence of firm clues, it was assumed that the firebombs were thrown from a passing automobile.

The house, at 23-11 97th Street, has been the subject of a prolonged controversy between Malcolm X and the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, of which he was the former New York representative. The Black Muslims hold title to the house. They demanded Malcolm vacate it when he broke with them to found his own organization.

A civil court ruling gave Malcolm until Jan. 31 to vacate, but he appealed for a stay. A decision on the appeal is scheduled for today.

Malcolm' wife, Betty, and his daughters—Attilah, 6; Qubilah, 4; Ilyasah, 2, and 5-month-old Gamilah—were given shelter by neighbors yesterday. Later Malcolm and his wife returned to collect the few personal possessions that survived the fire. Then the Black Nationalist left for Detroit to keep a speaking engagement.

Anonymous Threats Recalled

In a telephone interview, Malcolm said in Detroit that the attack could have come from several quarters—supporters of the Black Muslims or of the Ku Klux Klan, which he has been attacking in the South, or related groups. Malcolm recently visited Selma, where he attacked the Klan and other groups.

Malcolm said that he and his wife had been receiving anonymous telephoned threats daily for some time. He said threats against his life had become a daily occurence.

He said that he was awakened yesterday by the thud of an explosion and that, as best as he could remember, there were two or possibly three detonations. He said that he and his wife were asleep in the bedroom nearest the living room when the attack occurred.

The house is a modest one. It consists of a small living room, a dining room, two tiny bedrooms, a former utility room used for the baby's crib, a bathroom and kitchen. There is a small room under the gabled roof. There is also a small garage behind the areaway.

Malcolm was the center of incidents in France and Britain before returning to New York last Saturday. The French immigration police refused him permission to land at the Paris airfield and sent him back to England. He had been scheduled to address a meeting of Afro-Americans in Paris.

In England his visit to Smethwick under the escort of the British Broadcasting Corporation stirred a controversy and attacks on the B.B.C.

Malcolm X had been urging American Negroes to invoke the right of self-defense if attacked by white racists.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

Page 1 Date JUN 29 1983

Malcolm X to debate Baldwin in D.C. Tues. nite

Minister Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslims and Novelist James Baldwin will engage in a debate at 8 p.m. Tuesday at Muhammad's Mosque No. 4, 1519 Fourth St., NW.

Muslim sponsors said it will be a "hot debate" between their leader and one of the country's noted writers and lecturers.

Donations will be 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children, sponsors said.

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Malcolm X.

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THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD

Page C4 Date 6-28-63

Muslim Leader Ban At Lorton Is Charged

The Civil Liberties Union's local branch charged yesterday that Black Muslim leader Malcolm X has been barred from Lorton Reformatory, where he wants to conduct services for inmates.

District Director of Corrections Donald Clemmer labeled the protest "wholly inaccurate" and said that "no decision has been made yet."

Asked about reports that a letter of refusal had been drafted but not sent out, Clemmer said: "I wouldn't want to comment on that."

David Carliner, chairman of the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union, called on District officials to allow the Black Muslim leader to conduct religious services for Muslim inmates of Lorton this Sunday.

"Respect for freedom of conscience will do more to promote desirable conditions than grudging resistance," Carliner said in a telegram to Clemmer and the District Commissioners.

Clemmer said Malcolm X had asked "for permission to address inmates from time to time" in a June 16 letter.

The Black Muslim leader, Clemmer said, has been allowed to visit a prisoner at Lorton before but was denied entrance on another occasion because he had not made the necessary application.

Clemmer added that Black Muslim inmates at Lorton have been allowed their own religious services, including some conducted by outside leaders such as Lucius X.

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

Page 5 Date 8-29-63

Race

BLACK Muslim Malcolm X will not be permitted to lead religious services for inmates of Lorton Reformatory. District Corrections Department Director Donald Clemmer said he doesn't believe the Negro leader qualifies as a pastor under the Department's regulations.

¶

CORE picketed the U-st nw, office of the Republican Party. The Republicans rent their headquarters at 1625 I-st nw from Morris Cafritz, whom the Congress of Racial Equality accuses of discriminating against Negroes in renting apartments. The U-st office is in a predominantly colored section.

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THE WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD
Page B-4 Date 6-29-63

D. C. Rejects Malcolm X Prayer Role

District officials do not believe that Black Muslim leader Malcolm X qualifies to conduct services for Lorton Reformatory inmates under the institution's regulations.

District Commissioner John B. Duncan said this was the ruling of Corrections Department Director Donald Clemmer.

Clemmer's ruling will stand unless it is reversed by a court decision, said Duncan, who supervises the Corrections Department.

Clemmer refused yesterday to spell out what regulations he uses to determine who is qualified to conduct religious services at the Reformatory.

He said he cannot discuss the matter because it is now before the U. S. First Circuit Court of Appeals as a result of a suit filed by a Black Muslim inmate about two weeks ago.

Anyway, said Clemmer, the Reformatory regulations are not in the "public domain."

The National Capital area of the American Civil Liberties Union protested the barring of Malcolm X in a telegram to the Commissioners Thursday.

Although Malcolm X has not been admitted, other Black Muslim leaders have conducted services at Lorton, Clemmer said. He said Black Muslim inmates have filed 170 court suits charging infringement of their religious and other rights.

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Let AU & NY know re this

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C., Thursday, May 16, 1963

C-11
X

Muslim Chief Sees Attempt To Gag Him

Malcolm X, Washington's Black Muslim leader, hinted today of "a great deal of pressure" being exerted to prevent him from testifying before a House subcommittee.

He said he had been invited to testify about juvenile delinquency before a House subcommittee headed by Representative Green, Democrat of Oregon. The invitation, he said, was extended to him while he was visiting in Los Angeles a week or so ago.

The public hearing, he said, became a "private hearing." He and an aide spent about two hours with Mrs. Green and members of her staff in her office this morning.

Malcolm X held a news conference in the hallway outside her office immediately after the private meeting. Mrs. Green did not appear with him.

"I heard there were echoes from the direction of Robert Kennedy that the Birmingham situation made it kind of hot and that it would be dangerous to give the Muslims a platform like this at this time," he said. Later Malcolm X said one of Mrs. Green's secretaries had indicated this to him.

He said he found Mrs. Green "very attentive and objective" during their discussion. He said he emphasized that the Islamic faith provided the "only solution" to juvenile delinquency and crime.

Malcolm X also attacked President Kennedy for remarks about the Black Muslims attributed to him following a meeting with Alabama editors yesterday.

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New York Times
5-17-63

Malcolm X Denounces Kennedy For Policies on Racial Matters

Leader of Black Muslim Group Criticizes President's Role in Birmingham Crisis

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 16 — Malcolm X attacked President Kennedy today for the manner in which he has dealt with the Birmingham crisis and with race relations in general.

Malcolm X is the New York and Washington leader of the Black Muslims, Negro separatist movement.

His attack on President Kennedy contained the following specific accusations:

"President Kennedy did not send troops to Alabama when dogs were biting black babies. He waited three weeks until the situation exploded. He then sent troops after the Negroes had demonstrated their ability to defend themselves."

"In his talk with Alabama editors [last Monday] Kennedy did not urge that Negroes be treated right because it is the right thing to do. Instead, he said that if the Negroes aren't well treated the Muslims would become a threat. He urged a change not because it is right but because the world is watching this country. Kennedy is wrong because his motivation is wrong."

Queried by Reporters

"Instead of attacking the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Committees, Kennedy attacked Islam, a religion. Although he is a member of the Roman Catholic faith, which has always complained of discrimination at the hands of the Protestants, he did not open his mouth in defense of the Negroes. We don't want to mix with the whites and he therefore attacked us as extremists."

Malcolm X expressed his criticism of the President outside the office of Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, in response to reporters' questions.

Mrs. Green, chairman of an Education subcommittee, had just discussed with him the Black Muslims' views on race relations and juvenile delinquency.

In the Alabama editors' meeting that Malcolm X mentioned, President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy suggested that the failure of the nonviolent movement for Negro rights might spur Negro extremist groups such as the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X

Several of the editors reported later that the President had expressed concern about Negro extremism and had stressed that violence might easily follow the failure of moderate efforts.

Malcolm X told the reporters today that he had not suggested any new legislation on racial relations to Mrs. Green. He declared:

"As Muslims we have analyzed all such legislation and found that none has solved the racial problem, from the Emancipation Proclamation to the Supreme Court decision. It is all hypocrisy. Nothing was solved."

He said he told Mrs. Green that in the Black Muslim view juvenile delinquency among the Negrores would always be a problem until the "image of the black man is changed in the black man's mind."

"We are not interested in changing the white man's image of the black man," he said.

Two members of the District of Columbia's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and a member of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency also attended the meeting with Mrs. Green.

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PLAYBOY MAY, 1963

PLAYBOY INTERVIEW: MALCOLM X

a candid conversation with the militant major-domo of the black muslims

Within the past five years, the militant American Negro has become an increasingly active combatant in the struggle for civil rights. Espousing the goals of unqualified equality and integration, many of these outspoken insurgents have participated in freedom rides and protest marches against their segregationist foes. Today, they face opposition from not one, but two inimical exponents of racism and segregation: the white supremacists and the Black Muslims. A relatively unknown and insignificant radical religious Negro cult until a few years ago, the Muslims have grown into a dedicated, disciplined nationwide movement which runs its own school, publishes its own newspaper, owns stores and restaurants in four major cities, buys broadcast time on 50 radio stations throughout the country, stages mass rallies attended by partisan crowds of 10,000 and more, and maintains its own police force of judo-trained athletes called the Fruit of Islam.

Predicated on the proposition that the black man is morally, spiritually and intellectually superior to the white man, who is called a "devil," Muslim doctrine dooms him to extermination in an imminent Armageddon — along with Christianity itself, which is denounced as an opiate designed to lull Negroes — with the promise of heaven — into passive acceptance of inferior social status. Amalgamating elements of Christianity and Mohammedanism (both of which officially and unequivocally disown it) and spiked with a black-supremacy version of Hitler's Aryan racial theories, Muslimism was founded in 1931 by Elijah Poole, a Georgia-born ex-factory worker who today commands unquestioning obedience from thousands of followers as the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah. At the right hand of God's Messenger stands 36-year-old Malcolm Little, a lanky onetime dining-car steward, bootlegger, pimp and dope pusher who left prison in 1952 to heed Muhammad's message, abandoned his "slave name," Little, for the symbolic "X" (meaning identity unknown), and took an oath to abstain thereafter from smoking, drinking, gambling, cursing, dancing and sexual promiscuity — as required of every Muslim. The ambitious young man rose swiftly to become the Messenger's most ardent and erudite disciple, and today wields all but absolute authority over the movement and its membership as Muhammad's business manager, trouble shooter, prime minister and heir apparent.

In the belief that knowledge and awareness are necessary and effective antitoxins against the venom of hate, PLAYBOY *asked Malcolm X to submit to a cross-examination on the means and ends of his organization. The ensuing interview was conducted at a secluded table in a Harlem restaurant owned by the Muslims. Interrupting his replies occasionally with a sip of black African coffee and whispered asides to deferential aides, the dark-suited minister of Harlem's Muslim Temple Number Seven spoke with candor and — except for moments of impassioned execration of all whites — the impersonal tone of a self-assured corporation executive.*

Many will be shocked by what he has to say; others will be outraged. Our own view is that this interview is both an eloquent statement and a damning self-indictment of one noxious facet of rampant racism. As such, we believe it merits publication — and reading.

PLAYBOY: What is the ambition of the Black Muslims?

MALCOLM X: Freedom, justice and equality

"I don't know when Armageddon is supposed to be. But I know that the time is near when the white man will be finished. The signs are all around us."

"Christ wasn't white. Christ was black. The poor, brainwashed Negro has been made to believe Christ was white to maneuver him into worshiping white men."

"Verwoerd is an honest white man. So are the Barnetts, Eastlands and Rockwells. They want to keep white people white; we want to keep black people black."

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are our principal ambitions. And to faithfully serve and follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the guiding goal of every Muslim. Mr. Muhammad teaches us the knowledge of our own selves, and of our own people. He cleans us up — morally, mentally and spiritually — and he reforms us of the vices that have blinded us here in the Western society. He stops black men from getting drunk, stops their dope addiction if they had it, stops nicotine, gambling, stealing, lying, cheating, fornication, adultery, prostitution, juvenile delinquency. I think of this whenever somebody talks about someone investigating us. Why investigate the Honorable Elijah Muhammad? They should subsidize him. He's cleaning up the mess that white men have made. He's saving the Government millions of dollars, taking black men off of welfare, showing them how to do something for themselves. And Mr. Muhammad teaches us love for our own kind. The white man has taught the black people in this country to hate themselves as inferior, to hate each other, to be divided against each other. Messenger Muhammad restores our love for our own kind, which enables us to work together in unity and harmony. He shows us how to pool our financial resources and our talents, then to work together toward a common objective. Among other things, we have small businesses in most major cities in this country, and we want to create many more. We are taught by Mr. Muhammad that it is very important to improve the black man's economy, and his thrift. But to do this, we must have land of our own. The brainwashed black man can never learn to stand on his own two feet until he is on his own. We must learn to become our own producers, manufacturers and traders; we must have industry of our own, to employ our own. The white man resists this because he wants to keep the black man under his thumb and jurisdiction in white society. He wants to keep the black man always dependent and begging — for jobs, food, clothes, shelter, education. The white man doesn't want to lose somebody to be supreme over. He wants to keep the black man where he can be watched and retarded. Mr. Muhammad teaches that as soon as we separate from the white man, we will learn that we can do without the white man just as he can do without us. The white man knows that once black men get off to themselves and learn they can do for themselves, the black man's full potential will explode and he will *surpass* the white man.

PLAYBOY: Do you feel that the Black Muslims' goal of obtaining "several states" is a practical vision?

MALCOLM X: Well, *you* might consider some things practical that are really impractical. Wasn't it impractical that the Supreme Court could issue a desegregation order nine years ago and there's still only eight percent compliance? Is it practical that a hundred years after the Civil War there's not freedom for black men yet? On the record for integration you've got the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court — but show me your integration, where is it? That's practical? Mr. Muhammad teaches us to be for what's *really* practical — that's separation. It's more natural than integration.

PLAYBOY: In the view of many, that is highly debatable. However: In a recent interview, Negro author-lecturer Louis Lomax said, "Eighty percent, if not more, of America's 20,000,000 Negroes vibrate sympathetically with the Muslims' indictment of the white power structure. But this does not mean we agree with them in their doctrines of estrangement or with their proposed resolutions of the race problem." Does this view represent a consensus of opinion among Negroes? And if so, is it possible that your separationist and anti-Christian doctrine have the effect of alienating many of your race?

MALCOLM X: Sir, you make a mistake listening to people who tell you how much our stand alienates black men in this country. I'd guess actually we have the sympathy of 90 percent of the black people. There are 20,000,000 dormant Muslims in America. A Muslim to us is somebody who is for the black man; I don't care if he goes to the Baptist Church seven days a week. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that a black man is born a Muslim by nature. There are millions of Muslims not aware of it now. All of them will be Muslims when they wake up; that's what's meant by the Resurrection.

Sir, I'm going to tell you a secret: the black man is a whole lot smarter than white people think he is. The black man has survived in this country by fooling the white man. He's been dancing and grinning and white men never guessed what he was thinking. Now you'll hear the bourgeois Negroes pretending to be alienated, but they're just making the white man *think* they don't go for what Mr. Muhammad is saying. This Negro that will tell you he's so against us, he's just protecting the crumbs he gets from the white man's table. This kind of Negro is so busy trying to be *like* the white man that he doesn't know what the real masses of his own people are thinking. A fine car and house and clothes and liquor have made a lot think themselves different from their poor black brothers. But Mr. Muhammad says that Allah is going to wake up all black men to see the white man as he really is, and see what Christianity has done to them. The black masses that are waking up don't believe in Christianity anymore. All it's done for black men is help to keep them slaves. Mr. Muhammad is teaching that Christianity, as white people see it, means that whites can have their heaven here on earth, but the black man is supposed to catch his hell here. The black man is supposed to keep believing that when he dies, he'll float up to some city with golden streets and milk and honey on a cloud somewhere. Every black man in North America has heard black Christian preachers shouting about "tomorrow in good old Beulah's Land." But the thinking black masses today are interested in *Muhammad's* Land. The Promised Land that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad talks about is right here on this earth. Intelligent black men today are interested in a religious doctrine that offers a solution to their problems right now, right here on this earth, while they are alive.

You must understand that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad represents the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy to us. In the Old Testament, Moses lived to see his enemy, Pharaoh, drowned in the Red Sea — which in essence means that Mr. Muhammad will see the completion of his work in his lifetime, that he will live to see victory gained over his enemy.

PLAYBOY: The Old Testament connection seems tenuous. Are you referring to the Muslim judgment day which your organization's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, calls "Armageddon" and prophesies as imminent?

MALCOLM X: Armageddon deals with the final battle between God and the Devil. The Third World War is referred to as Armageddon by many white statesmen. There won't be any more war after then because there won't be any more warmongers. I don't know when Armageddon, whatever form it takes, is supposed to be. But I know the time is near when the white man will be finished. The signs are all around us. Ten years ago you couldn't have *paid* a Southern Negro to defy local customs. The British Lion's tail has been snatched off in black Africa. The Indonesians have booted out such would-be imperialists as the Dutch. The French, who felt for a century that Algeria was theirs, have had to run for their lives back to France. Sir, the point I make is that all over the world, the old day of standing in fear and trembling before the almighty white man is *gone*!

PLAYBOY: You refer to whites as the guilty and the enemy; you predict divine retribution against them; and you preach absolute separation from the white community. Do not these views substantiate that your movement is predicated on race hatred?

MALCOLM X: Sir, it's from Mr. Muhammad that the black masses are learning for the first time in 400 years the real truth

MEET

THE NEW CHRISTY MINSTRELS

exclusively on
COLUMBIA RECORDS

of how the white man brainwashed the black man, kept him ignorant of his *true history*, robbed him of his self-confidence. The black masses for the first time are understanding that it's not a case of being anti-white or anti-Christian, but it's a case of seeing the true nature of the white man. We're anti-evil, anti-oppression, anti-lynching. You can't be anti- those things unless you're also anti- the oppressor and the lyncher. You can't be anti-slavery and pro-slavemaster; you can't be anti-crime and pro-criminal. In fact, Mr. Muhammad teaches that if the present generation of *whites* would study their own race in the light of their true history, they would be anti-white themselves.

PLAYBOY: Are you?

MALCOLM X: As soon as the white man hears a black man say that he's through loving white people, then the white man accuses the black man of hating him. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate. The white man isn't *important* enough for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and his followers to spend any time hating him. The white man has brainwashed himself into believing that all the black people in the world want to be cuddled up next to him. When he meets what we're talking about, he can't believe it, it takes all the wind out of him. When we tell him we don't want to be around him, we don't want to be like he is, he's staggered. It makes him re-evaluate his 300-year myth about the black man. What I want to know is how the white man, with the blood of black people dripping off his fingers, can have the audacity to be asking black people do they hate him. That takes a lot of nerve.

PLAYBOY: How do you reconcile your disavowal of hatred with the announcement you made last year that Allah had brought you "the good news" that 120 white Atlantans had just been killed in an air crash en route to America from Paris?

MALCOLM X: Sir, as I see the law of justice, it says as you sow, so shall you reap. The white man has reveled as the rope snapped black men's necks. He has reveled around the lynching fire. It's only right for the black man's true God, Allah, to defend us — and for us to be joyous because our God manifests his ability to inflict pain on our enemy. We Muslims believe that the white race, which is guilty of having oppressed and exploited and enslaved our people here in America, should and will be the victims of God's divine wrath. All civilized societies in their courts of justice set a sentence of execution against those deemed to be enemies of society, such as murderers and kidnapers. The presence of 20,000,000 black people here in America is proof that Uncle Sam is ilty of kidnaping — because we didn't come here voluntarily on the Mayflower." And 400 years of lynchings condemn Uncle Sam as a murderer.

PLAYBOY: We question that all-inclusive generalization. To return to your statement about the plane crash, when Dr. Ralph Bunche heard about it, he called you "mentally depraved." What is your reaction?

MALCOLM X: I know all about what Dr. Bunche said. He's always got his international mouth open. He apologized in the UN when black people protested there. You'll notice that whenever the white man lets a black man get prominent, he has a job for him. Dr. Bunche serves the white man well — he represents, speaks for and defends the white man. He does none of this for the black man. Dr. Bunche has functioned as a white man's tool, designed to influence international opinion on the Negro. The white man has Negro local tools, national tools, and Dr. Bunche is an international tool.

PLAYBOY: Dr. Bunche was only one of many prominent Negroes who deplored your statement in similar terms. What reply have you to make to these spokesmen for your own people?

MALCOLM X: Go ask their opinions and you'll be able to fill your notebook with what white people want to hear Negroes say. Let's take these so-called spokesmen for the black men by types. Start with the politicians. They never attack Mr. Muhammad personally. They realize he has the sympathy of the black masses. They know they would alienate the masses whose votes they need. But the black civic leaders, they do attack Mr. Muhammad. The reason is usually that they are appointed to their positions by the white man. The white man pays them to attack us. The ones who attack Mr. Muhammad the most are the ones who earn the most. Then take the black religious leaders, they also attack Mr. Muhammad. These preachers do it out of self-defense, because they know he's waking up Negroes. No one believes what the Negro preacher preaches except those who are mentally asleep, or in the darkness of ignorance about the true situation of the black man here today in this wilderness of North America. If you will take note, sir, many so-called Negro leaders who once attacked the Honorable Elijah Muhammad don't do so anymore. And he never speaks against them in the personal sense except as a reaction if they speak against him. Islam is a religion that teaches us never to attack, never to be the aggressor — but you can waste somebody if he attacks you. These Negro leaders have become aware that whenever the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is caused by their attack to level his guns against them, they always come out on the

losing end. Many have experienced this.

PLAYBOY: Do you admire and respect any other American Negro leaders—Martin Luther King, for example?

MALCOLM X: I am a Muslim, sir. Muslims can see only one leader who has the qualifications necessary to unite all elements of black people in America. This is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

PLAYBOY: Many white religious leaders have also gone on record against the Black Muslims. Writing in the official NAACP magazine, a Catholic priest described you as "a fascist-minded hate group," and B'nai B'rith has accused you of being not only anti-Christian but anti-Semitic. Do you consider this true?

MALCOLM X: Insofar as the Christian world is concerned, dictatorships have existed only in areas or countries where you have Roman Catholicism. Catholicism conditions your mind for dictators. Can you think of a single Protestant country that has ever produced a dictator?

PLAYBOY: Germany was predominantly Protestant when Hitler —

MALCOLM X: Another thing to think of—in the 20th Century, the Christian Church has given us two heresies: fascism and communism.

PLAYBOY: On what grounds do you attribute these "isms" to the Christian Church?

MALCOLM X: Where did fascism start? Where's the second-largest Communist party outside of Russia? The answer to both is Italy. Where is the Vatican? But let's not forget the Jew. Anybody that gives even a just criticism of the Jew is instantly labeled anti-Semite. The Jew cries louder than anybody else if anybody criticizes him. You can tell the truth about any minority in America, but make a true observation about the Jew, and if it doesn't pat him on the back, then he uses his grip on the news media to label you anti-Semite. Let me say just a word about the Jew and the black man. The Jew is always anxious to *advise* the black man. But they never advise him how to solve his problem the way the Jews solved their problem. The Jew never went sitting-in and crawling-in and sliding-in and freedom-riding, like he teaches and helps Negroes to do. The Jews stood up, and stood together, and they used their ultimate power, the economic weapon. That's exactly what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is trying to teach black men to do. The Jews pooled their money and *bought* the hotels that barred them. They bought Atlantic City and Miami Beach and anything else they wanted. Who owns Hollywood? Who runs the garment industry, the largest industry in New York City? But the Jew that's advising the Negro joins the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, and others. With money donations, the Jew gains control, then he sends the black man doing all this wading-in, boring-in, even burying-in—everything but buying-in. Never shows him how to set up factories and hotels. Never advises him how to own what he wants. No, when there's something worth owning, the Jew's got it.

PLAYBOY: Isn't it true that many Gentiles have also labored with dedication to advance integration and economic improvement for the Negro, as volunteer workers for the NAACP, CORE and many other interracial agencies?

MALCOLM X: A man who tosses worms in the river isn't necessarily a friend of the fish. All the fish who take him for a friend, who think the worm's got no hook in it, usually end up in the frying pan. All these things dangled before us by the white liberal posing as a friend and benefactor have turned out to be nothing but bait to make us think we're making progress. The Supreme Court decision has never been enforced. Desegregation has never taken place. The promises have never been fulfilled. We have received only tokens, substitutes, trickery and deceit.

PLAYBOY: What motives do you impute to PLAYBOY for providing you with this opportunity for the free discussion of your views?

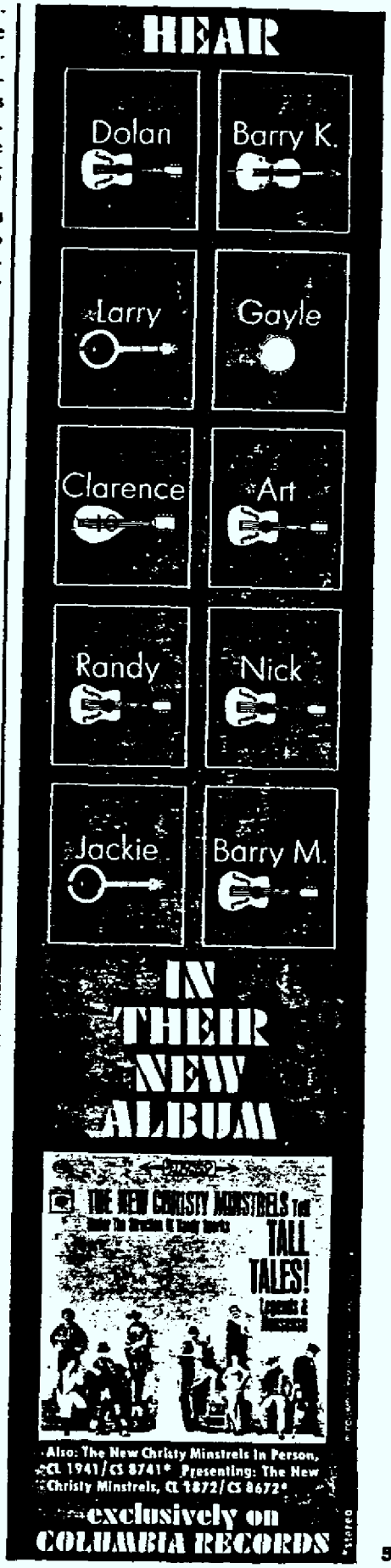
MALCOLM X: I think you want to sell magazines. I've never seen a sincere white man, not when it comes to helping black people. Usually things like this are done by white people to benefit themselves. The white man's primary interest is not to elevate the thinking of black people, or to waken black people, or white people either. The white man is interested in the black man only to the extent that the black man is of use to him. The white man's interest is to make money, to exploit.

PLAYBOY: Is there any white man on earth whom you would concede to have the Negro's welfare genuinely at heart?

MALCOLM X: I say, sir, that you can never make an intelligent judgment without evidence. If any man will study the entire history of the relationship between the white man and the black man, no evidence will be found that justifies any confidence or faith that the black man might have in the white man today.

PLAYBOY: Then you consider it impossible for the white man to be anything but an exploiter and a hypocrite in his relations with the Negro?

MALCOLM X: Is it wrong to attribute a predisposition to wheat before it comes up out of the ground? Wheat's characteristics and nature make it wheat. It differs from barley because of its nature. Wheat perpetuates its own characteristics just



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as the white race does. White people are born devils by nature. They don't become so by deeds. If you never put popcorn in a skillet, it would still be popcorn. Put the heat to it, it will pop.

PLAYBOY: You say that white men are devils by nature. Was Christ a devil?

MALCOLM X: Christ wasn't white. Christ was a black man.

PLAYBOY: On what Scripture do you base this assertion?

MALCOLM X: Sir, Billy Graham has made the same statement in public. Why not ask *him* what Scripture he found it in? When Pope Pius XII died, *Life* magazine carried a picture of him in his private study kneeling before a black Christ.

PLAYBOY: Those are hardly quotations from Scripture. Was He not reviled as "King of the Jews"—a people the Black Muslims attack?

MALCOLM X: Only the poor, brainwashed American Negro has been made to believe that Christ was white, to maneuver him into worshiping the white man. After becoming a Muslim in prison, I read almost everything I could put my hands on in the prison library. I began to think back on everything I had read and especially with the histories, I realized that nearly all of them read by the general public have been made into white histories. I found out that the history-whitening process either had left out great things that black men had done, or some of the great black men had gotten whitened.

PLAYBOY: Would you list a few of these men?

MALCOLM X: Well, Hannibal, the most successful general that ever lived, was a black man. So was Beethoven; Beethoven's father was one of the blackamoors that hired themselves out in Europe as professional soldiers. Haydn, Beethoven's teacher, was of African descent. Columbus, the discoverer of America, was a half-black man.

PLAYBOY: According to biographies considered definitive, Beethoven's father, Johann, was a court tenor in Cologne; Haydn's parents were Croatian; Columbus' parents were Italian—

MALCOLM X: Whole black empires, like the Moorish, have been whitened to hide the fact that a great black empire had conquered a white empire even before America was discovered. The Moorish civilization—black Africans—conquered and ruled Spain; they kept the light burning in Southern Europe. The word "Moor" means "black," by the way. Egyptian civilization is a classic example of how the white man stole great African cultures and makes them appear today as white European. The black nation of Egypt is the only country that has a science named after its culture: Egyptology. The ancient Sumerians, a black-skinned people, occupied the Middle Eastern areas and were contemporary with the Egyptian civilization. The Incas, the Aztecs, the Mayans, all dark-skinned Indian people, had a highly developed culture here in America, in what is now Mexico and northern South America. These people had mastered agriculture at the time when European white people were still living in mud huts and eating weeds. But white children, or black children, or grownups here today in America don't get to read this in the average books they are exposed to.

PLAYBOY: Can you cite any authoritative historical documents for these observations?

MALCOLM X: I can cite a great many, sir. You could start with Herodotus, the Greek historian. He outright described the Egyptians as "black, with woolly hair." And the American archaeologist and Egyptologist James Henry Breasted did the same thing.

PLAYBOY: You seem to have based your thesis on the premise that all nonwhite races are necessarily black.

MALCOLM X: Mr. Muhammad says that the red, the brown and the yellow are indeed all part of the black nation. Which means that black, brown, red, yellow, all are brothers, all are one family. The white one is a stranger. He's the odd fellow.

PLAYBOY: Since your classification of black peoples apparently includes the light-skinned Oriental, Middle Eastern and possibly even Latin races as well as the darker Indian and Negroid strains, just how do you decide how light-skinned it's permissible to be before being condemned as white? And if Caucasian whites are devils by nature, do you classify people by degrees of devilishness according to the lightness of their skin?

MALCOLM X: I don't worry about these little technicalities. But I know that white society has always considered that one drop of black blood makes you black. To me, if one drop can do this, it only shows the power of one drop of black blood. And I know another thing—that Negroes who used to be light enough to pass for white have seen the handwriting on the wall and are beginning to come back and identify with their own kind. And white people who also are seeing the pendulum of time catching up with them are now trying to join with blacks, or even find traces of black blood in their own veins, hoping that it will save them from the catastrophe they see ahead. But no devil can fool God. Muslims have a little poem about them. It goes, "One drop will make you black, and will also in days to come save your soul."

PLAYBOY: As one of this vast elite, do you hold the familiar majority attitude toward minority groups—regarding the

white race, in this case, as inf[illegible] in quality as well as quantity to wh[illegible] you call the "black nation"?

MALCOLM X: Thoughtful white people *know* they are inferior to black people. Even Eastland knows it. Anyone who has studied the genetic phase of biology knows that white is considered recessive and black is considered dominant. When you want strong coffee, you ask for black coffee. If you want it light, you want it weak, integrated with white milk. Just like these Negroes who weaken themselves and their race by this integrating and intermixing with whites. If you want bread with no nutritional value, you ask for white bread. All the good that was in it has been bleached out of it, and it will constipate you. If you want pure flour, you ask for dark flour, whole-wheat flour. If you want pure sugar, you want dark sugar.

PLAYBOY: If all whites are devilish by nature, as you have alleged, and if black and white are essentially opposite, as you have just stated, do you view all black men — with the exception of their non-Muslim leaders — as fundamentally angelic?

MALCOLM X: No, there is plenty wrong with Negroes. They have no society. They're robots, automatons. No minds of their own. I hate to say that about us, but it's the truth. They are a black body with a white brain. Like the monster Frankenstein. The top part is your bourgeois Negro. He's your integrator. He's not interested in his poor black brothers. He's usually so deep in debt from trying to copy the white man's social habits that he doesn't have time to worry about nothing else. They buy the most expensive clothes and cars and eat the cheapest food. They act more like the white man than the white man does himself. These are the ones that hide their sympathy for Mr. Muhammad's teachings. It conflicts with the sources from which they get their white-man's crumbs. This class to us are the fence-sitters. They have one eye on the white man and the other eye on the Muslims. They'll jump whichever way they see the wind blowing. Then there's the middle class of the Negro masses, the ones not in the ghetto, who realize that life is a struggle, who are conscious of all the injustices being done and of the constant state of insecurity in which they live. They're ready to take some stand against everything that's against them. Now, when this group hears Mr. Muhammad's teachings, they are the ones who come forth faster and identify themselves, and take immediate steps toward trying to bring into existence what Mr. Muhammad advocates. At the bottom of the social heap is the black man in the big-city ghetto. He lives night and day with the rats and cockroaches and drowns

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himself with alcohol | anesthetizes himself with dope, to try and forget where and what he is. That Negro has given up all hope. He's the hardest one for us to reach, because he's the deepest in the mud. But when you get him, you've got the best kind of Muslim. Because he makes the most drastic change. He's the most fearless. He will stand the longest. He has nothing to lose, even his life, because he didn't have that in the first place. I look upon myself, sir, as a prime example of this category — and as graphic an example as you could find of the salvation of the black man.

PLAYBOY: *Could you give us a brief review* of the early life that led to your own "salvation"?

MALCOLM X: Gladly. I was born in Omaha on May 19, 1925. My light color is the result of my mother's mother having been raped by a white man. I hate every drop of white blood in me. Before I am indicted for hate again, sir — is it wrong to hate the blood of a rapist? But to continue: My father was a militant follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. The Lansing, Michigan, equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan warned him to stop preaching Garvey's message, but he kept on and one of my earliest memories is of being snatched awake one night with a lot of screaming going on because our home was afire. But my father got louder about Garvey, and the next time he was found bludgeoned in the head, lying across streetcar tracks. He died soon and our family was in a bad way. We were so hungry we were dizzy and we had nowhere to turn. Finally the authorities came in and we children were scattered about in different places as public wards. I happened to become the ward of a white couple who ran a correctional school for white boys. This family liked me in the way they liked their house pets. They got me enrolled in an all-white school. I was popular, I played sports and everything, and studied hard, and I stayed at the head of my class through the eighth grade. That summer I was 14, but I was big enough and looked old enough to get away with telling a lie that I was 21, so I got a job working in the dining car of a train that ran between Boston and New York City.

On my layovers in New York, I'd go to Harlem. That's where I saw in the bars all these men and women with what looked like the easiest life in the world. Plenty of money, big cars, all of it. I could tell they were in the rackets and vice. I hung around those bars whenever I came in town, and I kept my ears and eyes open and my mouth shut. And they kept their eyes on me, too. Finally, one day a numbers man told me that he needed a runner, and I never caught the night train back to Boston. Right there was when I started my life in crime. I was in all of it that the white police and the gangsters left open to the black criminal, sir. I was in numbers, bootleg liquor, "hot" goods, women. I sold the bodies of black women to white men, and white women to black men. I was in dope, I was in everything evil you could name. The only thing I could say good for myself, sir, was that I did not indulge in hitting anybody over the head.

PLAYBOY: By the time you were 16, according to the record, you had several men working for you in these various enterprises. Right?

MALCOLM X: Yes, sir. I turned the things I mentioned to you over to them. And I had a good working system of paying off policemen. It was here that I learned that vice and crime can only exist, at least the kind and level that I was in, to the degree that the police cooperate with it. I had several men working and I was a steerer myself. I steered white people with money from downtown to whatever kind of sin they wanted in Harlem. I didn't care what they wanted, I knew where to take them to it. And I tell you what I noticed here — that my best customers always were the officials, the top police people, businessmen, politicians and clergymen. I never forgot that. I met all levels of these white people, supplied them with everything they wanted, and I saw that they were just a filthy race of devils. But despite the fact that my own father was murdered by whites, and I had seen my people all my life brutalized by whites, I was still blind enough to mix with them and socialize with them. I thought they were gods and goddesses — until Mr. Muhammad's powerful spiritual message opened my eyes and enabled me to see them as a race of devils. Nothing had made me see the white man as he is until one word from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad opened my eyes overnight.

PLAYBOY: When did this happen?

MALCOLM X: In prison. I was finally caught and spent 77 months in three different prisons. But it was the greatest thing that ever happened to me, because it was in prison that I first heard the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. His teachings were what turned me around. The first time I heard the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's statement, "The white man is the devil," it just clicked. I am a good example of why Islam is spreading so rapidly across the land. I was nothing but another convict, a semi-illiterate criminal. Mr. Muhammad's teachings were able to reach into prison, which is the level where people are considered to have fallen as low as they can go. His teachings brought me from behind prison walls and placed me on the podiums of some of the leading colleges and universities in the country. I often think, sir, that in 1946, I was sentenced to 8 to 10 years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a common thief who had never passed the eighth grade. And the next time I went back to Cambridge was in March 1961, as a guest speaker at the Harvard Law School Forum. This is the best example of Mr. Muhammad's ability to take nothing and make something, to take nobody and make somebody.

PLAYBOY: Your rise to prominence in the Muslim organization has been so swift that a number of your own membership have hailed you as their articulate exemplar, and many anti-Muslims regard you as the real brains and power of the movement. What is your reaction to this sudden eminence?

MALCOLM X: Sir, it's heresy to imply that I am in any way whatever even equal to Mr. Muhammad. No man on earth today is his equal. Whatever I am that is good, it is through what I have been taught by Mr. Muhammad.

PLAYBOY: Be that as it may, the time is near when your leader, who is 65, will have to retire from leadership of the Muslim movement. Many observers predict that when this day comes, the new Messenger of Allah in America — a role which you have called the most powerful of any black man in the world — will be Malcolm X. How do you feel about this prospect?

MALCOLM X: Sir, I can only say that God chose Mr. Muhammad as his Messenger, and Mr. Muhammad chose me and many others to help him. Only God has the say-so. But I will tell you one thing. I frankly don't believe that I or anyone else am worthy to succeed Mr. Muhammad. No one preceded him. I don't think I could make the sacrifice he has made, or set his good example. He has done more than lay down his life. But his work is already done with the seed he has planted among black people. If Mr. Muhammad and every identifiable follower he has, certainly including myself, were tomorrow removed from the scene by more of the white man's brutality, there is one thing to be sure of: Mr. Muhammad's teachings of the naked truth have fallen upon fertile soil among 20,000,000 black men here in this wilderness of North America.

PLAYBOY: Has the soil, in your opinion, been as fertile for Mr. Muhammad's teachings elsewhere in the world — among the emerging nations of black Africa, for instance?

MALCOLM X: I think not only that his teachings have had considerable impact even in Africa but that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has had a greater impact on the world than the rise of the African nations. I say this as objectively as I can, being a Muslim. Even the Christian missionaries are conceding that in black Africa, for every Christian conversion, there are two Muslim conversions.

PLAYBOY: Might conversions be even more

numerous if it weren't for the somewhat strained relations which are said by several Negro writers to exist between the black people of Africa and America?

MALCOLM X: Perhaps. You see, the American black man sees the African come here and live where the American black man can't. The Negro sees the African come here with a sheet on and go places where the Negro – dressed like a white man, talking like a white man, sometimes as wealthy as the white man – can't go. When I'm traveling around the country, I use my real Muslim name, Malik Shabazz. I make my hotel reservations under that name, and I always see the same thing I've just been telling you. I come to the desk and always see that "here-comes-a-Negro" look. It's kind of a reserved, coldly tolerant cordiality. But when I say "Malik Shabazz," their whole attitude changes: they snap to respect. They think I'm an African. People say what's in a name? There's a whole lot in a name. The American black man is seeing the African respected as a human being. The African gets respect because he has an identity and cultural roots. But most of all because the African owns some land. For these reasons he has his human rights recognized, and that makes his civil rights automatic.

PLAYBOY: Do you feel this is true of Negro civil and human rights in South Africa, where the doctrine of apartheid is enforced by the government of Prime Minister Verwoerd?

MALCOLM X: They don't stand for anything different in South Africa than America stands for. The only difference is over there they *preach* as well as practice apartheid. America preaches freedom and practices slavery. America preaches integration and practices segregation. Verwoerd is an honest white man. So are the Barnetts, Faubuses, Eastlands and Rockwells. They want to keep all white people white. And we want to keep all black people black. As between the racists and the integrationists, I highly prefer the racists. I'd rather walk among rattlesnakes, whose constant rattle warns me where they are, than among those Northern snakes who grin and make you forget you're still in a snake pit. Any white man is against blacks. The entire American economy is based on white supremacy. Even the religious philosophy is, in essence, white supremacy. A white Jesus. A white Virgin. White angels. White everything. But a black Devil, of course. The "Uncle Sam" political foundation is based on white supremacy, relegating nonwhites to second-class citizenship. It goes without saying that the social philosophy is strictly white supremacist. And the educational system perpetuates white supremacy.

PLAYBOY: Are you contradicting yourself by denouncing white supremacy while praising its practitioners, since you admit that you share their goal of separation?

MALCOLM X: The fact that I prefer the candor of the Southern segregationist to the hypocrisy of the Northern integrationist doesn't alter the basic immorality of white supremacy. A devil is still a devil whether he wears a bed sheet or a Brooks Brothers suit. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches separation simply because any forcible attempt to integrate America completely would result in another Civil War, a catastrophic explosion among whites which would destroy America – and still not solve the problem. But Mr. Muhammad's solution of separate black and white would solve the problem neatly for both the white and black man, and America would be saved. Then the whole world would give Uncle Sam credit for being something other than a hypocrite.

PLAYBOY: Do you feel that the Administration's successful stand on the integration of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi has demonstrated that the Government – far from being hypocritical – is sympathetic with the Negro's aspirations for equality?

MALCOLM X: What was accomplished? It took 15,000 troops to put Meredith in the University of Mississippi. Those troops and $3,000,000 – that's what was spent – to get one Negro in. That $3,000,000 could have been used much more wisely by the Federal Government to elevate the living standards of all the Negroes in Mississippi.

PLAYBOY: Then in your view, the principle involved was not worth the expense. Yet it is a matter of record that President Kennedy, in the face of Southern opposition, championed the appointment of Dr. Robert Weaver as the first Negro Cabinet member. Doesn't this indicate to you, as it does to many Negro leaders, that the Administration is determined to combat white supremacy?

MALCOLM X: Kennedy doesn't *have* to fight; he's the President. He didn't have any fight replacing Ribicoff with Celebrezze. He didn't have any trouble putting Goldberg on the Supreme Court. He hasn't had any trouble getting anybody in but Weaver and Thurgood Marshall. He wasn't worried about Congressional objection when he challenged U. S. Steel. He wasn't worried about either Congressional reaction or Russian reaction or even world reaction when he blockaded Cuba. But when it comes to the rights of the Negro, who helped to put him in office, then he's afraid of little pockets of white resistance.

PLAYBOY: Has *any* American President, in your opinion – Lincoln, FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy – accomplished anything for the Negro?

MALCOLM X: None of them have ever done anything for Negroes. All of them have tricked the Negro, and made false promises to him at election times which they never fulfilled. Lincoln's concern wasn't freedom for the blacks but to save the Union.

PLAYBOY: Wasn't the Civil War fought to decide whether this nation could, in the words of Lincoln, "endure permanently half slave and half free"?

MALCOLM X: Sir, many, many people are completely misinformed about Lincoln and the Negro. That war involved two thieves, the North and the South, fighting over the spoils. The further we get away from the actual incident, the more they are trying to make it sound as though the battle was over the black man. Lincoln said that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, he would. But after two years of killing and carnage he found out he would *have* to free the slaves. He wasn't interested in the slaves but in the Union. As for the Emancipation Proclamation, sir, it was an empty document. If it freed the slaves, why, a century later, are we still battling for civil rights?

PLAYBOY: Despite the fact that the goal of racial equality is not yet realized, many sociologists—and many Negro commentators—agree that no minority group on earth has made as much social, civil and economic progress as the American Negro in the past 100 years. What is your reaction to this view?

MALCOLM X: Sir, I hear that everywhere almost exactly as you state it. This is one of the biggest myths that the American black man himself believes in. Every immigrant ethnic group that has come to this country is now a genuinely first-class citizen group – every one of them but the black man, who was here when they came. While everybody else is sharing the fruit, the black man is just now starting to be thrown some seeds. It is our hope that through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, we will at last get the soil to plant the seeds in. You talk about the progress of the Negro – I'll tell you, mister, it's just because the Negro has been in America while *America* has gone forward that the Negro appears to have gone forward. The Negro is like a man on a luxury commuter train doing 90 miles an hour. He looks out of the window, along with all the white passengers in their Pullman chairs, and he thinks *he's* doing 90, too. Then he gets to the men's room and looks in the mirror – and he sees he's not really getting anywhere at all. His reflection shows a black man standing there in the white uniform of a dining-car steward. He may get on the 5:10, all right, but he sure won't be getting off at Westport.

PLAYBOY: Is there anything then, in your opinion, that could be done—by either whites or blacks—to expedite the social and economic progress of the Negro in America?

MALCOLM X: First of all, the white man must finally realize that *he's* the one who

has committed the crimes that have produced the miserable condition that our people are in. He can't hide this guilt by reviling us today because we answer his criminal acts — past and present — with extreme and uncompromising resentment. He cannot hide his guilt by accusing us, his victims, of being racists, extremists and black supremacists. The white man must realize that the sins of the fathers are about to be visited upon the heads of the children who have continued those sins, only in more sophisticated ways. Mr. Elijah Muhammad is warning this generation of white people that they, too, are also facing a time of harvest in which they will have to pay for the crime committed when their grandfathers made slaves out of us.

But there *is* something the white man can do to avert this fate. He must atone — and this can only be done by allowing black men, those who choose, to leave this land of bondage and go to a land of our own. But if he doesn't want a mass movement of our people away from this house of bondage, then he should separate this country. He should give us several states here on American soil, where those of us who wish to can go and set up our own government, our own economic system, our own civilization. Since we have given over 300 years of our slave labor to the white man's America, helped to build it up for him, it's only right that white America should give us everything *we* need in finance and materials for the next 25 years, until our own nation is able to stand on its feet. Then, if the Western Hemisphere is attacked by outside enemies, we would have both the capability and the motivation to join in defending the hemisphere, in which we would then have a sovereign stake.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the black man has served under the rule of all the other peoples of the earth at one time or another in the past. He teaches that it is now God's intention to put the black man back at the top of civilization, where he was in the beginning — before Adam, the white man, was created. The world since Adam has been white — and corrupt. The world of tomorrow will be black — and righteous. In the white world there has been nothing but slavery, suffering, death and colonialism. In the black world of tomorrow, there will be *true* freedom, justice and equality for all. And that day *is* coming — sooner than you think.

PLAYBOY: If Muslims ultimately gain control as you predict, do you plan to bestow "*true* freedom" on white people?

MALCOLM X: It's not a case of what would we do, it's a case of what would God do with whites. What does a judge do with the guilty? Either the guilty atone, or God executes judgment.

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

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Leaders attack Malcolm X on WUST panel

"Our effort is to desegregate our society because we think that segregation is unjust and we feel that we must move into the main stream of American culture," said Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, regional representative of the Southern Crristian Leadership Conference, during his rebuttal to Minister Malcolm X's charges against integration made on the Radio Station WUST panel program FOCUS last Sunday.

Rev. Fauntroy made this statement during his pretaped interview which is to be aired on WUST at 1:00 p.m. on May 19.

Dr. E. Franklin Jackson, president of the Washington chapter of the NAACP serves as the other panelist.

Minister Malcolm X last Sunday on FOCUS attacked Christianity, the Supreme Court, the Washington crime situation, both white and colored leadership, Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Martin Luther King, the NAACP, and others.

Dr. Jackson refuting Malcolm X's attack on President Lincoln observed that, "any man who stands at this point and says that Lincoln was a phony liberal doesn't even know the history of Abraham Lincoln. He was not phony in any sense of the word. He made it very clear that his primary purpose was the solidarity of the Union. The colored man has always been in the fight for his own freedom. Malcolm X is not the first man to come on the scene to try to fight for the freedom of colored people. Back in the days of salvery even those who could get across the line through fought to set their people free."

Col. Ed Brown will serve as moderator on this program to be heard on WUST on Sunday, May 19.

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JOKES AND MALCOLM X

Gregory Puts Wit Into Fight

THE EVENING STAR
Page A3 Date 5/17/63

By MARY McGRORY
Star Staff Writer

Nobody around here has found much to laugh about in the Birmingham crisis. But Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian who just spent four nights in a Birmingham jail, manages to get off a few funnies about his experience.

"I was in a cell with 500 other people," he quips. "We had wall-to-wall us. There were so many of us there wasn't enough brutality to go around."

Mr. Gregory, who got to the top by "saying out loud what the whites and the Negroes have been whispering to each other for 100 years," came here to do a benefit show for the Southeast Neighborhood House.

Still nursing an arm made sore, he says, when four guards beat him, he has enlisted for the duration in the civil rights fight. He went into Greenwood, Miss., and Birmingham, not as a celebrity but "as an individual first, an American second, and a Negro third."

He got arrested a week ago Monday, with 850 others, for parading without a permit. He is out on bond.

"I have three children. The Southern Negroes are fighting for them. It's my problem, too. I'm involved," he said.

He regards Birmingham as a victory for his people.

"Whenever a Negro stands up and says this has to stop, not tomorrow, not next year, but today, it's a victory. We've had a sleeping bear under the couch for 100 years, and he's done woke up. Everybody knew he was there, although they pretended they didn't, and now he jumped up, and he's hungry and he's vicious."

He thinks the Kennedy administration made more mistakes in Birmingham than in any other situation.

"They had no more legal right to send troops in Sunday than they did two weeks before. Everyone in America knows now we have found a formula for getting troops in—stab a white man, turn over a white cab and burn some houses, and they'll come."

He thinks it was "great" to send the children into the demonstrations.

"You couldn't keep those kids out of the line. It's the first time in history that police called up people in the middle of the night and told them their kids were in jail, and they were proud."

Mr. Gregory stood up for Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader, whose extremism the Kennedy administration frankly fears. To their consternation, Malcolm X appeared yesterday and held a Capitol Hill press conference outside the office of Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon.

Mrs. Green, who had invited Malcolm X to testify before her subcommittee on juvenile delinquency, decided instead to hold a conference with him in her office. It went on for almost two hours.

Malcolm X is a tall, solemn young man.

He was preceded to the microphones by his public relations consultant, Dolph Thompson, who counseled the assembled reporters to be "objective" and not to debate with Malcolm X because "it has been our experience that many news people are not equipped to deal with Malcolm X in a debate. . . . They try to defend white folks and such."

Malcolm X then stepped forward and berated President Kennedy for not sending in troops "while dogs were biting black babies" and Martin Luther King "for trying to please the white folks."

The solution, he says, is for the black man to change his image of himself. No good will come of co-operation, he insisted.

Dick Gregory says Malcolm X is "a brilliant young man" and that the religious character of the Black Muslims has been ignored."

"Look at the Black Muslims this way: I have a corn and I go to the doctor and he takes it off, and then I put my foot into the same tight shoe and it comes back. So what are you going to talk about first, the corn or the shoe?"

Mr. Gregory hasn't studied the situation of his people in Washington, D. C., too closely yet. But he thinks maybe the Negro here has job security but no money.

"He's got the name and the prestige and the feeling, but man, he hasn't got the buck to carry through. I talk to a woman in St. Louis, and she tells me her son is in the government, with the Department of Agriculture. It turns out he's a janitor."

He does not take Adam Clayton Powell's leadership seriously because he's a politician, and "when a man becomes a politician, he's a different animal altogether."

Mr. Gregory is hopeful about the future—"this thing will break overnight." Meanwhile, he takes a dim view of press coverage of the strife. "Man, you read Time magazine about Birmingham and it's like picking up a Ku Klux Klan scratch-sheet."

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THE WASHINGTON POST & TIMES HERALD
PAGE C-2 DATE 5-17-63

Muslim Leader Meets 2 Hours With Rep. Green

Associated Press

A Black Muslim leader spent two hours yesterday talking with a Congresswoman about juvenile delinquency, then charged that an open hearing was denied him because of the tense racial situation in Birmingham, Ala.

Malcolm X said "some segment of the power structure" in Washington forced cancellation of an open hearing before a House Education and Labor subcommittee headed by Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.).

He criticized handling of the Birmingham situation by President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and hinted he thought the latter had something to do with the decision to call off the open session.

Instead, Mrs. Green and the Negro Muslim leader conferred in the Congresswoman's office.

Afterward, Malcolm X answered questions from newsmen. When the interview was over, Mrs. Green had left.

An aide said she had authorized him to say the meeting produced "a sincere and enlightening exchange."

Malcolm X, minister of Black Muslim mosques in New York and Washington, said he told Mrs. Green that Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Negro cult, believes only a change in the Negro attitude toward himself can solve delinquency problems.

He said a feeling of inferiority that has been created in the mind of the Negro is behind problems of delinquency and racial difficulties.

Malcolm X said a frank presentation of Muslim views would point the way toward solution of racial problems.

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'Rehabilitation' Promised

Malcolm X. Arrives

Malcolm X., second in command of the Black Muslim sect, arrived in Washington today on a flight from New York, and was met by a large group of reporters and TV cameramen but apparently only one follower.

The greeter was a man who identified himself as William T. X. He was trying to sell the sect's newspaper "Muhammed Speaks," to bystanders, but airport police made him stop.

Then he tried to give copies away, but police stopped that, too.

Malcolm X. who has claimed he could solve the Washington crime problem, said he will hold a series of meetings with Negroes. He described them as "religious services" at which he will attempt to "rehabilitate" members of his race in the same way he was rehabilitated himself by Elijah Muhammed. He said he will shuttle between here and New York.

"I am the best example of what we can do to reform delinquency," he said. "I was an extreme delinquent."

A reporter asked where he had been a delinquent. "In all cities," he said.

Mr. X said "outsiders" will not be permitted to attend the meetings.

He said white people are to blame for the crime rate here. "Black people everywhere today are fed up with the hypocrisy of the whites."

He predicted that by 1970 over 90 per cent of American Negroes will be Muslims."

"THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS"
THURSDAY, MAY 9, 1963
Page 17, columns 1 + 2

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Muslims Plan Meetings On Crime in District

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

The Black Muslims will sponsor a series of Negro-only meetings aimed at solving the District's crime problem, Malcolm X, new leader of the Washington movement, announced today.

"We will have a series of meetings beginning Sunday where we will be getting together like a family to analyze the problems in our community", the bespectacled Malcolm X declared at a news conference at National Airport.

All outsiders—whites—will be excluded from the meetings, he emphasized.

Preaching Hate

Malcolm X said the Muslims will offer one solution to crime as it concerns District Negroes. That solution, he indicated, will be adherence to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of the Black Muslim sect.

Malcolm X denied emphatically that the Muslims preach hate.

"We don't teach hate," he declared. "We preach the truth about what the white man has done to the black man."

Speaking forcefully before a bank of microphones, Malcolm X enied he is No. 2 man of the Black Muslim movement. He also denied he is heir-apparent to the leadership post occupied by Mr. Muhammad. He said he is merely "a representative" of Mr. Muhammad.

Replaces Minister

He continued that Mr. Muhammad assigned him to Washington to replace Lucius Brown, former minister of the sect's mosque on Fourth street N.W.

"Lucius Brown is no longer the representative for Mr. Muhammad," Malcolm X explained. "He was not getting enough action. The time is too short and we must make faster progress. If I don't make faster progress I will be removed myself."

The District's new Muslin leader carefully avoided predicting racial violence for Washington. There will be racial explosions, he said, because "black people everywhere today are fed up with the hypocrisy practiced by the whites."

Race Trouble Not Limited

Possible racial explosions, he said, are not limited to any geographical area.

Turning his attention to the Birmingham disorders, Malcolm X, said that they would not have occurred if the Muslim leadership was involved in that city's life.

The Muslims, Malcolm X emphasized, do not advocate "forcing ourselves on the white man." The white man, he continued, "won't open the doors unless there is bloodshed."

"THE EVENING STAR"
MAY 9, 1963
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THE EVENING STAR
Page B1 Date MAY 13 1963

Muslim Leader Scorns King at D. C. Rally B1

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

Malcolm X, fiery leader of the Washington Black Muslim movement, yesterday scorned Dr. Martin Luther King for advocating that Negroes "love the white man" and engage in peaceful resistance to break down racial segregation.

"Martin Luther King is still a *fool*," Malcolm X shouted as he finished reading a wire report that Birmingham, Ala., was torn by riots despite the Wednesday agreement which ended days of Negro demonstrations.

He addressed an estimated 450 Negroes gathered in the WUST Radio Hall at Ninth and V streets N.W. White persons were barred from the public rally where Malcolm X was to have discussed the Black Muslim's program for combating crime and juvenile delinquency in the District.

Preached on Islam

The Muslim leader, however, spent almost three hours preaching about the Islamic religion, ridiculing Negroes and their spokesmen for failing to "defend themselves against their aggressors," and condemning whites for their treatment of the "black man."

It was near the end of his speech when someone handed him the news story reporting President Kennedy's reactions to the riots which rocked Birmingham early yesterday.

"Just like they are at it down there, they will be at it in other places," Malcoln X declared. "You are born at a time that black people are not *going to* take no more stuff no more."

King Is Scolded

Malcolm X also scolded Dr. King for expecting President Kennedy to improve the Negroes' situation in Birmingham.

"You need somebody who is *going to fight* . . . you don't need any kneeling in or crawling in," he said. Black Muslims, however, don't preach hate, but advocate defending themselves when attacked, he said. Even a killing, in self-defense, is justified, Malcolm X claimed.

Malcolm X said he will appear before a House subcommittee at 10 a.m. Thursday to explain what the Black Muslims think can be done to halt the spread of juvenile delinquency.

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NEW YORK TIMES
5-10-63

Malcolm X Starting Drive in Washington

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 9 — Malcolm X arrived today to take over the leadership of the Black Muslim movement in the capital, where race relations have been causing anxiety.

Malcolm X said that he would continue as the leader of the movement in New York City and that he would maintain a home there as well as here. The local Black Muslim leader has been relieved of his duties because leaders of the movement say that he is unable to exploit the opportunities for expanding the movement in Washington.

Malcolm X described race relations in the nation as explosive. He said that unless the white majority acted swiftly to extend full civil rights to Negroes the situation could culminate in bloodshed.

The extent of the Muslim movement here is a matter of speculation; the group declines to disclose its size. However, it maintains a mosque on 4th Street, N.W.

"Birmingham," Malcolm X contended, "is an example of what can happen when the Negroes rely on the whites to solve their problems for them. The whites will never open the doors to the Negroes, who must learn to stand on their own feet, rely on themselves to improve their human condition. It is only by separating themselves from the white majority and leading their own lives that the Negroes can avoid situations which produce Birminghams."

The Black Muslim leader said that "the Negroes in this country are fed up with their lot and the refusal of the whites to give them their rights."

"When a situation has reache the point that it has in Birmingham something must give," he said. "It can't continue."

Malcolm X said that he intended to conduct all-Negro mass meetings each Sunday evening in Washington. By excluding whites, he asserted, the Negroes can discuss their problem without embarrassment, and reach the necessary conclusions. Fifty-four per cent of this city's 752,956 persons are Negroes, according to the Census of 1962.

The solution for the Negroes in Washington, according to Malcolm X is to embrace Islam, the religion of the Moslems. Elijah Muhammed, the national leader, has suppresed alcohol, prostitution, narcotics, juvenile delinquency and crime among his followers, Malcolm X said. This behavior pattern, and not that offered by Christianity is the one for the Negroes, he continued.

"By 1970 90 per cent of the Negroes will be converted to Islam. Christianity is a white man's religion. It is always emphasing the role of the white man. Islam does not recognise color; it only recognizes the human personality," he said.

Discussing the high Negro crime rate here, the Black Muslim leader argued that the conditions of life imposed by the whites were responsible.

"All the crime syndictes — narcotics, prostitution — gambling are headed by white men," he declared, "You won't find any Negroes in the criminal hierarchy. Negroes don't own the ships and planes that bring narcotics into this country. The Negroes are among the victims of the white criminals. The white men are responsible for narcotics among the Negroes."

The leaders of the established Negro organizations, Malcolm asserted, have performed poorly, judged by results on civil rights.

"We [the Black Muslims] don't do a lot of talking. We shall be judged by our performance," he said, continuing:

"We don't preach hatred and violence. But we believe that if a four-legged or two-legged dog attacks a Negro he should be killed. We only believe in defending ourselves against attack. What is hatred? We are only telling the truth about how the white man treats the black man.

"Elijah Muhammed has a plan to separate the 20,000,000 Negroes from the white majority, but it is for him to speak. If the Negroes can't return to Africa and can't get their rights here, there should be a divorce with a property settlement. That means the Negroes should receive a part of this country where they can live their own lives."

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The Washington Post
City Life
Monday, May 15, 1963 B3

400 Hear Malcolm X Speak Here

Malcolm X, No. 2 leader of the Black Muslims, yesterday warned that Negroes can expect little better treatment from President Kennedy than they get from Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace.

He characterized the two men as a wolf and a fox. "Neither one loves you," he said. "The only difference is that the fox will eat you with a smile instead of a scowl."

The Muslim spokesman, recently transferred as minister of the sect's Washington mosque, spoke at Radio Station WUST to an audience of about 400 persons. He announced that whites had been barred from the meeting "so that we can talk about them like we want to." A squad of young Muslims frisked everyone at the door for weapons, a standard Muslim procedure. No whites were seen attempting to enter.

He cited the weekend bombings and fighting in Birmingham as proof of the failure of the turn-the-other-cheek policy advocated by Martin Luther King.

He said Negroes ought to stay away from the white man. "But if he turns his dogs on your babies, your women and your children, then you ought to kill the dogs, whether they've got four legs or two," he said.

Ever since the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, Malcolm X said, Negroes have been tricked into thinking the law is on their side. "They're too blind," he said, "to see that it is the law—not the Ku Klux Klan — that is denying them their rights and sicking the dogs on them."

He said Negroes should be careful not to be fooled by "the tricky actions of the nine Supreme Court Justices and the President."

He was especially critical of the "20th Century Uncle Toms, the intellectual Uncle Toms, the bourgeoisie Uncle Toms"—his description of middle-class Negroes who are concerned about "pleasing the white man."

"Can't they see you just can't please the white man?" he demanded. "If you stay away from him like the Muslims, he's not satisfied. If you cuddle up to him like the modern Uncle Toms, he's not satisfied. If you let him use you for a doormat, he'll tell you to turn over, you're lying on the wrong side."

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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

Page 3 Date MAY 3 1963

THE WEEK'S WASH

In Washington, D.C.

3

By Ralph Matthews

Do we need Malcoln here

THERE WAS A FLURRY of excitement around the counter of Westbrook's Restaurant where AFRO staffers sneak our coffee breaks and rub elbows with visiting dignitaries.

Investigation revealed the cause of the commotion to be the advent of Citizen Malcomb X, Vice Commander of mushrooming hoards of Black Muslimism, accompanied by some of his stalwart lieutenants.

THE HONORABLE Malcomb X, by his own pronouncement, had just arrived in town to wage a personal war against juvenile delinquency and other evils which plague the capital. If my response to this information seemed less than enthusiastic it was due to the unexpressed fear that the arrival of Citizen X was like bringing in the fox to watch the geese.

With racial tensions in the capital already at white heat the arrival of a professional race-baiter either white or colored seems like inviting in an arsonist where we need a fireman.

A most personable young man Malcomb X can be an intruguing conversationalist when not engaged in the hackneyed polemetics of his trade which is fanning the hatred of his dimwitted brethern against the demon white man whom he has pictured, not without some foundation, as a mortal enemy.

• • •

THIS HAS proved a saleable commodity which has skyrocketted many a movement and numerous individuals into places of prominence far beyond either their intelligence or their worth to society.

Peddling religion or synthetic patriotism or appealing to race prejudice and emotionalism has long been used as an open road to success of sorts which has peopled our legislative halls and other places of power with a motley assortment of scoundrels down through the ages.

• • •

THE BLACK MUSLIMS have simply pooled all three of these ingredients into one beguiling package so they can ensnare the unwary both going and coming.

For Malcomb X, a super salesman of this bunkum, it has paid off well confusing the colored folk and terrifying the whites, who plagued by their own guilty conscience envision all sorts of dire calamities, which they perhaps deserve, should the Black Muslims prevail.

• • •

IT TAKES JUST a superficial knowledge of psychology to understand why Citizen Malcomb X has a popular appeal among the riffraff.

No-one really enjoys being a nobody or a bum even when that condition is self induced.

SO ALONG COMES Malcomb X, addressing an assemblage, a large number of whom are befuddled good-for-nothings, and in eloquent terms persuades them that they are in no-responsible for their sorry state. It's all the fault of the "Demon White man" which is only half truth, but it allays the feeling of self condemnation like a mother who believes have escaped the gallows if he had not gotten into bad company.

This transference of guilt is music to the ears of the unworthy and they trail after Malcomb X like the children following the Pied Piper of Hamlin, marching headline into the sea of illusionment.

TRYING TO determine why the supposedly intellectuals fall into this trap is a little harder to come by. They are mostly brash young people whose exposure to education failed to produce results commensurate with what they had been lead to expect. Denied acceptance by the white world, they find the black world in which their forebears won both recognition and a form of material security being destroyed by the relentless march toward integration.

BEING INTELLECTUALS they could not possibly endorse segregation and plunk for the retention of the ghetto without being false to their generation. They are the captives of a double dilemma.

Rejected by the white world they are denied the age old right to use their acquired education to exploit their ignorant brothers as has been the case since Lincoln supposedly freed the slaves.

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BUT THEY find an escape hatch in the teaching of Malcomb X. Under the

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phony guise of a militant nationalism he preaches separation of the races.

Build your own business, patronize your own professionals, buy from your own color. Yeah let us even have a whole state of our own, where we can run things to suit ourselves.

This is just pure unadulterated Jim Crowism wrapped up in a bright new package like worthless tooth paste with a mysterious ingredient added.

If they were honest the intellectuals know they would be branded as Uncle Toms and drummed out of the race.

But by hiding their real motives under the sheep's clothing of an alien religion and pretending to be pursuing lofty objectives which are impossible of attainment they hope to capitalize on the frustrations of their fellow men until time exposes their duplicity.

• • •

THE SEPARATE STATE theory seems to invalidate the Muslims primary premise. On one breath they contend that all our crimes, our frustrations and our poverty are due to the lack of equality and opportunity. On the other they insist that we further remove ourselves from the main flow of the economy of the richest nation on earth and setup business in some isolated corner all by ourselves.

If we catch all this hades while perched in the middle of things how are we going to solve our problems out on the fringe unless they are going to turn over to us the richest state in the union which is difficult to envision.

I suggest that Malcomb X. and his advisors go back and finish their homework before they get us all in a bind like the Indians find themselves in on their reservations. Their problems are vanishing and so are the Indians.

HERE TO TAKE CHARGE OF MUSLIMS

Malcolm X Hopes to Make His Mark

By CORDELIA RUFFIN

Black Muslim leader Malcolm X arrived in town with Madison Avenue flair yesterday, having a public relations firm to help him meet the press.

The firm, Associated Counselors International, of 1502 Massachusetts av se, telephoned Washington news media in mid-morning that Mr. X would hold a press conference at National Airport and then sent firm member D. G. Thompson there to handle it.

BAPTIST

A leader in the Negro Baptist community here, Mr. Thompson was reserved in his comments when a reporter asked him how he liked the controversial assignment.

"I've handled kings and potentates and all kinds of leaders," he said. "He's just another."

He said his firm has worked for Malcolm before and hopes to "serve him again."

Mr. Thompson made it clear that he's not himself a member of the sect but he believes "they've got a right to be heard."

SNAPPY DRESSER

Malcolm X, dressed neatly in a dark suit, stepped down from a shuttle plane from New York shortly after noon, and greeted a sizable number of reporters and TV cameramen.

He first read a statement in which he denied he was second in command of the Black Muslims.

'INSULT'

He said it was an "insult" to Elijah Muhammad, leader of the sect, to refer to him, Malcolm, as "heir apparent."

He said Elijah has sent him to Washington to succeed Lucius X as leader of "Mosque Four"—the Washington group of Muslims. Lucius X is being transferred to a new post.

Malcolm X said he would divide his time between Washington and New York and eventually will move to Washington when a successor for him in New York is found.

He said he's here now to organize a series of "religious services" for Negroes, to help them with the problem of crime and delinquency.

"Outsiders" will be excluded to save insiders' "embarrassment," he said.

An articulate, quick speaker, Mr. X began in a low pitch, but his voice rose as he talked of the "hypocrisy" of "white liberals."

"The white man is not going to open the door other than with bloodshed," he said. "Since they can't treat us right, they should allow us to separate."

He became irate when the newsmen brought up Birmingham.

"You are siccing your dogs on black women and black babies . . .

"Excuse me for talking so loud to you," he apologized.

BLAST

He criticized the newspapers for "suppressing" stories of police violence towards Negroes, and leaders of his own race who indulge in "a whole lot of good talk" but get no results.

Afterwards Mr. X's PR man told a reporter he thought the press conference "went along all right." Asked why there were no members of the sect at the airport, he replied:

"They don't go out for a big show . . . they could have had a thousand people."

—News Photo by Lou Hollis

Malcolm X displayed this blown-up photo to newsmen at a press conference at National Airport yesterday. He said it showed Negroes in Los Angeles shot down by police.

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
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WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN
Page 1 Date APR 30 1963

Malcolm X to Move to D.C. To Help Fight Youth Crime

To take over Temple No. 4

By CHUCK STONE

Malcolm X is coming to live in Washington, D.C.

The brilliant and fiery leader No. 2 man of the "Black Muslims" sect told the Washington AFRO in an exclusive interview Monday morning that he was taking over the ministry of Mosque No. 4 in the District as of next Sunday.

Asked why he was coming to the nation's capital to live and work, Malcolm X replied: "First of all, to spread the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's teachings.

"Secondly, I am coming here to help in the fight against juvenile delinquency. You people in Washington have a worse problem than we have in Harlem."

The Muslim minister who is now the spiritual leader for New York Muslims in Temple No. 7 said the Black Muslims are prepared to work with "anybody who is sincere about the problem of juvenile delinquency.

"However, we are going to help get rid of the 'Uncle Toms' in this important effort."

Generally regarded as the heir apparent to Elijah Muhammad's leadership of the Black Muslims, Malcolm said his own personal life was a good example of how successful the religious organization had been in combatting delinquency.

"If Mr. Muhammad could take me with just an eighth grade education and the kind of life I had been leading and change me into a law-abiding citizen, then I believe that this same process can be applied to many other young people in the District.

"I have spoken from some of the most important platforms in the country and have accomplished this with the help of the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad," said the Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm said he was in Washington just for one day to set up arrangements for the changeover. Lucius X is currently the minister in charge of Temple No. 4. After a trip to Los Angeles this week, Malcolm said he would begin his ministry in Washington next week.

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